COINS OF THE CRUSADER STATES 1098-1291

Including the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its vassal states of Syria and Palestine, the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus (1192-1489), and the Latin Empire of Constantinople and its vassal states of Greece and the Archipelago.

by
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Dedicated to the Lord Jesus Christ

in whose name the Crusades took place. We ask forgiveness for His followers who blindly committed atrocities against Him, Islam, Judaism and other fellow believers.

PREFACE

This is the final result of the planned project on Crusader coins, intended to encompass the coinage of the Latin East and related numismatic areas, begun in 1975. The initial credit for the project belongs to Arthur J. Seltman, whose interest and scholarship in Crusader coins is widely known. With his guidance, Irene Fraley Preston enthusiastically joined the project, and devoted many hours of her time. Leslie Ann Naughton ably assisted in the compilation and preparation of the book, recording original documentation, translations, and bibliography. Chapter contributions were prepared by Michael L. Bates, A.A. Gordus, and D.M. Metcalf. The concept was an all encompassing book. The planned release was for 1977 but due to unforeseen difficulties it was never published. Many chapters were compiled but the final work was left unfinished, and then went untouched for a period of years.

However the project was not to die, Roberto Pesant continued to encourage me to resurrect it. He was willing to update the bibliography, and his additions have been incorporated. But it finally was the encouragement of Allen Berman that lead to actually producing this book.

From 1977 to 1994 a large amount of research has advanced the knowledge of Crusader coins. We had a manuscript sixteen years out of date. I have taken this project as it was and have endeavored to bring new concepts that have come to light. The Chapters on Jerusalem, baronial issues, Tripoli, Antioch, Edessa and Frankish Greece have been extensively revised. Latin Constantinople and related coinages have been revised by Allen Berman, and each contributing author has reviewed his own section and made the necessary updates. Any inconsistencies are purely my responsibility and I apologize for them.

One definition that is practical to have in reading this book is what constitutes a coin type or variety. A coin type here is the identification of denomination, ruler, minting authority or place of mintage, with its legend or central devises portrayed. A variety reveals authority, certain nuances as to legend or stops or sigla. Of course wherever you define types, exceptions occur, especially in Crusader numismatics. Scholarship has defined certain coins with immobilized types by class or group. These are essential to the understanding of who minted a certain series. For instance, the extensive Antioch helmeted-head deniers and the many fleur-de-lis coppers all were issued in the name of Bohemond. There were three different consecutive individuals, including a split reign, during a period of over ninety years. These groups of series are defined as types accepted in the numismatic world.

The line drawings in this catalogue are from Schlumberger, de Saulcy and Lambros, with extensive new drawings prepared by Irene Preston, Allen Berman, and myself. Special thanks is given to Camden Percival for her great help in indexing this extensive work, and in production, to Alison James, and to Allen Berman who took it upon himself to be editor extraordinary. For their able assistance I wish to thank Dr. Alan Stahl at the ANS, Brooks Levy at Princeton University, and Martin Jacobowitz for his openness in sharing his knowledge and his extensive collection and his eagerness to help. For dealers, collectors, and scholars who encouraged and

helped this work, Gordon A. Singer, Paul Bedoukian, John J. Slocum, P. M. Mitchell, Michael Bates, D. M. Metcalf, Roberto Pesant, Michael Hendy, and Anastasios Tzamalis, a special thank you is given. Finally a thank you to all the numismatists who have endeavored to shed light on this fascinating corner of medieval history.

Alex G. Malloy
Ridgefield, Connecticut
April, 1994

This work represents the fruits of a project begun twenty-six years ago, when I conceived the idea of compiling a small book, within an economical compass, which would be intended to serve as a handy manual of reference for the student and collector of Crusader coins. It was not originally intended to replace or supplant Gustave Schlumberger's monumental *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, originally published in 1878. All of us have owed Schlumberger, and will continue to owe him in the future, an enormous debt. In the century which has elapsed, however, much water has passed under the bridge of Crusader coins, as in the case of other branches of numismatics; in the last decades, the time has seemed ripe for a review of recent discoveries in the various fields of Crusader coinages. My own endeavors began in 1968, when I compiled a brief survey of the medieval Cypriot coinages, which I have studied in greater depth than other series, and, to a lesser extent, some late coinages of Frankish Greece. Realizing my inadequacies in the Crusader coinages of the Levantine mainland, I almost allowed the whole project to die a natural death. However, I was encouraged by Mr. Alex Malloy to revive the project, and this work is the result. Mr. Malloy secured the able assistance of Ms. Irene F. Preston, who most expertly picked up the threads of my unfinished scheme, and contributed several chapters and sections amplifying the original manuscript, and added numerous tables and illustrations. Feeling that we could produce a more lucid and authoritative work with the addition of contributions from acknowledged experts in their respective fields, we have asked for, and have been kindly given, chapters by Dr. Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society, Dr. Adon A. Gordus of the University of Michigan, and Dr. Michael Metcalf of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, covering their views on the Arabic Crusader coinages with which we felt that we were the least competent to deal. We are both very grateful to them to their contributions. The resulting work is an amalgam of several hands, it has the virtues and vices of any collaborative work: virtues, in that it has sought to publish the views of the most authoritative students in their respective fields; and vices, in that any collaborative effort is necessarily somewhat uneven and lacking in uniformity in its presentation.

Arthur J. Seltman
New York, 1977
[rev. 1994, *ed.*]

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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

AE . . . . . Copper
AR . . . . . Silver
AV . . . . . Gold
Obv. . . . . Obverse
Rev. . . . . Reverse
l. . . . . left
r. . . . . right
stg. . . . . standing
std. . . . . seated
avg. . . . . average (mean)
Coll. . . . . collection
fig. . . . . figure
g., gm. . . . . gram
gr. . . . . group
ill. . . . . illustration
mm. . . . . millimeters
no. . . . . number
p. . . . . page
(all coins cross-referenced by number refer to type or specimen numbers unless preceded by "p.")
pl. . . . . plate
ser. . . . . series
var. . . . . variation, variety
wt. . . . . weight
—. . . . . unlisted

In cases where simply an author's name is listed as a reference, see the appropriate listing in the bibliography.

REFERENCES
in alphabetical order

ANS American Numismatic Society
Ash. . . . . Ashmolean Museum
BAR *British Archaeological Reports*
BCH . . . . . *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BY . . . . . Balog and Yvon
DO . . . . . Dumbarton Oaks
DOP . . . . Dumbarton Oaks Papers
GM . . . . . Gordus and Metcalf
HBN . . . . . *Hamburger Beitrage zur Numismatik*
HOC . . . . *History of the Crusades*
IAI . . . . . *Izvestiana Arkheologicheskiia Institut*
JAOS . . . . . *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO . . *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
Lam. . . . . Lambros
Mints . . *Mints, Dies, and Currency*
MN . . . . . *Museum Notes*
NC . . . . . *Numismatic Chronicle*
NCirc *Spink's Numismatic Circular*
NNM . . . . . *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
NOL . . . . . *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*
RIN . . . . . *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*
RN . . . . . *Revue Numismatique*
Saulcy *Nunmismatique des Croisades*
Schl. . . . . Schlumberger, *NOL*
ZN . . . . *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*

Introduction

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CRUSADES

The Arabic conquest of the East in the seventh century deprived all Christendom of its Holy City of Jerusalem, the location of the most precious and venerable of all Christian monuments. Because Jews and Christians were tolerated by the Muslims as *people of the book,* they were allowed a certain freedom of worship, and pilgrims were given easy access to the holy places in Palestine. By the end of the eighth century the Islamic Empire stretched from Spain to Mesopotamia and controlled nearly the entire southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. Incorporating such vastly different lands and peoples under the yoke of Islam, the central governing authority established at Baghdad began gradually to lose control of its nether provinces. In the eleventh century, the arrival in Syria and Anatolia of barbaric Turcoman tribes from central Asia further divided the Islamic Empire, threatening very existence of the Byzantine Empire after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, and disrupted Western Christianity's pilgrim passage to Jerusalem. To Western Christendom, which at this juncture was on the verge of a spiritual and political unity it had not known for centuries, this hindrance of pilgrim travel was an outrage.

For some time modern scholars have regarded the Crusades as a manifestation of a particular type of Christianity — a mixture of Christian mysticism and imperialism, Frankish and Norman militancy, and papal pretensions. To the Latin Christian of the period, the Crusades were general pilgrimages to the holy places in the East performed as penance for the remission of sins. Objectively speaking, they were military expeditions involving all classes of Western European society, urged by the Roman Popes and organized for the purpose of recovering Christian holy places from Muslim control.[1] From a political standpoint, their purpose was not only to unite Christianity under a world-wide Latin authority, Europe's heritage from the ancient Roman Empire, but also, as Pope Urban II proclaimed before the First Crusade, to free the Frankish peasant from his bare subsistence level of life to enjoy prosperity and happiness in the Holy Land.[2] The Crusaders' reward for purging Jerusalem of the "defiling infidel" through Holy War was not only spiritual benefits in the form of papal indulgences, but the right, guaranteed by the Pope, to possess the conquered land.[3] The Crusades have, therefore, also been described as one of

the last barbarian invasions into the civilized world,[4] or a kind of *Volkerwanderung*, where needy nations roam in search of more abundant lands.[5]

Each Crusade involved a certain measure of secular opportunism, for the establishment of principalities in the prosperous East seemed to promise vast resources for economic and cultural growth. The Fourth Crusade of 1204, for example, deviating from the original Crusading ideals of fighting the Islamic enemy in the Holy Land, was deflected against the Byzantine Empire largely for economic and imperialistic purposes. Though initially shocked to learn that their Latin brethren had sacked and looted Constantinople, the bastion of Byzantine Christian civilization, numerous people at every level of Western European society quickly reversed their thinking. They began aspiring to procure the submission of Greek Christianity to the authority of Rome, to create a corridor to Palestine, to rid the West of Byzantine competition in Near Eastern and Black Sea trade, and to gain the cultural wealth of the Byzantine heritage.[6] Thus, for over two centuries, despite their changing complexions, the Crusades were part and parcel of the reawakening of Western European civilization.

The immediate, tangible, and perhaps less grandiose result of this massive and continuous movement eastward was the establishment of small feudal states, in which the Crusaders lifted the Muslim yoke from their East Christian brethren, in some cases letting them worship freely, and in others, limiting their religious practices and beliefs by insisting on Latin services and papal supremacy. The small Frankish states learned how to survive in hostile territory by adopting all manner of their neighbors' customs, building strong fortifications on their borders, forming alliances with the Muslim foe to insure peaceful coexistence, and establishing commercial relations which either side was reluctant to sever. Intermarriages and conversions were not uncommon; Muslims sometimes kept small shrines in Christian basilicas, and Christians, small altars in mosques; and the "noble infidel" often replaced the "defiling infidel" on the Christian Crusaders' tongues.[7] An important aspect of the Crusaders' adoption of the *modus vivendi* of their Eastern neighbors for our study is that some of the Crusader states, rather than mint their own Western coinages, began issuing coins in conformity with the indigenous Eastern coinage systems.

Gibbon called the period of the Crusades the era of the World's Debate and illustrated how the immediate juxtaposition of cultures in the Levant brought to light their differences as well as their similarities, their mutual hostilities as well as their friendships, their rivalry and interdependence in commerce, and the soil of intercourse that led to a higher level of civilization, especially for the West.[8] The abiding results of the Crusades were the estrangement of Greek and Latin Christianity, the growth of European civilization through contact with the East, and the expansion, surpassing anything before imagined in the West, of the European economy. Eventually, in retaliation against these aggressive foreign rivals, the Muslim states united to respond in kind by reviving the Islamic Holy War (*Jihad*). Just as in the seventh and eighth centuries the armies of Islam had

swept the Near East and the Mediterranean basin, by the sixteenth century the united Islamic nations ousted the last Latin Christian colony from the Levant and transformed the Byzantine Empire into the Ottoman Empire. It can thus be said that another enduring outcome of the Christian Crusade was this rebirth of the Islamic Empire.[9]

For generations, historians have debated how to define the end of the Crusading era. Some have felt that the fall of Acre in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 marked the end of the age, while others have defined the end as the fifteenth century, when the Ottoman Turks successfully expelled most of the European influence in the Levant. Since we are dealing only with the coinages of those states established as a by-product of a Crusade launched before the fall of Acre in 1291, ours is admittedly the more traditional and conservative view. These states include the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Palestinian and Syrian states surrounding it, the Latin Empire of Constantinople and its vassal states of Greece, and the Lusignan dynasty of the Kingdom of Cyprus. At this point we shall survey the major Crusades which resulted in the establishment and preservation of these Crusader states, in order to inform the reader of who participated in these military ventures, for what purposes and with what results.

As a by-product of the First Crusade, Baldwin of Boulogne, with the aid of his Lotharingian retinue, established the county of Edessa in 1098. A few months later, Bohemond of Taranto and his Norman-Italian followers captured and settled Antioch, while most of the Crusading host, including Franco-Normans, Provençales, Norman-Italians, and Lotharingians, continued on to Jerusalem. After seizing Jerusalem in 1099, the Crusaders elected Godefroy de Bouillon the *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*, but upon his death in 1100, his younger brother, Baldwin of Edessa, received the title of King of Jerusalem. In 1102, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, also began to form his county of Tripoli. Thus, these semi-independent Latin states, the counties of Edessa and Tripoli and the principality of Antioch, differing in character and regional background and owing only tenuous loyalties to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, were established in Syria and Palestine.

During the first decades after the First Crusade, the influx of European Crusaders, although sporadic, involved many different people from Europe. To mention one episode, in 1101 William IX of Aquitaine and some followers from France, Burgundy, Germany and Lombardy set out from Europe determined to help reinforce the established Crusader states of the East and to seek their fortunes there. Most of these Crusaders were massacred en route by Turkish armies in Anatolia. The seafaring nations also flocked to the East. For example, some Norwegian "Jerusalem-farers" led by King Sigurd helped Baldwin I of Jerusalem capture Sidon in 1110; a Genoese fleet also helped him capture Beirut in the same year; and some Venetians aided Baldwin II (1118-31) in taking Tyre in 1124. The Italian states, moreover, were to remain a force for both military, and economic enterprises in the Levant for the duration of the Crusading period.

When Edessa fell in 1144 to 'Imad-al-din Zengi's armies, Bernard of Clairvaux, perhaps the most prestigious French cleric of his day, advocated the Second Crusade (1146-48); and, while Pope Eugenius II proclaimed the Crusade internationally, King Louis VII of France and Emperor Conrad III of Germany prepared to join it. The Crusaders, however, again harassed en route by Turks in Anatolia, ultimately failed to recapture Edessa; and as a result of this failure not only did anti-Crusading sentiment grow in Europe, but the aura of invincibility surrounding these Frankish warriors since the First Crusade was completely dispelled. This zealous new generation of Crusaders, so eager to seize land and spoils, broke a truce between the emir of Damascus and the Christians, thus destroying the delicate balance of power among the Frankish and Muslim states and leading finally to renewed aggression between them. During the latter half of the twelfth century, because the Islamic states in the north had constructed a viable network of defense, the Latin Kingdom turned its expansionist objectives southward, where the Fatimid Caliphate was in decline. Fearing the Sunnite Muslims of Baghdad more than the Franks, the Fatimid caliph formed an alliance in 1167 with King Amaury of Jerusalem that made Egypt virtually a Crusader protectorate. In 1168, however, Amaury broke the treaty, a palace revolt ensued, and Saladin was soon afterward invested with the powers of state in Egypt by the Sunnite 'Abbisid caliph of Baghdad. Thus the Ayyubid dynasty was established in Egypt and Syria, creating a united Islamic front which would present formidlable problems for the Crusaders.

Peaceful coexistence might have been achieved between Christian and Muslim in the Near East had it not been for the ambitions of the newly arrived Crusaders and the internal disunity of the Frankish governments in Syria. Renaud de Chatillon, Lord of Montreal, for example, had gone so far as to build vessels in the Red Sea in the hope of attacking Mecca and Medina, and in 1187 violated the truce by attacking Muslim caravans. To Saladin's utter disdain, King Guy de Lusignan (1186-92) was powerless to restrain Renaud from his foolhardy behavior. Saladin soon declared a Holy War against the Christians. At the same time, seemingly unaware of their dangerous position, the feudal lords of the Latin Kingdom made the situation worse by opposing Guy's succession to the throne. They remained without internal unity and without recourse to Byzantium, since there was strong anti-Latin feeling among Greek Christians there, while Saladin gathered his forces and prepared an assault upon the Latin states. In July, 1187, he destroyed the Crusader forces at the Horns of Hattin, then proceeded to take Jerusalem, Acre, Beirut, Jaffa, Ascalon, Sidon, and Jubail. Only Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch remained in Christian hands.

All of Europe was appalled at the news of the fall of Jerusalem, and three leading kings vowed to take up the cross. Though one of them, Frederick Barbarossa, drowned on his way to Palestine in 1190, Philip Augustus of France landed outside Acre in 1191, and Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England seized Cyprus on his way to Acre in the same year. Acre was taken soon after

Richard's arrival, whereupon Philip Augustus returned to France, and Richard stayed to seize the remaining coastal areas from Tyre to Jaffa. Richard made a treaty with Saladin in 1192 allowing Christian pilgrims to travel safely to Jerusalem, which remained in Muslim hands. In the so-called German Crusade, organized by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI (1190-97), royal titles were conferred on the rulers of Armenia and on the Lusignans of Cyprus, and Beirut was recovered for the Franks. Upon hearing in 1198 of Henry's death, however, the German soldiers were demoralized and the Crusade disintegrated.

Though other Crusades arose in Europe during the next century for various motives, the thirteenth century generally marks a departure from the original Crusading aims. With the accession of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) the clamoring for the recovery of Jerusalem again arose. Although Innocent had inaugurated the Fourth Crusade to reconquer Jerusalem, the Venetians and some French and Flemish lords, motivated by personal greed, diverted the armies to Constantinople. Simon de Montfort and other Crusaders, disgusted with the project, went on to Acre, but the bulk of the Crusaders sacked and pillaged the Byzantine city. In this fashion the Byzantine Empire became the Latin Empire of Constantinople, until its return to Byzantine rule in 1261.

Wishing to redeem the situation, Innocent again called for the conquest of the Holy Land and a war against Muslims in the East; but there was little response forthcoming until 1217. As the result of the conquest of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, moreover, the Franco-Flemings established themselves in Constantinople, Thessalonica, and central and southern Greece. By the partition treaty, the Venetians gained control of the Archipelago, while keeping rights to some ports in Greece as well. Though Thessalonica was recaptured by the Byzantines in 1224, and Constantinople, after great impoverishment, in 1261, the remaining Frankish states in Greece continued to prosper. The Catalan rule of Thessaly and the duchy of Athens and the Florentine domination of Achaea during the fourteenth century and of Athens into the fifteenth century were terminated by Byzantine, and later, Turkish invasions.

In 1217 three kings, Andreas of Hungary, Hugh de Lusignan of Cyprus, and John of Brienne of Jerusalem, responded to another papal call to recapture Jerusalem. When Hugh died and Andreas withdrew from the Crusade, John of Brienne made plans to seize Egypt instead, in order to force the Ayyubids to negotiate the deliverance of Jerusalem. John and his retainers from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, along with some Germans and a fleet of Frisians, landed at Damietta and captured it in November, 1219. Reinforcements arrived, commanded by the Papal Legate Pelagius of Albano; but all further advances into the Nile Delta were repulsed, and in 1221 the Crusaders were forced to surrender Damietta.

The Sixth Crusade, which was of a totally different character, was more successful. In 1227 the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, having been excommunicated and under severe pressure from Pope Gregory IX, decided, as

regent for his son Conrad, then titular king of Jerusalem, to take a small fleet of Christian and Muslim retainers from Sicily to the East. On his arrival he bargained with Sultan al-Kamil for the liberation of Jerusalem. Frederick so impressed him with his knowledge of Arabic, that al-Kamil finally, in 1229, ratified a treaty that gave Frederick the three holy cities, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, along with Toron, Lydda, and Sidon, forming a corridor for pilgrim passage, for a period of ten years, plus the promise to negotiate for more time when that period had elapsed. Frederick entered Jerusalem triumphantly and crowned himself in the Holy Sepulchre; but fifteen years later, Muslim forces again seized Jerusalem and, by 1245, most of Palestine.

Although opposed by many Frenchmen, Louis IX (1226-70), the pious king of France, persuaded large numbers of his vassals to follow him on the Seventh Crusade. He launched his armies against Egypt and in 1249 took Damietta, only to lose it in 1250 in the same way that the Crusaders had previously lost Damietta in 1221. Louis was captured and ransomed for nearly two million livres tournois, or one million gold bezants. Louis then went to Syria to try to reconcile the divided Franks; but tragically for the latter, who needed this strong, charismatic ruler to unite their forces against Islam, Louis returned to France in 1254, to form another Crusade, this time directed against North Africa, where he died in 1270.

In the light of the Mamluk Counter-Crusade, and the fall of Antioch in 1268, Tripoli in 1289, and especially Acre in 1291, the character of the Crusade and the Crusader states changed. Many of the Latin Christians of the mainland who had been driven out by the Mamluks went to Cyprus, thus shifting the centers of Latin society in the Levant to more westerly and northerly territories. Though the desire to recapture Jerusalem was still alive in the hearts of Latin Christians, the Crusades were no longer mass movements eastward involving the entire European social fabric. Indeed, during the early fourteenth century, numerous theorists and propagandists continued to promote efforts to recover Jerusalem, but none was effective; and it was not until the latter part of the fourteenth century that action was taken. When Charles I d'Anjou (1249-85), for example, became sovereign of Frankish Greece in hopes of using it as a base of operations against the Byzantine Empire, he was never able to bring the project to fruition. A generation later, Philip IV (1283-1314) of France, who had removed the papacy to Avignon, sought to establish a world-wide Christian Empire under French rule; and, though the Hospitallers and Templers, Henry II of Cyprus and the Genoese were eager to cooperate with him, nothing was actually accomplished. One of the progandists of the era, Marino Sanudo (1274-*ca.* 1343), planned a strategy to enforce a universal Christian ban on any trade with Muslim nations, which would have left the Islamic world without access to some of its most important markets. The Venetians, however, managed to get papal dispensations for trading with Muslims, and smuggling among Genoese merchants was rampant.[10] Another theory was that if Mongolia and China could

be converted to Christianity through missionary activity, then Islam would be surrounded, and Jerusalem theirs for the taking. The realization that China had a religion even stranger to the Latin Christians than Eastern Christianity or Islam crushed the motivation to go on Crusade, possibly more than any other factor.

As for the latter part of the fourteenth century, Peter I of Cyprus, still endeavoring to extend Latin Christian domain to the Holy Land, managed to take some outposts on the Anatolian coast in 1361 and to raid Alexandria in 1365. The news of the looting of one of Egypt's chief ports caused great excitement in Europe. Through a series of peculiar circumstances, however, Amadeo of Savoy, who should perhaps have sent his troops to Peter's aid in Cyprus, gathered his mercenaries from Italy, Germany, France, and England to defend his cousin John V Palaeologus from Ottoman Turks and Bulgars, who threatened the Byzantine Empire. In 1366 Amadeo and his armies took Gallipoli from the Turks and some coastal towns on the Black Sea from the Bulgars, but, because of the hatred the Greek populace harbored for the Latins, the Crusaders received little Byzantine support and soon returned to Italy. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Turk was threatening to invade Western Europe itself. Therefore, in 1396 an army numbering over a hundred thousand, the largest since the First Crusade, assembled from all over Europe at Buda in Hungary with Philip the Bold of Burgundy at its head. The army was met by the Turks in Bulgaria, however, and massacred at Nicopolis.[11]

During the fifteenth century, the Crusades became military ventures to defend what remained of Latin Christian control of Greece and Cyprus, which provided a bulwark against further Turkish inroads into Europe. Soon after Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turk in 1453, Greece came under Turkish control; and, after Cyprus became a Venetian colony before its seizure by the Turks in the sixteenth century, few people came forward to preach another Crusade. Though some scholars see even the voyage of Christopher Columbus to what was to be a New World as one of the last vestiges of the European Crusade, the universal force and purpose of the Crusade had died long before.

THE COINS OF THE CRUSADER STATES

The Crusader coins we shall be studying in this volume are those which were produced by the autonomous Latin states established in the eastern Mediterranean. We have chosen to set aside those coinages minted at the colonies of such seafaring nations as Pisa, Genoa, or Venice, and those coins struck by Crusader institutions established after the original Crusading states of Syria were lost to the Mamluks in 1291, though we have certainly not ignored their influence. The Cypriot coinage, which was introduced in 1192, is

nevertheless treated through to the end of the Lusignan domination of Cyprus, when the Venetians took control of the island in 1489. Taken as a whole, the coins minted in the East during the medieval Crusades have one salient characteristic: diversity. The coinages produced by the counts of Tripoli and the kings of Jerusalem in southern Syria and Palestine differ fundamentally from those coinages established in the north, for the southern states were influenced by the coinages of their nearest neighbors, the Muslims of Egypt and Syria. The northern states of Cyprus, Constantinople, Edessa, and Antioch were likewise heavily under the influence of Byzantium, though Antioch seems to have been receptive to elements of both the north and the south. Quite obviously and naturally, the influence of Western Europe, the homeland of many of the Crusaders living in the East, was ubiquitous and continuous for each of the Crusader states; and no amount of time or influence ever changed the fact that the Crusaders were conscious of their heritage, or that they were in turn regarded as "Franks," as the Byzantines and Muslims indiscriminately called all the Latin Crusaders in the Levant. The coins of the twelfth and thirteenth century Crusades are, furthermore, touchstones for tracing the influences of the three major regions of the Medieval world. As an introduction to this diverse and interesting field of numismatics, we shall therefore discuss the coins by isolating the apparent characteristics of the Islamic states, Byzantium and Western Europe. In this manner we shall also briefly survey the weight standards the Crusaders adopted, the denominations they issued, where they minted coins, and the iconography they chose for them.

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS

It may be enlightening to discuss the development of art during the Crusading era. Byzantine art enjoyed an undisputed primacy throughout the Middle Ages for it had maintained the sophistication of Hellenistic art and had developed elaborate series of hieratic imperial and religious images that expressed the Greek Christian polity.[1] The Byzantine coins, which emanated exclusively from the emperor, illustrated the forms of both divine and earthly authority, and therefore also became embued with some religious significance.[2] In the Islamic Empire, since human representations were banned at least from religious and civic edifices as idolatrous, calligraphy was the primary means of expression, telling the stories of the religion in words rather in pictures. Large beautifully formed words from the *Qu'ran* became part of the decoration for a mosque as well as for the imperial coinage. Some barbaric tribes, such as the Turcomans northern Syria, only recently converted to Islam, however, had a fascination for the depictions of the Hellenistic tradition,[3] and went so far as to

use those figural types on their coins. Other Christian nations of the middle East, such as Armenia or Georgia, depended heavily on Byzantine forms, although they had Sassanian, Arabic, and, after the advent of the Crusaders in the East, Latin influences as well.[4]

By the middle of the eleventh century, moreover, different areas of Western Europe had developed distinctive artistic styles and repertories, variously derived from the Western artistic tradition of Early Christian, Carolingian, and Ottonian art. The coinage of most of the West during the eleventh century made use of rather simple, but symbolic designs, such as a ruler's head, his monogram, variously designed crosses, abstracted edifices as symbols of institutions and other symbols. During the latter half of the eleventh century, however, a new style emerged through renewed interest in and direct contact with Byzantine art.[5] The Byzantine numismatic, glyptic, and sumptuary arts acted as catalysts for the expansion of the repertories of Western coinages,[6] and helped develop the international style of Western European art, called the Romanesque. Southern Italy and Sicily, which by their location and economic importance were subject to Frankish, Islamic, and Byzantine influences, and the Republic of Venice, which had extensive commercial interests in Byzantium and the Islamic world, were the main transmitters of the Eastern styles to the West.[7] The Crusader states themselves were also under the direct influence of these three areas of the medieval world. The ways in which the Crusaders adapted their coinages to these influences are, as we shall see, some of the chief concerns of Crusader numismatics.[8]

The first coins minted in the Crusader states of northern Syria, Antioch and Edessa, were Byzantine-type copper coins. Farther southward, in the county of Tripoli in Lebanon, the first coins minted were Frankish-type deniers after those of the counts of Toulouse in southern France; and in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in Palestine, the earliest coins were imitations of Fatimid gold dinars with Arabic inscriptions (with the exception of a large follis or medallion of Baldwin I). At Antioch, and to some extent at Edessa, however, the distinctions between the styles were not so well-defined or self-conscious as elsewhere, partially because Norman Sicily and Italy, the origin of many of the Crusaders who settled in northern Syria, had earlier served as the meeting ground for Frankish and Byzantine influences.[9]

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the artists and die-sinkers of northern Europe had developed a vast repertory of representations and were capable of rendering any subject with an originality and scope wider than that of the Romanesque.[10] This phase in the development of Western art is known as the Gothic phase. By the fourteenth century, the Gothic script also became a fully-formed epigraphical system used on nearly all Latin Christian coinages.[11] Still, the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-61) adhered rather literally to Byzantine numismatic images and their styles. Just as in the Crusaders' Syrian states, the icons produced at the scriptoria of Acre and Jerusalem, for example,

owed much to Byzantine forms and types,[12] the gold and silver coins minted at Acre and Tripoli were equally bound by tradition. They were either Islamic in type, like the dinars and dirhams of the Crusaders, or thoroughly Gothic in character, like the gros and half gros of Tripoli. On the other hand, the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, though they used a Byzantine coin as their model, inscribed their electrum trachea in Latin, and their die-sinkers drew the Byzantine type in a distinctively Western style. Later in the thirteenth century, the Cypriot bezant became altogether Gothic, with the ruler depicted on the obverse in Western garb; and the Cypriot silver gros, introduced after 1286, also bore Gothic-style inscriptions and type. Also, the sharing of influences among the coins of the mainland states tended to be reserved for coins of lesser value, as on the copper coins bearing the mint name in Arabic and a Christian cross.

The Italian Renaissance, the full-scale revival of classical learning in the fifteenth century, also affected the Crusader coins. The results of this change were the return to the wide-spread use of Latin, or block, script, and the appearance of actual portraits of ruling personalities on the coins, rather than the symbolical or abstract portrayals of the ruler of the Middle Ages.[13] The influence of the coinage of Renaissance Italy is especially evident on the coins of James II of Cyprus (1460-89).[14]

The Crusader coinages may, therefore, generally be divided into Byzantine, Islamic, and Western European imitations, correspondingly with whomever the Crusaders wished to trade or to be identified. The reasons for imitating the coinage of these three major divisions may differ in some aspects. Some of the hybrid and altogether original types developed by the Crusaders should not perhaps be limited by any specific classification, but they will be treated as deliberately casual imitations within one or another genre.

I. BYZANTINE TYPES

The earliest coins that may be called Byzantine-inspired were the early twelfth century coppers of Antioch and Edessa. The Crusaders who had settled in these places continued issuing coins patterned after the Greek Christian issues already in circulation in northern Syria, thereby authenticating their issues, encouraging local trade, and perhaps even rivaling the political prestige of Byzantium. Another reason may be that some of the rulers of Antioch and Edessa — Bohemond, Tancred, and Richard, for example — had come from southern Italy, and were thus already familiar with the Byzantine imitative copper coins that were being minted there. These southern Italian follari depended in module and general design on Byzantine folles, though the details were largely original.[15] The Crusader coppers, therefore, can be said to have been derived from a Western tradition of Byzantine imitations. Though they are few, direct prototypes for the Crusader coins do exist among the Norman issues.[16] The details of the designs of Crusader coins are also largely original

and often distinct from the Norman Italian treatment, as we shall attempt to illustrate below. The predominating types in this group of Crusader coins are, moreover, religious types modeled after the series of Anonymous Follis types, which Constantinople, and to some extent, southern Italy, had been minting since the tenth century. Doubtless the religious images suited the mystical spirit of the First Crusade, but at this period the Byzantines, Normans, and Crusaders also favored imperial types proclaiming the victory of the emperor, which suited the military and imperialistic purposes of the Crusades as well.[17]

Between 1192 and 1285, the Lusignan kings of Cyprus issued electrum trachea of Byzantine-type in an increasingly "Latinized" style. By issuing the highly-valued coins with the images of Christ enthroned and the king in imperial garb, the Cypriot kings maintained the traditional local coinage, for the benefit of the island's predominately Greek population, and also facilitated the large-scale maritime trade of the island. Billon trachea were also minted in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261) and its vassal states, as hybrid copies of certain twelfth century Byzantine coins. Previously, moreover, in 1202 Venice had issued as an economic expedient the silver grosso (ducat), which was also quasi-Byzantine in design.[18] Though the ducat and even the Cypriot bezant may have been useful for Latin Constantinople's Mediterranean and Black Sea trade, the trachea issued by the Crusaders in debased billon or copper were intended to accelerate local dealings and to avoid introducing unknown types to the Greek inhabitants. Economic convenience, observance of Christian traditions in the East, and political rivalry may have combined in some measure to explain the minting of these Byzantine types.

A. Religious Types

Perhaps the most sacred, compelling, and pervasive of Christian images, the iconic bearded bust of Christ,[19] appears on two Crusader coinages, the Edessan and Antiochene coppers of the early twelfth century and some billon trachea of Latin Constantinople over a century later. On the Edessan pieces the image follows the gestures and forms of nimbus of the Anonymous *Follis* types struck at Constantinople during eleventh century until the early part of the reign of Alexius I (1081-92).[20] The thirteenth century Latin Constantinopolitan trachea which bore this type of Christ figure were drawn directly from the twelfth century Byzantine numismatic repertory, though the depiction had undergone very little change. Another icon of Christ, the so-called "Syrian" type, showing Christ as a curly-haired youth, holding a scroll, was common to twelfth century Byzantine coins and relatively rare in the West. The latter appears as a direct imitation of the Byzantine type on trachea struck by the Crusaders at Constantinople and Thessalonica.

The image of Christ enthroned on various square-backed and backless thrones was a common Byzantine image,[21] chosen by the Crusaders for their thirteenth century imitative billon trachea and for the electrum bezants of the

Christ Pantocrator image on copper of Tancred of Antioch (1104-11)

Christ enthroned on electrum bezant of Henry I of Cyprus (1218-53)

kings of Cyprus. The standing figure of Christ, one type of which appears on a copper coin of Roger of Antioch (1112-18), is commonly depicted on Byzantine coins, including the anonymous follis Type C; and, although the Crusader rendering may be reminiscent of a Byzantine icon, via the Byzantine coinage,[22] the pose is not so specific that Western representations could not have served as inspiration for the die-cutters of Antioch.[23] A thirteenth century imitative billon coin from Latin Constantinople, however, bears a standing Christ unmistakably like the twelfth century numismatic image of a mosaic of the Christ of Chalce from the vestibule of the Byzantine imperial palace.[24]

Enthroned Virgin, holding head of Christ on breast, on a billon trachy of Latin Constantinople

Virgin *Hagiosoritissa* on a trachy of Latin Constantinople

Depictions of the Virgin proliferated on coins in Byzantium during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As the initial fervor of Crusading militarism subsided, the cult of the Virgin spread in the West. The Virgin, indeed, appears on the coins of the Crusaders:[25] the classical Virgin, standing, orans, which was a standard image of Christian art, is found on a coin of Roger of Antioch. Though this type is repeated on thirteenth century Crusader issues, other depictions tended to supersede it. Distinctly Byzantine depictions, the three-quarter length figure of the Virgin *Episkepsis,* orans, with a medallion of Christ on her breast,[26] and a standing Virgin *Nikopoios*,[27] who holds on her breast a medallion with the head of Christ, appear on some Crusader thirteenth century trachea. The enthroned figure was, however, the predominant numismatic representation of the Virgin from Latin Constantinople and Thessalonica. The Crusader also favored the full-length figure of the Virgin *Hagiosoritissa* or *Chaicoprateia*,[28] who stands and gestures in prayer or supplication towards the *Manus Dei* ("Hand of God"); it appeared originally on the eleventh century coins, and later on the tetartera of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-50).

Bust of St. Peter on a coin of Bohemund I of Antioch

SS. Peter and Paul in accolade on a coin of the Latin Empire of Constantinople

Saints also appear on Crusader coins. At Antioch, the patron saint of the city, St. Peter, is represented in two different poses. First, the coins of Bohemond I, Tancred, and Bohemond II bear a facing bust of Peter, nimbate, curly-haired and bearded, holding a cross. This depiction has direct antecedents, including a lead seal of Bohemond I of Taranto, thus linking these quasi-Byzantine imitative coins to seals and coins of the same type struck by these Crusade leaders in their Italian homelands before the Crusades.[29] St. Peter never appears on Byzantine coins, especially not during this period of the schism between the Latin and Greek churches. Secondly, on a coin of Tancred, St. Peter is represented standing, nimbate, blessing and holding a cross in his left hand. Again, this coin had a Norman counterpart, an unique coin of Salerno minted under William, duke of Apulia (1111-27).[30] St. Peter also appears on one type with St. Paul in a gesture of accolade, signifying specifically the reconciliation of the churches on the thirteenth century trachea found in the Balkans.[31] St. Peter also stands alone, holding his keys, on these trachea, while at the same time, on other specimens St. Paul appears alone, standing, facing and holding a patriarchal cross.

A common twelfth century Byzantine type, the winged angel Michael, who wears either military or imperial costume, was favored for thirteenth century coins of Thessalonica. Saints Helena and Constantine, the deified fourth century emperor and his mother, were invented as a type for the coinage of Thessalonica to add an aura of tradition to the Crusader coins. St. George also appears in two distinct forms. On a coin of Roger of Antioch, St. George, riding on horseback right, slaying a dragon below, seems to be an original Crusader numismatic type, though the image may have appeared in other art forms in the Byzantine Empire. St. George also appears accompanying the Latin emperor on one of the Latin imitative trachea; but these types of deity-accompanied emperors were derived directly from Byzantine coins.

B. Imperial Types

The imperial types were especially favored on imitative Byzantine coins of the period of the Third and Fourth Crusades. The electrum bezant of the

Latin kings of Cyprus represented the king standing, facing, dressed in Byzantine imperial garb, holding a globus and scepter cruciger.[33] A related type, more directly copied from Byzantine models, appears on thirteenth century trachea of Constantinople and Thessalonica. The emperor enthroned and the emperor dressed in imperial or military garb, standing in the company of a military saint, or crowned by the Virgin or Christ, were also imitated on Crusader trachea. On the other hand, the facing bust of Tancred, wearing a turban and holding a broad sword is not readily given a Byzantine prototype. Although it is not patterned directly after a Byzantine coin, texts often describe the emperor as wearing a turban in certain state ceremonies, like their Islamic neighbors. The Crusaders perhaps sought to rival these imperial regimes by portraying the Latin regent as an Eastern potentate.[34]

Portrait of Tancred holding sword, wearing turban, on an early copper of Antioch

The Emperor accompanied by St. George, on a billon trachy of Latin Constantinople

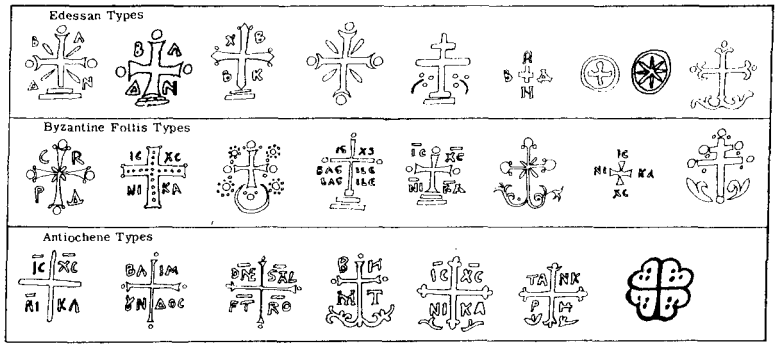
Another type, which must be seen as an original Crusader image, is the full-length portrait of a Crusader warrior on the coinage of Baldwin II of Edessa. Although the type is related in terms of dress, attributes and the slightly-turned stance to Western depictions rather than to Byzantine imperial portrayals, it is primarily an example of how the Crusaders wished to represent themselves. The inscription of one variety labels the figure as Baldwin and suggests that Baldwin, as a true Crusader, was particularly devoted to the Cross of Christ. The Norman influence is evident, in that the mounted military figure of the large copper coins of Roger I of Sicily and such Norman monuments as the Bayeaux tapestry of shortly after 1066 are somewhat similar in style and treatment.[35] The coat-of-mail, the cone-shaped helmet, the profile posture and the weapons and religious symbols that all these figures share show that the Crusaders' type out of a Western tradition. We discuss it here instead of among the Latin types only because it occurs on the large copper coinage of Edessa, which, in general, was Byzantine-inspired.

C. Crosses and Inscriptions as Reverse Types

On the coins of Antioch and Edessa the reverse types consist of inscriptions and various crosses, whereas on Crusader coins of the thirteenth century figural depictions, sometimes religious and sometimes imperial or propagandistic in character, are commonly found on the reverse. Baldwin II of

Edessa (1100-18) inscribed an abbreviation of his name in Greek letters, (B-A-Δ-N) at the terminals of the reverse cross. The princes of Antioch placed their names, abbreviated (B-H-M-T, for "Bohemund" and BA-IM-VN-DOC for "Bohemond" II), and their titles (TA-NK-P-H, for *Tancredus Princeps Antiochia*) in the quadrants of the crosses. A familiar Byzantine follis type with IC-XC-NI-KA for "Jesus Christ conquers" also appears in quadrants of crosses on Antioch's copper coins, along with religious invocations in Latin, such as "Lord, save Tancred" D-S-F-T, for *Domine, salvum fac Tancredum).* Inscriptions written in Greek in a four-lined format also invoke the aid of God, KE BOIΘH TO ΔVΔOCOV TANKPI, for "Lord, help your servant Tancred." Those in pseudo-Greek name the current ruler, such as P0TƩEP ΠPIΓKΠOC ANTIOK, for "Roger, prince of Antioch." The fact that the Crusaders substituted Greek letters in Latin words emphasizes to what degree, and with what difficulties, they meant imitative coins to serve as the continuation of the Byzantine coinage.

On the striding Crusader type of Baldwin II of Edessa there appears as obverse inscription BAΛΔOINOC ΔOYΛOCTAY, for BAΛΔOYINOC ΔOYΛOC[TOY] CTAYPOY, as an expression of Baldwin's devotion to the cross. Another coin bears the reverse inscription in four lines BAΛΔOY IN XOMI, for "Count Baldwin" and the obverse legend STAVI⌶ C NIXAC⌶, for "By the Cross, may you conquer."[36]



Crosses on Edessan and Antiochene Coins, Compared to those on Byzantine Folles

II. ISLAMIC IMITATIONS

From all the evidence of documents describing the political and social organization of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, we know that the right to mint gold coins was exclusively a royal privilege. Who actually cut the dies for the Crusader dinars and dirhams is a more difficult question to answer,[37] but from commercial documents we know that the royal mints of Acre and Tyre as well

as Tripoli and Antioch, by the authority of their rulers, minted Islamic-type gold and silver coins. From recent metrological studies, the conclusions of which are included in this volume, it has been determined that the earliest coins from Acre and Tripoli were produced in fine style, but were totally illegible, as though the die-cutters had been skilled, but completely ignorant of Arabic. In the south at Tyre and Acre, the die-sinkers' Arabic improved during the course of the twelfth century, and the coins became legible in varying style, though with certain peculiarities and errors that sometimes distinguish them from the originals. The Crusaders' silver dirhams, introduced during the first half of the thirteenth century, are excellent, accurate imitations in correct, legible Arabic. Finally, after 1251, the die-cutters were evidently so well trained in Arabic, that they were capable of rendering the formulas of the Christian faith in legible, fine style Arabic in naskhi script. In the north, on the other hand, at Tripoli and Antioch, the Arabic on the coins never substantially improved during the twelfth century. After the Ayyubid wars, when the gold coinages of both north and south were fairly debased in style and fabric, the coinage of Tripoli and Antioch became increasingly abstracted and crude in style. After 1251, since the legends were not so offensive to Christian sensibilities, presumably because they were largely illegible, Latin letters were added in the inscription. The gold *tari* or quarter dinars of the Normans of Sicily and Italy, for example, had also previously borne Latin initials of the current rulers and small crosses within the design.[38]

Dinars of Tripoli, after prototype of al-Mustansir

Dinar of Acre after prototype of al-Amir

A. Imitative Fatimid Dinars with Arabic Legends and Dates

These imitations adhere to the basic format of the Fatimid dinars minted by the Caliphs al-Mustansir (1036-94) and al-Amir (1101-30). Fatimid coins bear the *shahada,* the Islamic profession of faith, inscribed in the inner zones of the reverse, "There is no God but God; He has no associate; Mohammad is his messenger." Other religious writings, including the passage from the *Qu'ran,* Sura ix, verse iii: "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. He sent him with the Guidance and a religion of truth in order that he might cause it to be bright over the religions, although polytheists dislike it," are inscribed in the outer circles of the reverse. In the outer circles of the obverse appears the *Bism Allah,* which includes the mint and year and the statement that the coin was struck "in the

name of Allah." The rulers' names and titles appear in the inner zones of the obverse.[39]

The arrangements of the legends differ slightly among the Fatimid issues, and the Crusaders chose to imitate five types. Those minted at Tripoli in the name of al-Mustansir include a type of gold dinar with three concentric circular legends each separated by a bar, and all surrounding a central pellet. Another prototype has concentric circular legends, though the middle circle is left blank and five lines of inscription occupy the central field instead. A third type is similar to the last, but has only four lines of inscription in the field. The type used most often at the mints of Acre and Tyre is that of al-Amir, consisting of two concentric circular legends, with exterior and median bars and two lines of inscription in the central field.[40]

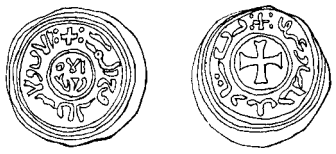
B. Imitative Ayyubid Dinars and Dirhams

The Crusaders issued an Ayyubid-type dinar in the names of Saladin and the Caliph al-Nasir.[41] Though this model, dated between 1181 and 1193, is generally like the Fatimid coinage, with circular legends and four or five lines of inscription in the field, this particular imitation, known from one specimen, is written in naskhi, the cursive script that completely replaced kufic on Ayyubid dinars around 1225.[42] This type forms a link between the Fatimid imitative issues and the later Christianized dinars.

In contrast, the Ayyubid silver dirham imitations are not only abundant but from the beginning quite accurate. The Crusaders seem to have begun their silver issue by imitating the Aleppan dirhams and half-dirhams of al-Zahir Ghazi (1201-17). The basic design of these Aleppan imitations, which are only really distinguishable from their prototypes because they bear posthumous dates, is a triple hexagram pattern, made up of a series of dots between two lines. It bears the name of the Ayyubid Sultan al'Adil and the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir in four lines within the central field of the reverse. The *shahada* occupies the six angles of the margin. In the same arrangement, the obverse bears the mint name of Aleppo and posthumous Hijra dates of 614-630 and 638 (1216-33 and 1240-41 A.D.) between the angles in the margin, and al-Zahir's name and titles in the field.

The Crusaders' imitative dirhams modeled after the coins of al-Salih Isma'il, ruler of Damascus (1237, 1239-45), have a square-patterned format. The arrangement of the legends, however, is generally the same as that of the Aleppan imitations, with the *shahada* in the reverse margin and the names of the Ayyubid Sultan al-Adil and the Caliph al-Mustansir in four lines in the field. The obverse also bears the mint and date in the margin and names the ruler and his titles in three lines in the field. Half dirhams are found with the same design as the dirhams from both Aleppo and Damascus. Those of square format have two lines of inscription on both faces. Among these coins, most bear the dates between 641 and 647 and legends copied directly from the regular Damascene

dirhams. One group of these coins, however, bears the non-sectarian legend, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," which distinguishes it from the regular Muslim coins, as do the small crosses and Christian dates found on other varieties of the series.[8]



C. Christian Dinars and Dirhams

After 1251 at Acre, the Islamic legends on the Crusaders' dinars and dirhams were replaced by Christian dates and legends written in Arabic naskhi script. The design of the two circular legends and two lines of inscription in the central fields was maintained on the dinars, but they bear large central crosses on the obverse and smaller crosses at the beginning of the inscription. Issued in 1251 and between 1253 and 1258, the Christianized diners bear the obverse inscriptions: Struck at Acre in the year 1251 of the incarnation of the Messiah." The intermediate legend is "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," and the central zone bears the Arabic inscription "One God." On the reverse center and in the intermediate circle appears "We are glorified by the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, from whom we receive our salvation and life and resurrection, and through whom we are delivered and pardoned."

The silver coins are also a continuation of the Damascene type, though they bear the information that they were struck at Acre in the year of the Lord, and in the central field of the obverse: "One God, One Faith, One Baptism." The reverse marginal inscription is "Glory to God from age to age. Amen. Amen." and the central field bears "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: One God." The half dirhams are similar, but bear shortened inscriptions, with "Father, Son," on the obverse, and "And Holy Spirit" continued on the reverse.

Billon and copper coins were also issued at Jerusalem and Acre with Arabic legends and obverse crosses. One copper coin bears "Struck at Acre" on the reverse; and the billon type bears "Struck at Jerusalem." Though they cannot be precisely dated, both these coins possibly belong to the thirteenth century.

III. WESTERN TYPES

The Latin medieval coins which were derived from the Carolingian denarius supplied a specific body of information, including the issuer's name,

and often his title, inscribed in Latin around the central field of the obverse. The place of issue, and often its status (*civitas, sancta aerea*), occupied the reverse in the same arrangement. In all Latin brevity and clarity, the Crusaders imitated this general epigraphic pattern and many of the political and religious symbols contained in the central field of Western European coins.

In order to proclaim their Latin heritage, the Crusaders issued coins resembling those of their native states in Europe; but they also invented new types, distinctly expressive of their culture as Crusaders in the Levant. While Count Bertrand of Tripoli (1109-12) struck the same type of coin as that issued in some of the feudal states of the Frankish counts of Toulouse in France,[43] King Baldwin of Jerusalem (1148-63) and his successors issued coins in the Western style, picturing the sacred monuments of Jerusalem. Prince Raymond of Antioch (1136-49) issued profile portrait coins in modeled style,[44] but his successors minted a "helmeted head" type in an abstract style, illustrating a Crusader warrior, which was perhaps more specifically descriptive of the character of the principality itself. Although Cyprus at first adopted the numismatic traditions of the Crusaders' Syrian states, after the fall of Acre the island adopted the iconography and style of French and Italian coins; and in the Frankish states in Greece the rulers extensively copied coin types of France.[45] No matter how the Crusaders wished to advertise themselves on their coins, the quantity and elaborateness of these Latin issues testify not only to the economic and cultural link the Crusading states maintained with the West, but also to the fact that they sustained a sense of themselves as a political body of Latin Crusaders in the East.

A. Letters and Figures as Symbols Occupying the Central Field

Initials, words, or parts of words often occupy the central field on Crusader coins as institutional insignia or symbols of the authority. In imitation of certain French feudal coins, some thirteenth century copper coins of Antioch bear an initial, the letter "B", which indicates in this instance "Bohemond,"[46] the prince of Antioch. Another coin of Antioch contains a retrograde "S" which might stand for "Secrete," the minting authority. On coins of the duchy of Athens, for example, the letter "G" with abbreviation mark may have stood for Guy de la Roche (1225-63), and later, the letter "G" appears on oboles perhaps for Gautier of Brienne (1308-11), the last Frankish-duke of Athens. On a coin of Bertrand of Tripoli, the reverse field contains TAS, as continuation of the legend TRIPOLI CIVI-, as had already occurred, for example, on some coins of medieval Piacenza and Carcassonne.[47] The reverse type of a denier of Raymond de Poitiers (1136-49) also harked back to the French feudal immobilized coinage of, for example, Melle (MET-ALO), in Poitou.[48]

Heraldic types include the immediately recognizable insignia which some of the ruling families of the Crusader states used on their coins as symbols of their authority. The arms of the de la Roche are shown on some early coins

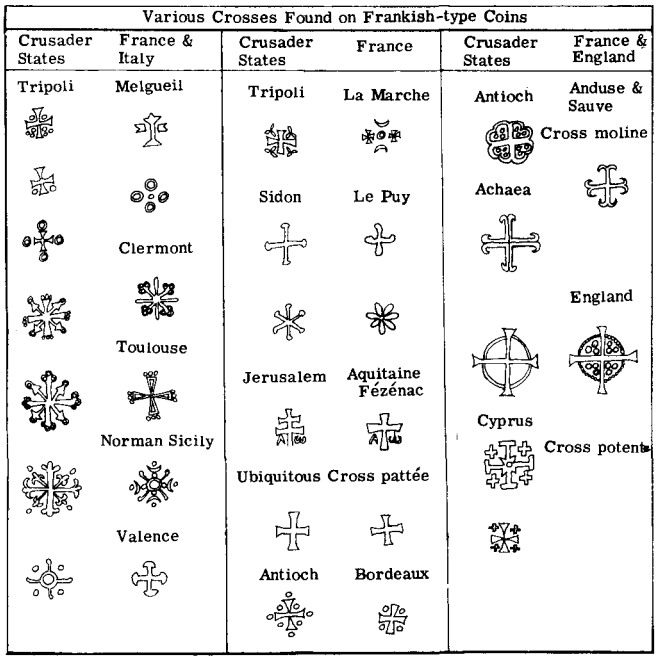
of the duchy of Athens; the cross moline, which was the Villehardouin coat of arms, appears on a coin struck at Negroponte in Euboea (1255-59); and the arms of the Stromoncourt likewise appear on deniers of the barony of Salona. The lion rampant, the coat of arms of the Lusignans of Cyprus, appears on Cypriot issues of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the cross potent of Jerusalem was adopted as part of the Lusignan arms as they appear on coins after 1268; and the lion of Armenia, after 1393.

Billon denier of the barony of Salona, bearing the Stromoncourt arms

Silver gros of Charlotte, Queen of Cyprus, bearing the arms of the Lusignans

Furthermore, the cross, variously formed from the French and Italian repertories as shown in the chart below, was ubiquitous as a religious and heraldic symbol. Issued before 1260, a gold bezant with the *Agnus Dei*, another Christian symbol, carries the Latin inscriptions, AGNVS DEI QVI TOLLIT PECCATA MVNDI, as talisman and invocation CHRISTVS VINCIT CHRISTVS REGNAT CHRISTVS IMPERAT, a Crusader battle cry and the coronation acclamation of the kings of France.[49] It seems likely that its typological model was the gold coinage of France, issued after 1266.[50] Another emblematic type, the arrow appearing on coins of Sidon, though not a religious symbol, is no less characteristic of the Medieval mind and imagination. Sidon, called Saida by the Muslims, was transformed, upon hearing it pronounced, to Sagete or Sayette and associated with *sagete,* the Old French word for arrow. The arrow on these coins is a rebus, or "type parlant,"[51] which stands for the name of the lordship, the precedent for which is often found on French feudal coins.[52]

The star and crescent of the hereditary counts of Toulouse persisted not only at Tripoli on the deniers and later on the gros and half gros, but also among some anonymous coppers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem at Antioch under Bohemond III, and the earliest Crusader coppers issued on Cyprus.[53] The fleur-de-lis, as well, which was a favorite type on coins of the West with scarcely less religious meaning than the cross, appears on the pougeoise of Antioch from Bohemond III to the fall of the state, on the pougeoises of Henry de Champagne of Jerusalem during the last decade of the twelfth century, and on the early copper deniers of the duchy of Athens, about the mid-thirteenth century.



B. Architectural Types

Coins portraying monuments fall into three categories: those which imitate the common, immobilized types of certain Western states; those which represent actual buildings in the Levant; and those which are figurative or divine architectural types as symbol of the civic authority.[54] From the first category, the building type on the twelfth and thirteenth century denier of Tours had been transformed through the years from the pedimented temple of the Carolingian *Religio Christiana* type to a medieval castle. The principality of Achaea, furthermore, received the right to strike the *deniers tournois* in 1249, according to a chronicler, when William de Villehardouin became vassal of Louis IX of France.[55] The denier tournois was thereafter issued during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries in the Frankish states of Greece and in some areas of the Venetian-controlled Archipelago. The Genoese gateway and some related types were also as ubiquitous in the Levant as the Genoese commercial influence, appearing as they do among the coinages of Cyprus, Jaffa, Tripoli, and Frankish Greece.

As for actual monuments in the Levant, the Holy Sepulchre, which housed the most sacred memorials of Christianity, is depicted on Crusader coins of Jerusalem. It was a building with arcades supporting (originally) a dome,

Billon denier with Tower of David, minted by King Baldwin III of Jerusalem

Silver dragma bearing the Holy Sepulchre, minted by John of Brienne of Jerusalem

which had been retained upon subsequent repairs and rebuildings, until, after Crusader remodeling, it was given a simple conical roof with circular opening at the top.[56] It is represented on deniers and oboles of Amaury (1163-74), coins of John of Brienne (1210-25), some billon coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and deniers of the lordship of Sidon. The mount of Golgotha is even represented on certain issues.

Another well-known monument of Jerusalem, the Tower of David whose foundations date back to the Maccabean period of ancient Judaea, had always symbolized earthly and heavenly Jerusalem, and exemplified the old Frankish belief that the Christian king was *Novus David*.[57] The tower was chosen for Crusader coins to illustrate the citadel and seat of government of the Latin king and to symbolize to what venerable monuments they had become heir. This potent image and landmark is depicted on the billon coins struck by Baldwin III of Jerusalem. An anonymous copper coin struck at Beirut by Raymond of Tripoli shows the tower on the obverse, with legend TVRRIS, and star on the reverse with legend DAVIT. The crenelated towers with gateways, which appear on coins of John d'Ibelin of Beirut (1205-36), anonymous coppers of Tripoli, and deniers of Renaud of Sidon (1170-87), are references to the fortification or gate of the respective cities. The towered gateway may also simply be an actual building represented as a divine type, as a symbol of authority.[58] Another monument of the Holy City, the Dome of the Rock,[59] a round building with semi-circular cupola, appears as such on the portrait coin of Guy de Lusignan (1186-90). This edifice, called by the Crusaders the *Templum Domimi* was the principal possession of the Templars in the city, and appears on these coins possibly as a tribute to the Templars, who were Guy's staunchest allies.[60]

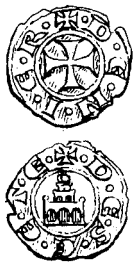
Great Portal of Nicosia on a copper of King Henry I of Cyprus

Copper illustrating fortress (probably) at Acrocorinth, minted by William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaea

Although it is often difficult to know, without an accompanying inscription, whether architectural forms on coins refer to actual buildings or simply symbolize institutions in the Latin feudal hierarchy, certain other types can be explained as actual monuments with some degree of confidence. On some coins of Henry I of Cyprus (1218-53), the great gate of Nicosia, which is represented as surmounted by three crenelated towers on one type and without the raised central tower on another, has REX written above the archway in explicit reference to the royal authority.[61] The fortress or fortified castle and the royal abbey both usually exemplified the seat of secular authority and by extension, because of the ruler's role as chosen representative of God, the spiritual authority.[62]

In Frankish Greece, William de Villehardouin (1242-78) issued a coin at Corinth showing a crenelated edifice surmounted by a large cross, which Schlumberger felt, referred to the stronghold built by the Franks at Acrocorinth.[63] The Tripolitan gros and half gros display a donjon with three crenelated towers, probably as a reference to the principle institution of the county, the seat of its authority, or to the actual fortified building which housed governmental chambers, the mint, and the like. Another coin type, which might possibly belong to the issue of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, shows two small, domed towers flanking a pedimented structure with SAN AEREA (*Sancta Aerea*) as legend.[64] The structure may perhaps refer to the facade of the al-Aqsa Mosque, with its portal and three clerestory windows, where the Hospitallers were headquartered, though the form is not unlike the cityscapes on the coins of Cologne, or Magdeburg, or even those appearing on the seals of the kings of Jerusalem, where the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock flank the Tower of David.[65]

Anonymous copper coin inscribed *Sancta Aerea*, minted perhaps by one of the religious orders of Jerusalem



Anonymous billon denier of the Lordship of Sidon

Other architectural types are less readily attributable. Although one type of Sidon, a building topped by a conical roof, probably refers to Jerusalem's

Holy Sepulchre, the coins of the Montfort family at Tyre (1243-83), displaying a pedimented and prostyle temple, is either strictly conventional[66] or representative of ancient buildings still erect in the area,[67] or of the cathedral of Tyre. In any case, the type does not illustrate any contemporary building and may indicate an antiquarian interest on the part of the die-cutters of the Montfort lords.[68] Another building on deniers of Sidon is so different from any other depiction on Crusader coins, with its arcaded portico and high central dome, that it likely represents the actual cathedral at Sidon, or mosque converted to a church during the Frankish rule there.[69] At Beirut, John d'Ibelin (1205-36) issued billon deniers with a tower and archway, similar to the tower on coins of Jerusalem; but some of his copper coins and some anonymous coppers of the lordship show a crenelated tower with walls extending on either side. Again, the individualized representation of this fortress or city wall and gateway probably refers to an actual structure at Beirut.

C. Latin Inscriptions

The prototype of the inscription on the denier names the ruler and the place of issue. This information did not, however, appear in any set form during the period of the Crusades, and in fact varied from mint to mint, and even from issue to issue at the same mint. On the obverses of most Crusader coins the names of the rulers are inscribed mainly in their Latin nominative form and are sometimes accompanied by their title or role in the Crusader states: BOAMVNDVS, BALDVINVS REX, HENRICVS COMES, G PRINCEPS, and the like. They are often abbreviated to save space: B'TRADV, BO COMS, I'OHES REX on oboles and smaller module deniers. Some are misspelled, blundered. or unhandily shortened, such as BAMVND COMES, which probably indicates the degree of literacy of the die-cutters. Some inscriptions are more problematic, such as RAIMVNDI COMITIS/MONETA TRIPOLIS, of which the obverse seems to be a genitive singular, thus relating that the coinage "belonged" to count Raymond. The occurrence of the ruler's name in the genitive case of possession is unusual on Crusader coins.

The larger thirteenth century denominations often bear more elaborate inscriptions, whether in Latin, as on the obverse of a gros of Amalric (1306-10), AMALRIC' TIRENSIS DOMINVS, EIPRI' GVBINATOR' RETOR, or in French, as on a gros of Peter I of Cyprus (1359-69), +PIERE PAR LA GRACE D'DIEV ROI. The denier struck during the early part of the thirteenth century at Corfu has the same formula in Latin: +PhVS.DEI GRACIA / CORFOI DOMINVS. These obverse legends are therefor religious or legal in character, according to the wishes of the minting authorities.

The reverse legends of the Crusader coins differ very little in character between denominations, but they vary considerably from one minting authority to another in terms of the grammar and the sense of the information they convey.

The reverses usually bear, in some form, the name of the place where the mint is located. Those inscriptions which are unmistakably Latin are in the nominative case: DENARIVS / IOPPENSIS and DE BERITENSIS, the DE either as an aberration, associating the genitive with a preposition, or as the abbreviation of *denarius*.[70] However, DE CLARENTIA might perhaps be the ablative case in Latin and give the inscription simply the sense of place from where the coin was issued, though it probably completes the obverse legend, as *Princeps de Clarentia*, or refers to *Moneta* understood.[71] The reverse inscriptions with the preposition *DE* accompanied by an ablative are either in Latin, such as DE CIPRO and DE BERITO IOHE, or else in vulgarized Latin especially French, where the endings are dropped, such as DENIER / DE SEETE, DE BARVTH, DE SYR, DE or D' IERVSALEM, and the like. The place of issue is also sometimes indicated as one word: ANTIOCHIA, SIDONIA and DAMIATA. CORINTI (CORINTVM also appears) and CYPRI, which may also be in the genitive singular, are scarcer. Finally, what place issued the coins is often indicated: CIVITAS TRIPOLIS or TRIPOLIS CIVI, THEBE CIVIS or ThEBANI CIVIS and DE ARTA CASTRV. On the large gros of Bohemond VII of Tripoli the reverse inscriptions read, CIVITAS TRIPOLIS SVRIE, indicating the provenance more specifically for international circulation.

Another group of inscriptions explicitly names the denominations of the coins: +PVGES D'ACCON on the reverse of a pougeoise of Henry de Champagne, DENARIVS on the obverse of the anonymous deniers of Jaffa, DENIER (in French) on the obverse of that of Sidon, and +DRAGMA ACCONEN(SIS) on an anonymous, dirham denomination of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Other anonymous coins were issued during an interregnum or during the captivity of a ruler, when a regent continued to issue coins.[72] These kinds of coins generally mention by what office or authority the money was issued. Such coins bear legends: PRINCEPS / ANTIOCHIA, for example, or MONETA REGIS ("money of the king") / +REX IERL'M, and even TVRRIS / DAVIT, referring perhaps to the institution of the mint itself. On some deniers of Cyprus, with legends S RE CHIPRE / S DE IERVZALEM the S may refer to *Secrete,* the minting authority.

WEIGHT STANDARDS AND DENOMATIONS

I. NORMAN AND BYZANTINE-TYPE DENOMINATIONS

Those parts of the Mediterranean that had at one time been directly ruled by Byzantium, such as northern Syria and southern Italy, were seriously affected by the drastic depreciation of the Byzantine bezant during the eleventh

century.[73] When the Normans conquered southern Italy and when the Crusaders seized Antioch and Edessa in the last years of that century, they both resorted to minting Byzantine-type coins, especially the copper denomination, and overstriking older copper coins either from previous regimes or from their own previous issues. Although the value of copper had fluctuated as a result of the depreciation of the bezant,[74] during the twelfth century copper coins seem to have been used extensively in local trade by all of Byzantium's north Syrian neighbors: the Crusaders of Antioch and Edessa, the Danishmendid and Zengid (among other) Turcoman tribes, and the Armenian barons of Cilicia.[75] Whereas the Byzantine copper coins, or *folles*, were the lowest-valued denomination of a gold-silver-copper coinage system, some of the Turcomans' copper coins were labeled *dirhams*, the name of the Islamic silver denomination used elsewhere throughout the Islamic territories, thus perhaps emphasizing the importance of the copper denomination at that time in the commerce of northern Syria.[76]

At Constantinople, however, the follis was discontinued as an actually-coined denomination in 1092, although provincial areas, including those areas of northern Syria that had fallen to the Seljuqs in 1085, continued to use Constantinopolitan folles as currency.[77] Soon after Baldwin of Boulogne,(1098-1100) assumed power in Edessa in March, 1098, and Bohemond of Taranto (1098-1111) became prince of Antioch in June of the same year, the rulers of Edessa and Antioch openly rivaled Byzantium by opening mints and imitating their own Byzantine-type copper coins.[78] The earliest coppers issued at Edessa, at least, were fundamentally Byzantine in character and aspect and similar in weight and dimension to the early eleventh century Byzantine follis.[79] The coinage of Antioch, on the other hand, was not so large and heavy. The fact that Bohemund of Taranto and his immediate successors at Antioch had ruled in southern Italy before the Crusades accounts for some similarities between Norman follare and these Crusader copper coins.[80] During the second reign of Baldwin II (1108-18), the Edessan coins were substantially reduced in size and weight, so that they, along with all the copper coins issued at Antioch, resembled in weight and module the Byzantine copper tetarteron, which had become the standard Constantinopolitan copper issue after the Alexian coinage reform of 1092.[81] During the eleventh century, the Byzantine follis had been valued at about 1/288 of the standard gold nomisma. After 1092, the follis became a denomination of account and the smaller tetatreron and half-tetarteron replaced it as the smallest actually coined denominations.[82] It is possible that the Antiochene pieces immediately reflected the changes in Constantinople's copper coinage, while Edessa, which was farther inland and more isolated continued to issue follis-weight coppers until *circa* 1110. Other speculations, however, such as the local availability of copper, may also help to explain the sudden reduction in weight of the copper coins of Edessa.

The copper coins of Edessa and Antioch continued to become smaller and lighter. A group of anonymous coppers from Antioch of the same quasi-

Byzantine types, issued during the third and perhaps fourth decade of the twelfth century, weigh scarcely one gram and therefore may represent a denomination of transition between the Byzantine and the European currencies, i.e., between the *tetarteron* and the *denier*. During Raymond de Poitier's reign (1136-49) the Byzantine imitations ceased being minted at Antioch, where they were replaced by Frankish denominations and types.

II. ISLAMIC DENOMINATIONS

When, after marching down the coast of Syria, the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in June, 1099, they assumed the problems of maintaining control of their conquest. Surrounded by Islamic states, most formidable of which was the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt, Latin Jerusalem, in order to survive, had to deprive the neighboring Saracen states of their Syrian ports and gain control of their profitable commerce.[83] Part and parcel of this process was the counterfeiting, as it may be called, of Fatimid gold money. After seizing some of the Egyptians' ports in Syria, which happened to have functioning or recently functioning gold mints - Acre, for example, in 1104, and Tyre in 1124 - the Crusaders continued issuing gold *dinars* in order to increase the revenues of the state and to facilitate trade. The discrepancy between the low-valued copper coins issued at Antioch and Edessa and the high-valued gold coins issued at the Syrian ports is also striking. The reason for this divergence is simply that no gold mints existed in Byzantine-influenced northern Syria, though Constantinopolitan gold circulated there. Chroniclers tell us that the gold coins of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII (1071-78) were especially favored and still current in northern Syria.[84] Egyptian influenced southern Syria and Palestine, on the other hand, had had several Fatimid mints producing gold *dinars*. Since silver coins had virtually ceased to be minted and copper fals were rare in the Fatimid Caliphate, the gold denomination was the principal coin used in the south.[85] It has also been suggested that the Crusaders, because they knew that the Arabic gold was more stable and of higher intrinsic value on the international market than the contemporary Byzantine gold hyperpyron, chose the Arabic coin.[86] Opportunity and necessity, therefore, provided Latin Christians in Jerusalem, who had known no gold currency in the Frankish West, with an Islamic-type gold coinage.

Though little documented evidence exists, one may assume that the king of Jerusalem, and also the count of Tripoli,who claimed what was regarded as exclusively a royal privilege, started issuing imitative dinars soon after their capture of the Fatimid mints of Syria. Besides Acre and Tyre in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Tripoli, Antioch, which had never been a Fatimid mint, is also mentioned in twelfth and thirteenth century texts as having issued Crusader dinars. The earliest gold coins were imitations of the dinars of al-Mustansir (1036-94) and al-Amir (1101-30) which weigh generally slightly less then their models.[87] These imitative dinars continued to be issued by the Crusaders as

immobilized types until about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Crusaders also minted Ayyubid types during the thirteenth century, one specimen in imitation of a dinar of the Ayyubid prince Saladin (1169-93), weighing 3.31 grams, and a series of dinars bearing Christian dates and religious legends in Arabic between 1251 and *circa* 1258. What might perhaps be a half dinar appears among those dinars with Christian legends, but its attribution is highly problematic because of its small module but relatively high gold content. The earliest Fatimid-type gold dinars weighed between *ca.* 3.70 and 3.80 grams and were between 80% and 95% fine. Later, possibly around 1187, the dinars were reduced in weight to *ca.* 3.40-3.50 and were reduced in alloy to 67% at the mint of Acre and 62% at the mint of Tripoli. The Christian dinars were reduced further, to *ca.* 3.12 grams, but remained the same between *circa* 66 % and 67% fine.[88]

Although the exchange rate for genuine Arabic dinars and silver dirhams fluctuated greatly between the years 1056 and 1232, the normal rate, which was officially fixed by merchants and judges, was one dinar for approximately 40 dirhams.[89] During the Ayyubid period the Moslem Syrian mints of Aleppo and Damascus issued high quality silver coins,[90] while Egypt's silver supply was so limited that the Egyptian silver coins became quite inferior and were identified regularly as the *waraq*, or black, *dirhams*. The Syrian dirhams were nominally worth three times the waraq dirhams and approximately 1/13.5 the dinar.[91] As far as we know, beginning in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the Crusaders also began to issue silver coins in direct imitation of the Ayyubid Syrian dirham.[92] The Crusaders, therefore, did not begin their issue of imitative dirhams until the relative strength of the Syrian dirhams was well apparent.

One group of Ayyubid-type dirhams has been provisionally attributed to the Crusaders during the period from 1216 until 1238. The prototypes for these coins, the hexagram issues of al-Zahir Ghazi of Aleppo (1201-16), are comparable in weight to that of the Crusader imitations. Both issues are of an excellent silver alloy, usually better than 90% fine, and have an average weight of 2.80 grams.[93] A later series of securely-attributed Crusader dirhams and half dirhams was struck in imitation of al-Salih Isma'il's square-patterned coins of Damascus, which bear the titles of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mustansir (1237-42). The Crusader imitations again are of similar weight and alloy to their prototypes, averaging 2.78 grams[94]. The Crusader issues with Christian dates, religious creeds, and non-sectarian religious inscriptions, issued between 1251 and 1253, seem to fall off slightly in weight, but a comparison of the weights of contemporary Mamluk silver coins shows that such was the case for their own silver issues.[95] It is not known, moreover, what the actual ratio of the Christian dinars was to these Christian dirhams.

Some billon and copper coins, which bear the name of the mint in Arabic on the reverse and a cross on the obverse were also minted in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. These anonymous hybrid coins, which were probably

meant to be considered *deniers*, rather than Islamic *fals*, were certainly intended to be used for petty change among the mixed population of the Latin Kingdom.[96]

III. FRANKISH DENOMINATIONS: TWELFTH CENTURY

Meanwhile, the Crusader states also established mints which produced Frankish-type coins. Because they had brought their native coins to the East and kept ties with frequently visiting Western pilgrims and merchants, the Crusaders struck coins in imitation of the coinages they had known from their homelands in Europe, in order that they be accepted as currency by Latins in the Levant and in the West.[97] The Crusaders continued to use the system of ratios they had known in Europe, or at least in those areas of Europe that had fallen within the Carolingian sphere of influence. According to this accounting system, twelve denarii (denars or deniers) equalled one solidus (sou or shilling), and 240 denarii equalled one pound of silver or billon, no matter what quality the alloy. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, much of Western Europe depended mainly on the silver *denarius*, which in many areas was a debased denier of billon, normally weighing about one gram. The Crusaders' deniers were of about 30% silver and also weighed around 1.00 gram or less. Not only did these Frankish-type billon coins advertise their origins, as familiar and acceptable symbols of the feudal Latin society in the East, but they also testify to the strength of the well established Frankish institutions in Syria and Palestine. The Crusaders' Frankish issues, therefore, not only embodied a link between Europe and the Orient, but also formed a distinct, but parallel system of coinage to the Islamic gold imitations.[98] It is doubtful that the Crusader states intended the denier and the dinar to be related in any rigid relationship during the twelfth century, though a system of ratios did become somewhat more fixed during the thirteenth century. Each of the Crusader states of Syria and Palestine (except Edessa, which fell to the Zengids in 1144) eventually issued the denier and its fractions to facilitate commerce within a fairly localized area.

According to Raymond d'Agiles, a chronicler of the First Crusade, of the coins brought from Europe, those of Poitou (Melle), Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Valence, and Melgueil (in Maguelonne) were most valued by the Crusading armies.[99] Through the evidence of stray finds and hoards, many more European issues can be added to this list.[100] During the twelfth century, according to archeological evidence, in Turkey the frequency of finds of European coins, mainly Frankish, Italian, and German, far outnumber local currency. At Emmaus, near the city of Jerusalem, it has been found that Luccan, Valencienne, Burgundian, and northern French coins were as plentiful as Jerusalem issues; but at Antioch, the local Crusader issues of Western type far outnumbered the European coins by a ratio of 4:1.[101] Italian merchants, the Pisans, for example, also kept the money supply from Europe constant and may perhaps have started auxiliary mints in the Levant.[102] Thus, to some extent, the

coins that the Crusaders minted for their own states in the Levant were supplementary issues, only augmenting the Western coins that were already in circulation, and were continually being put into circulation. among the Frankish states in Syria and Palestine.

During the Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem from Saladin, for example, large amounts of European money were brought to the East from all over Western Europe. Throughout the thirteenth century, the *deniers tournois* of Kings Philip Augustus, and Louis VIII and IX of France, the abbatial coins of Tours and the Angevin *tournois* from Anjou and Provence appeared among the coins of the Crusader states, especially in Frankish Greece.[103] In Syria, coins of Angouleme and Provins appeared in great numbers along with Italian, Flemish, German, Sicilian, and even Portuguese coins.[104] During the latter part of the thirteenth century, Venetian, French and Florentine grossi and gold coins appeared in great numbers in all areas of the East;[105] and in both Frankish Greece and Cyrus during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Venetian grossi and soldini appeared in large numbers in hoards with Genoese and Sicilian coins.[106]

The first Latin coinage to be established in Syria was issued in the county of Tripoli. In 1109, the powerful count Bertrand of Toulouse captured the city and thereafter struck petty billon deniers which were lighter and more debased, but similar to his coinage minted at Toulouse. Between 1137 and 1287 the counts of Tripoli continued to strike billon deniers weighing between 0.60 and 1.15 grams, as well as copper pougeoise. At Antioch, having converted his coinage from a Byzantine to a French feudal style, prince Raymond de Poitiers (1136-49) began issuing Frankish-type billon deniers, weighing about 0.75 grams. This coinage continued as an immobilized type until about 1163, when an Antiochene denier of increased weight (0.90-1.00 grams), the "helmeted head" type, became the regular issue of the principality. Copper coins of inferior weight (0.80 g.) were also struck there to serve as half fractions of the billon denier.

Beginning with Baldwin III (1143-63), the kings of Jerusalem issued billon deniers and oboles, weighing between 0.90 and 1.00 grams, and between 0.45 and 0.55 grams, respectively. When, after the battle of the Horns of Hattin, the warriors of the Third Crusade arrived in Palestine, Henry de Champagne (1192-97) produced two denominations, the copper *pougeoise*, which was valued at half the obole, and the large copper *piefort*. The deniers of his successor, Aimery (1197-1205), are light-weight and inferior, weighing only 0.23-0.55 grams; and some billon deniers of John of Brienne (1205-25) which were struck at Damietta (1219-21) weigh 0.70-0.90 grams. The fiefs of the Latin Kingdom, such as the lordship of Beirut, also issued, under John d'Ibelin (1205-36), billon deniers and copper fractions or debased deniers, which had a rather large range of weights. The billon coins are comparable in weight to the contemporary billon deniers of Damietta, but weigh less than those of Antioch. Both the county of Jaffa and the lordship of Beirut minted copper coins weighing between 0.67 and 0.75 grams.

Between 1125 and 1187, the lords Grenier of Sidon struck billon deniers weighing 0.55-0.73 grams, and copper pieces weighing 0.55-1.17 grams. From a mint at Tyre, between 1243 and 1283, the lords of Montfort struck copper deniers, weighing 0.77-1.14 grams.

Although the deniers of the many states of Syria and Palestine were minted throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the immobilized "helmeted head" currency of Antioch, minted between 1163 and 1252, and the coins of Baldwin II, Amaury, and Aimery of Jerusalem (1143-1205) far outnumber the others. The deniers seem to have been most pervasive and abundant during the latter half of the twelfth and the early years of the thirteenth century in the Syrian states. Other Crusader deniers which have been unearthed in the Levant are not so numerous, nor so readily attributable as those listed above. Anonymous Jerusalem deniers, some of which bear mysterious inscriptions and designs (at least to the modern numismatist), may have been struck by religious groups, such as the Templars and Hospitallers, or by fiefs or other institutions, endowed or not with the right to strike coins.

IV. FRANKISH DENOMINATIONS: THIRTEENTH CENTURY

About the third quarter of the twelfth century, certain of the maritime cities of Italy, including Genoa, found it expedient because of their rapidly expanding trade to issue *gros,* i.e. large deniers of a higher quality silver alloy and of a weight double or more than of the petty deniers. In 1202, Venice issued an even larger coin in silver, the *gros metapan*, worth 24 of the old Venetian deniers.[107] Although the Crusader denier, as we have seen, served as a petty issue alongside the Crusader imitative gold dinar, the Crusader states also discovered early in the thirteenth century the conveniences of issuing heavier silver coins. One Crusader solution to streamlining their coinage system was also to mint larger silver coins patterned after the Islamic silver dirham denomination. Though it is a complex issue, suffice it to say that during the thirteenth century, Mediterranean trade moved strongly in favor of European markets and that the Crusader coinage, which served as a link between Europe and the Orient, underwent various stages of development, always in reaction to international influences.[108]

Between 1210 and 1225, John of Brienne of Jerusalem struck silver coins, weighing 2.70 grams, with a depiction of the Holy Sepulchre and a cross. This weight which was just slightly less than that of the contemporary Islamic silver dirham of Aleppo,[109] was about three times the weight of those Jerusalem billon deniers of the same type minted by Amaury, and four times the weight of the deniers John minted at Damietta. Probably at about the same time, an anonymous coin, weighing 2.10 grams of silver, with the inscription, +DRAGMA ACCONEN, was struck at Acre in explicit imitation of the Islamic dirham (or drachma) denomination, while still of the standard Jerusalem denier type.

Whether the striking of imitations of the Ayyubid dirhams preceded these silver coins of dirham weight and Christian type or succeeded them is as yet uncertain. In any case considering their rarity, these hybrid coins were quite likely an experimental and unsuccessful issue, whether they were melted down for bullion or immediately discontinued. As we discussed earlier, the Crusaders also minted direct imitations of the dirhams of Aleppo and Damascus in vast numbers, thus also suggesting that the Frankish-type "dirhams" may have been an experimental issue. In any event, the Muslim currency evidently affected the Crusaders' Western types by a change of weight, alloy, and denomination.

During the thirteenth century, changes also took place in the Crusader gold coins. As we have seen, in 1251 Pope Innocent IV forbade the coining of Islamic imitations bearing the Islamic profession of faith and dates. Although Christian symbols, dates, and professions of faith were substituted on them, neither the denomination nor the use of Arabic changed. Another dinar, or bezant. which does indeed bear an overtly Christian legend in Latin and the *Agnus Dei* as type, may have been struck at Tripoli, as the eventual numismatic result of the sojourn of St. Louis in Syria and Palestine (1250-54), just as Innocent's stricture against Islamic imitations had originated with pressure from this pious king of France.[110] This rare gold coin, known from only four specimens, weighing on average about 3.50 grams, may have been another unsuccessful attempt to produce a Latin-type issue from an Islamic denomination. It was probably issued at Tripoli after Louis IX had introduced his *ecu d'or* in 1266, and certainly after Florence and Genoa began issuing gold coins in 1252 at weights comparable to this Crusader bezant.[111]

During the later period of Bohemond V's reign, a silver gros was introduced at Tripoli, very possibly patterned after the Venetian grosso. Bohemond VI (1252-75) also struck high quality silver gros and half gros, which were unmistakably like the Tripoli denier types, and which presumably were valued at 24 and 12 deniers respectively. Louis IX had already established a large silver coinage in France in 1266, at 12 times the value of the denier tournois.[112] The echoes of the coinage of Tripoli, however, tend to confirm its system: at Cyprus, the coinage system is known to have valued the gros at 24, and half gros at 12 Cypriot deniers.[113] Although the upgrading of Tripoli's silver denominations may perhaps be seen as part of a general trend in European economy, it is difficult to point to any other direct antecedent then the gros tournois. No doubt, many factors were involved in France's change to the gros; for the Italian states, Venice for example, had as early as 1202 established the 24:1 ratio between the gros metapan and the denier.[114] The Ayyubid dirham, which provided a model for the Crusaders' direct copies and for their European types of dirham weight, both of which were minted at Acre, may have suggested the weight for the Tripoli half gros at 2.10-2.15 grams. This was also precisely the weight of the original gros metapan. The post-1252 gros of Tripoli, moreover, is modeled after the gros tournois of Louis IX, weighing precisely the

same at 4.20-4.30 grams. Suffice it to say that the coinages of Europe and the Frankish states of the Near East were being upgraded for the purpose of expediting international commerce by providing conveniently exchangeable denominations. Though Tripoli fell to the Mamluk sultans in 1289, its coinage system survived as a fully integrated monetary system at Cyprus. By the third quarter of the thirteenth century, however, European gold coins, namely the florin and, later, the ducat, completely superseded Islamic gold in the Mediterranean marketplace.[115]

Another coinage should also be mentioned. Known only from fractions or cuttings, the type was issued during the middle of the twelfth century. Some cuttings bear a double hexagram pattern, similar to that of the deniers of Déols in France, the copper pougeoises of King Henry de Champagne, and some contemporary Syrian dirhams. The grid pattern of the reverse is similar to that on anonymous copper minted at Antioch and Beirut and on lead tokens found in the area of Acre.[116] Although these coins were no doubt valued by weight, they may initially have represented an abortive royal coinage which was later used as gold bullion in some emergency situation. As Gordus and Metcalf suggest, they may have had some charitable or religious use. They might perhaps also have originally been minted as a fractional denomination, perhaps as the *rabouin*, or quarter dinar, mentioned in so many Crusader documents.[117] It would be quite extraordinary, however, if these coins had originally been meant to circulate as coins more than a century before the appearance of a Frankish-type gold denomination in the West.[118] They evidently did not circulate extensively in their original form, and possibly not at all. New light has recently been shed on the series, suggesting two stages of development. The first issue was probably as non-circulating coin cut in pie wedges. Even Norman and Fatimid cut pieces such as this have been found. The second phase was a piece of more base electrum struck in sheets and cut in irregular rectangles.

V. CYPRIOT DENOMINATIONS

A by-product of the Third Crusade was the establishment of Frankish control over the Byzantine island of Cyprus which, as a vital port and strategic outpost, survived the Crusaders' Syrian states. The Fourth Crusade of 1204 also brought a shift of attention from the south-eastern Mediterranean to its northern shores and the Byzantine Empire itself. The character of the coinages produced by Crusaders in these territories, as previously in Edessa and Antioch, became in many ways distinctly Byzantine, though, because Cyprus was directly in the path of the sea routes between East and West, the influences on its coinage, were international. Frankish Greece, as we shall later see, was by its proximity open to Western European influences, while Thessalonica, Constantinople, and northern Greece produced Byzantine imitative coins during the short-lived Crusader rule there.

In 1191, on his way to Acre, Richard Coeur de Lion conquered Cyprus from the Byzantine despot Isaac Comnenus, and in 1192 the island came under the rule of Guy de Lusignan, the former king of Jerusalem. Guy struck some billon deniers, weighing about 0.80 grams, some of which resembled the Genoese gateway types, and some copper coins, weighing about 1.20 grams, which were imitations of the billon deniers of Tripoli, presumably designed to serve as fractions of the billon coins of Cyprus. Continuing also the local Byzantine denomination of electrum aspron trachy, Guy also minted cup-shaped electrum bezants. These coins, which were called "white bezants" because of their high silver content and therefore pale color, weighed less than their contemporary electrum trachea issued by Isaac Angelus, emperor of Byzantium (1185-95),[119] but were widely accepted and continued to be struck by the rulers of Cyprus between 1192 and 1285. Aimery (1194-1205), who in 1197 received the title of king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, seems to have continued to issue only the billon deniers. Hugh I (1205-18) also continued the electrum bezant and the billon denier; and Henry I (1218-53) introduced another type of copper coinage, weighing between 1.26 and 3.16 grams, to serve, presumably, as a multiple of the denier. Henry II (1285-1306) discontinued the electrum bezant, although it continued to be used as a money of account, and replaced it with the silver gros and half gros, in continuation of the denominations of the county of Tripoli. The earliest Cypriot gros, weighing on average between 4.70 and 4.80 grams,[120] were heavier than the Tripolitan gros, which weighed between 4.20 and 4.30 grams.

The coins minted by the kings of Cyprus during the fourteenth century formed a unique system.[121] The right of coining money was solely the prerogative of the king, and the Cypriot coinage became stabilized within a fixed standard of weights and with but a few types which symbolized the Lusignan family's rule. The coinage was a conflation of the Byantine and European monetary systems or, to be specific, an accommodation of the Byzantine coinage of the island before the Lusignans and of the Crusader coinages already established in Syria. According to Pegolotti, the primary source of information about the Cypriot coinage during the early fourteenth century,[122] the electrum bezant was the denomination of the highest value, weighing 22 carats. Like the Tripolitan and some European coinages, the Cypriot half gros *(grosso picciolo)* was, by Pegolotti's account, the Western solidus denomination, equaling 12 deniers, while the gros *(grosso grando)* equalled two solidi or 24 deniers.[123] Therefore, the following abstract shows the Cypriot system as it existed before 1340, a fully integrated system composed of two distinct coinages:

(Electrum bezant)	AR gros	AR half gros	(carat)	AE denier
1	2	4	24	48
	1	2	12	24
		1	6	12
			1	2

Moreover, the bezant of Cyprus was of unusually high silver content, weighing 22 carats, of which 3 3/4 carets were gold, 4 1/4 carats were copper, and 14 carats were silver.[124] The gros was 11/12 fine silver, and the billon denier about 20% fine.[125]

The usurper Amalric (1306-10) continued to issue the gros at a slightly lower weight, though the standard weight of the coin was restored when Henry regained the throne in 1310.[126] During the reigns of Henry II, Hugh IV (1324-59), and Peter I (1359-69), silver gros and half gros were struck in large quantities. During the reign of Janus I (1398-1432), the gros was issued infrequently and began to decline in weight.[127] The decline continued steadily until the reign of Catherine Cornaro (1473-89), when the gros approximated in weight the Venetian *marcello* (half lira), which became the standard current silver coin in Cyprus after the Venetian occupation of the island in 1489.[128] During his wars against the Genoese (1403-6), Janus introduced the copper *sizin* weighing 1.50-2.00 grams, which was valued at six deniers (also called *carzias*).[129] The sizin, gros, half gros, and denier continued to be issued intermittently until the end of the Lusignan dynasty. The Genoese also struck billon deniers of their own gateway type during their occupation of Famagusta between 1373 and 1464.

VI. COINAGE SYSTEM OF LATIN CONSTANTINOPLE

While the Lusignans of Cyprus were minting their first deniers and bezants, the Crusaders of the Fourth Crusade seized Constantinople in 1204 and divided Byzantium into feudal parcels among themselves. The Venetian faction there received most of the spoils and territories and proceeded to try to secure a monopoly over Byzantine trade routes. Although the Crusaders of the Latin Empire of Constantinople seem to have issued billon *trachea* and copper half *tetartera* of inferior quality at Constantinople, Thessalonica, and an unknown mint in Greece, no coins of higher intrinsic value may be attributed to them.[130] Which coinages served the Crusaders to expedite Venetian sea trade is open to speculation, but it is possible that they used Venetian grossi, or even Cypriot bezants, Byzantine hyperpyra and electrum trachea still in circulation.[131] The Crusader imitative trachea and half tetartera ceased to be issued at Thessalonica upon its recapture by Byzantines in 1224, and at Constantinople at least by the time of its recapture in 1261. Those of the unknown mint may have been minted intermittently for a longer period of time.[132]

The Crusaders of the Latin Empire did not, as they had in Cyprus, establish an original monetary system, but only partially entered the Byzantine system:

AV hyper-pyron	Electrum Trachy	AR Miliaresion	Carat	Billon Trachy	AE Follis	AE Tetarteron	AE 1/2 Tetarteron
1	3	12	24	48	288		
	1	4	8	16	96		
		1	2	4	24		
			1	2	12		
				1	6		
					1	2	
						1	1

This abstract is taken from Hendy's *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261*, p.25.

This monetary system, which Alexius I had developed in 1092, was in use in the thirteenth century, although there had been during the twelfth century a decline in the silver content of the trachy. In fact, the Crusaders' hybrid-imitations were minted on rather irregular, debased fabric. Just as the Crusaders of northern Syria had chosen to imitate the local low-valued coins for daily use, so the Crusaders of Latin Constantinople chose to imitate only the lowest denominations issued by the twelfth century Byzantine emperors. In order to prevent direct comparisons between the originals and the debased imitations, they issued imitations differing only slightly from their models. The trachea of Constantinople averaged 3.45 grams, and those of Thessalonica, about 2.50 grams. Those coins of the unknown mint of Greece were struck on smaller flans and weighed on average 1.3 grams. The Crusaders struck copper half tetartera weighing about 1.6 grams at Thessalonica.[133] Moreover, the enigmatic small module trachea of the unknown mint may be some sort of hybrid denomination, forced to be light weight because of economic conditions and availability of materials.

VII. FRANKISH DENOMINATIONS OF GREECE

The Frankish states of Greece were organized soon after the Fourth Crusade. While the duchy of Athens had been set up as a fief of the kingdom of Thessalonica after 1204, the Frankish state of Achaea, which belonged to Venice according to the partition treaty drafted at Constantinople, became a principality under the vassalage of the emperor of Constantinople.[134] The duchy of the Archipelago, which also had strong ties with Venice, also owed allegiance to the Latin emperor. Perhaps because of the feudal character of these Frankish establishments and their increasingly tenuous relationship with the faltering Latin Empire, the coinages of each of these states, which had been formed out of the hinterland of the Byzantium, followed the pattern of Western European coinage. Except for those small module trachea which may have been minted in Frankish

Greece, the denier tournois was the favored coinage for all of the Latin-controlled Levant during the latter half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.

The first coins minted in the duchy of Athens were issued at Thebes between about 1225 and 1287, and in the principality of Achaea at Corinth before about 1260. All of these early coins were made of copper, the Corinth deniers weighing between *ca.* 0.60 and 1.00 grams, and the oboles of both Corinth and Thebes, weighing between 0.45 and 0.75 grams. Some of these coinages bore an unmistakable resemblance in type to the Genoese gateway coins.[135] The flourishing silk industry at Thebes made the duchy a commercial center often visited by Venetian and Genoese merchants; and the seat of government of Achaea, which Geoffroy I de Villehardouin (1205-29) moved late in his reign to Glarentza on the west coast of the Peloponnese, became a flourishing port of Adriatic trade.[136]

According to hoard and archaeological evidence discovered throughout peninsular and mainland Greece, French billon coins and English sterling appeared there in great abundance during the first half of the thirteenth century.[137] William de Villehardouin (1246-78) minted the first Frankish billon denier tournois at Glarentza, which superseded Corinth as the chief mint of the principality. The coins were indeed based on the French weight standard for the denier tournois, and were reputed to contain about 3 1/2 ounces of fine silver per pound.[138] When Achaea became a vassal state of the House of Naples-Anjou in 1267, the weight of the Achaean denier seems to have been reduced to approach that of the Angevin deniers, which were also patterned after those of Tours, though they weighed less. The Achaean coinage system, as described by Pegolotti, was another rather hybrid system that directly reflects the immediate economic and political influences upon the principality. The system followed this pattern:

AV hyperpyron	AR sterling	Billon denier tournois	Copper oboles
1	20	80	160
	1	4	8
		1	2

The mint of Thebes in the duchy of Athens also began to issue deniers tournois about 1280 during the reign of William de la Roche (1280-87). Unlike Corinth or Glarentza, the Theban mint continued to issue the copper oboles. Thebes' deniers were issued lighter and more debased than Glarentza's, but it seems that Florent of Achaea (1292-97) lowered the weight of his deniers to align with that of the Theban coins. Isabelle de Villehardouin struck deniers

between 1299 and 1301, but these were reduced in fineness from the original Achaean deniers rather than in weight.[139] Coins of crude style continued to be minted at Glarentza during the thirteenth century until the end of the reign of Robert of Taranto in 1364, and it has also been thought that the Catalans continued minting the Theban deniers anonymously after 1311, though how long the coinage was struck is not known. The duchy of Neopatras (1303-18), the despotate of Epirus (1323-35), the lordship of Tenos (1303-11), the Neapolitan princes of Lepanto (1294-1313) and Corfu, the lordship of Tenos (ca. 1320-38), and some of the counties and baronies of Frankish Greece also minted deniers tournois.[140] Imitations of the gold florin have also been attributed to the Glarentza mint, during Robert's reign (1333-64), along with imitations of the Venetian billon soldini; and there has been some speculation that the Navarrese Company or some of the Florentine lords of Greece minted debased deniers during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[141]

THE CRUSADERS' MINTS

LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem: Though it was the seat of government and the primary focus of pilgrimage to Palestine during the twelfth century, Jerusalem was one of the poorest of the principal Crusader mints, issuing only billon deniers and oboles.[142] It has been suggested that these coins were actually minted in the Tower of David, the stronghold of the city,[143] though there is little evidence to support this conjecture. Production of the billon coinage, moreover, did not begin until the reign of Baldwin III (1143-63) and continued only until Saladin's invasion in 1187.[144] When Jerusalem fell, the responsibilities of issuing coins were transferred to other mints within the royal domain, although the reverse inscription +DE IERVSALEM continued to appear on some deniers of Aimery (1197-1205) and the large silver coins of John of Brienne (1210-25). It seems that none of the subsequent rulers of the kingdom ever again issued coins in their name at Jerusalem, not even Frederick II Hohenstaufen, who regained Jerusalem by treaty between 1229 and 1244. In fact, the only other coins that may qualify as having been minted at Jerusalem at this period are small anonymous copper pieces with Jerusalem written in Arabic.

Acre: Acre became not only the busiest port but also the most important mint of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Crusaders revived production at its Fatimid gold mint at some point before the middle of the twelfth century, though they had captured Acre in 1104.[145] The terms *bizantii ad pondus Acconense*, or *poiz d'Acre*, and *bizantii Acconitani* appear in many Latin trade documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[146] suggesting that Acre's gold mint continued to

function for over a century, or at least until about 1260. The dinars (1251-58) and dirhams (1251-53), bearing Christian legends and small crosses, are actually inscribed "Struck at Acre" in Arabic script.

While the Crusaders besieged Acre in an attempt to recapture it from Saladin (1190-91), billon deniers bearing the inscription MONETA REGIS/+REX IERL'M were issued in the Crusader camp before its walls, according to Vogüé's theory.[147] After its recovery, King Henry de Champagne (1192-97) minted copper pougeoises and pieforts bearing the mint name of Acre. Some heavy silver coins, weighing roughly 2.10 grams and inscribed +DRAGMA ACCONEN, perhaps also some silver coins of John of Brienne, weighing about 2.70 grams (dirham weight), and inscribed DE IERVSALEM, were also minted at Acre. The mint of Acre may also have turned to issuing imitative silver dirhams of Damascus type during the second quarter of the thirteenth century as the antecedents of the Christian dirhams.

Before its fall to the Mamluks in 1291, therefore, Acre seems to have issued the gamut of Crusader denominations, from copper pougeoises and pieforts, to billon deniers, both Islamic and Latin-type dirhams, and imitative Islamic gold dinars.[148]

Tyre: Having sustained a Fatimid gold mint until about the time of its capture by the Crusaders in 1124,[149] Tyre remained one of the principal ports of Syria, because of its local textile and sugar industries and its large, secure harbor. The Syrian chronicler Ibn Khallikan writes that the Crusaders issued gold dinars (perhaps with captured dies) at Tyre for three years after their capture of the city.[150] Other twelfth century documents often refer to "bezants of the weight of Tyre" and *bizantii Tyrensis*.[151] Production ceased probably not long after the Third crusade, however, for the papal bull of 1251 excommunicating the minting authorities issuing Arabic type coins does not mention Tyre as an offender.[152] Conversely there is no evidence that other coins besides gold dinars were minted at Tyre before the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Tyre never succumbed to the armies of Saladin and thus, as a Crusader stronghold and royal fief, may have produced the small billon deniers of Aimery de Lusignan (1197-1205), though they might just as well have been minted at Acre.[153] The lords of Montfort, who controlled Tyre after regaining it from imperialist forces in 1243, issued copper deniers in their own names until the death of John of Montfort in 1283.

Damietta: In 1219, the Egyptian port of Damietta on the eastern branch of the Nile, just east of Rosetta and Alexandria, was captured by the combined forces of European Crusaders, led by Papal Legate Pelagius, and Latin Christians from Palestine,led by John of Brienne of Jerusalem. Some billon deniers, bearing +IOhES REX/+DAMIATA and John's portrait as type, seem to have been struck at the Frankish mint at Damietta beginning in 1219. The portrait, however, changes, showing a facing bust with mitre rather than crown and with the

obverse and reverse legends switched, but with a similar inscription. These deniers may have been issued by Pelagius after John left the area in 1220 and thus may have advertised, by the small changes, the political changes and the Church-State conflict which surfaced at Damietta.

Krak de Moab (?): It has been suggested that gold imitations of Sulayhid coins may have been minted at this fortress on the frontier of the Latin Kingdom.

Jaffa: As Jerusalem's nearest port, Jaffa became a royal fief. The coins issued there, bearing the inscriptions +DENARIVS/+IOPPENSIS, are anonymous, low-quality billon or copper deniers, bearing a gateway somewhat akin to that on Genoese deniers. The minting of coins at Jaffa, as well as at the following ports of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was not, so far as the documentary evidence is concerned, sanctioned by the king.

Beirut: After it had been captured by Muslims in 1187 and reconquered by the Franks in 1192, the lordship of Beirut was given as a fief to John d'Ibelin (ca. 1197-1236). John minted billon deniers and some copper coins, perhaps oboles, of different types both bearing his own name. His successors, Balian and John II (1236 -64), may perhaps have continued the copper denomination anonymously, though the anonymous copper coins may also have been minted during John I's reign by a bailie.

Sidon: Girard (*ca.* 1125-70) and Renaud Grenier (1170-87) of Sidon minted copper coins in their own names and with the "arrow" of Sagetta. Some anonymous billon and copper deniers of various types were also issued there probably between 1229 and 1260, when Sidon once again, after a period of conquest and division, came wholly under Frankish authority.[154] The Templars, who held the castle at Sidon from 1260 until its fall to the Mamluks in 1291, do not seem to have minted coins.

COUNTY OF TRIPOLI

Tripoli: Most of the gold dinars minted in imitation of the dinars of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir, were minted at Tripoli. Possibly, though there is no proof of this, some Ayyubid-type silver dirhams were also minted in the county. The fact that during the reign of Bohemond VI (1252-75) and his son Bohemond VII the mint at Tripoli issued beautifully designed and struck silver gros and half gros would tend to suggest that the counts of Tripoli had had previous experience with large silver denominations. It has also been proposed that the *Agnus Dei* bezant was minted at Tripoli accompanying the gros after 1266.

Of all the Crusader states, Tripoli had the longest continuous history of minting billon and copper deniers. Between 1109, when the city was captured

by Bertrand of Toulouse, and 1289, when it fell to Kalavun, Tripoli issued deniers showing the influence of the European-minted coins of the counts of Toulouse. Tripoli therefore was the only state of the Syrian mainland to have a totally integrated Latin-type bi-metallic system of coinage. The period of greatest mint production seems to have been during the reigns of Raymond III (1158-87) and Bohemond (1187-1233), when denier production at both Antioch and Jerusalem was also quite high.

Uncertain Mint: During the Mongol invasions various copper fractional deniers were minted within the County of Tripoli, either official or unofficial in nature. While the coins featured uncertain imitative Latin and Arabic characters, the central motif suggests Tripoli, as does the Lebanese provenance of their finds.

PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH

Antioch: Mint production at Antioch seems to have begun just about the same time as that at Edessa, *ca.* 1100. Byzantine-type coins were issued there in substantial numbers until after 1136, when the mint changed to Western-type billon deniers under the influence of Raymond de Poitiers. During the reign of Bohemond III (1163-1201), Antioch began to issue its "Helmeted head" type of billon denier in vast quantities, which, since Antioch was relatively unaffected by the Ayyubid wars, continued into the thirteenth century as an immobilized type. When Bohemond IV (1201-33) united Antioch and Tripoli under his rule in 1201, the mints operated separately. Copper pougeoises of Latin types were also minted at Antioch during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As for the gold coins, documents of the late twelfth and thirteenth century mention *bizantii Antiochensis*, suggesting that the Crusaders issued gold dinars there.[155] It has also been suggested that Antioch's dinars were, like Tripolis, imitations of the gold coinage of al-Mustansir, and that they were possibly issued during the reign of Bohemond IV and his successors, when Antioch and Tripoli were united under one authority. Also, while Antioch was involved in the wars of succession after the death of Bohemond III in 1201, the Armenian King Levon II issued Frankish-type deniers and copper fractions at Sis in anticipation of his family's takeover of the principality. Raymond Roupen, who succeeded in capturing the citadel at Antioch, where the mint was reputed to have been located,[156] minted the "helmeted head" types in his own name, along with anonymous copper fractions, from 1216 until his death in 1219. After that, the city continued to be ruled by the Bohemonds of Tripoli until Antioch was completely sacked by the Mamluks in 1268.

Moreover, Antioch's near-by seaports of Lattaqiyah and St. Symeon, which handled much of the traffic of goods from Aleppo to the West, may also have served as auxiliary mints on occasion.[157]

COUNTY OF EDESSA

Edessa: At the mint of Edessa, production of quasi-Byzantine copper *folles* or *follare* began under the authority of either Baldwin of Boulogne (1098-1100) or Baldwin of Bourg (1100-18). After 1108, the large copper coinage that had been issued was reduced in module and continued to decrease in size during the remainder of Baldwin's reign. Production continued but sparsely until the fall of Edessa to the Zengids in 1144 during the reign of Joselin II.

KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

Nicosia: Scholars have believed that Nicosia was the main mint of the island during the period of Byzantine rule.[158] As seat of the Lusignan government on the island, Nicosia may also have been the place of issue of much of the Latin coinage of Cyprus as well. Some copper coins bearing the great gateway of Nicosia minted by Henry I (1218-54) would be evidence in support of the theory that the earliest coins of Lusignan Cyprus were minted there. Also, when Famagusta fell to the Genoese in 1373, Nicosia may have taken over the responsibilities totally, issuing the copper sizins, worth six carzias, between about 1398 and 1432. Though they were quite scarce, during the occupation of Famagusta and the reign of Peter II (1369-82) the regular gros were in all likelihood produced at Nicosia.

Famagusta: Documented sources indicate that there was a mint at Famagusta in the fourteenth century during the Lusignan rule over Cyprus.[159] Considering its importance then as chief port of the island, it is furthermore likely that Famagusta was Cyprus' principal mint for some time; silver gros and half gros bearing an "F" in the field, of the reign of Henry II, may well have been issued there. Others with the letters "B" and "C" in the field were possibly struck at Paphos (Baffo) and Kyrenia (Cerines) respectively.[160]

When the Genoese seized Famagusta in 1373, they began at some point to mint Genoese-type deniers. By 1464, when Famagusta was reunited with the rest of the island after a long siege, its economy had declined so much that it is unlikely that it served as a mint during the last twenty years of Lusignan rule.

Other Mints: The colonies that Peter I (1359-69) established in southern Turkey might perhaps also have served as a mints before the breakdown of the island's economy.[161]

LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Constantinople: It is Hendy's theory that billon trachea of inferior quality and many different types were minted by the Franks, along with some copper half tetartera, during the Latin occupation of the Byzantine Empire.[162] The specific types are not completely agreed upon,[163] but the fact that the mint existed under Latin authority has today been generally accepted. Production began between 1204 and 1208 and ended during the 1240s or early 1250s, substantially before the fall of the Latin Empire to the Greeks of Nicaea in 1261. No coins of higher denomination are known to have been minted by these Crusaders.

KINGDOM OF THESSALONICA

Thessalonica: The Kingdom of Thessalonica followed the capitol in minting billon trachea but also introduced the half-tetarteron denomination. Specific characteristics of style and form helped determine the Thessalonican origin of these coins, such as the configuration of the pendilia on the emperor's crown, and the use of the Christ Emmanuel type and the half figure of the emperor.[164] Production continued between *ca.* 1208 and *ca.* 1220, just before the fall of the Latin Kingdom to Theodore of Epirus in 1224.

Mint in Unknown Location: This mint produced small module billon trachea in vast numbers beginning *ca.* 1210 and continuing throughout the existence of the Byzantine Empire of Thessalonica and into the years of the Nicaean takeover of Thessalonica during the 1240's. The coins are imitative of the trachea of the two Crusader mints, the coinage of Nicaea and the Greek Empire of Thessalonica, and some Germanic type coins which were current in the northern Balkans. Who operated the mint and why these small module types were minted is open to speculation, but the possibility remains that they are from an unofficial mint operated by Latin settlers in mainland Greece.[165]

PRINCIPIALITY OF ACHAEA

Corinth: Corinth and its citadel, Acrocorinth, became part of the personal domain of Geoffroy I of Achaea by 1209. It is usually thought that William of Villehardouin (1246-78) began, in the early years of reign, the minting of copper deniers and oboles at Corinth, though since these coins bear only the letter "G" they may also have been initiated during the reign of Geoffroy II (1229-46).[166] One of the types seems to be rather like the coppers minted at Thebes which show some affinity with deniers of Genoa, doubtlessly because of their commerce in silk with the Italian states. Another type seems to bear the fortress of Acrocorinth as type. Production was, however, superseded at some point, perhaps around 1260 during William's reign, by the mint of Glarentza. It has

been tentatively suggested that after many years of inactivity, however, a mint was reopened at Corinth during the last decade of the fourteenth century by Nerio Acciojuoli, the Florentine master of the city. Some scholars feel that Corinth was a secondary mint to Glarentza in the minting if deniers tournois.

Glarentza: Geoffrey I of Achaea's (1205-29) fortress of Clermont, built on the citadel above Glarentza came to be known as *Castel Tornese* by association with the deniers tournois issued there.[167] Some copper oboles bearing the mint's name CLARENTIA were issued by William of Achaea (1246-78), who also appears to have begun minting billon deniers tournois after the French royal deniers of Tours around 1260. The Achaean *tournois* underwent changes of weight and silver content during its century of issue, but no change of design or format. Robert of Taranto (1333-64) seems to have been the last of the succession of Achaean princes to issue these coins.

Besides the deniers, some scholars have sought to assign other coins to the Glarentza mint, Cox has plausibly attributed some billon soldini of Venice to that mint between about 1333 and 1346, when Nicolo Acciajuoli was bailie. Ives assigned some Venetian gold ducat imitations to the mint, though Yvon has doubted it; and Lambros has assigned some Venetian silver grossi to the mint, though Metcalf has doubted that attribution.[168] Robert of Taranto also appears to have minted imitations of the gold bezants of Florence at Glarentza.

Karytaena: Upon the death of her husband Hugh of Brienne in 1296, Helena Angelina Comnena, duchess of Athens, inherited his half share of the Achaean barony of Karytaena. She issued deniers there in her own name, perhaps even before his death, and continuing until her own death after 1299. The coins are scarce, but appear in hoards as far afield as southern France and Italy.

Damala: The Zaccaria family of Chios gained control of the barony of Damala in the southern part of the Morea in 1325. Martino Zaccaria may have issued deniers tournois there about that time. The coinage is, however, extremely rare.

DUCHY OF ATHENS

Thebes: The coinage of the duchy of Athens was probably first produced at the mint of Thebes during the reign of Guy I de la Roche (1225-67) and continued throughout the period of Frankish control of the duchy, probably into the period of the Catalan domination (1311-88). The earliest coins were copper oboles of Genoese type used to accommodate the local trade, since Thebes was an important manufacturing center for silk. The billon denier was first minted at Thebes *ca.* 1280. Imitations of the *deniers tournois* of the Frankish dukes were perhaps imitated later at the mint of Thebes or at one set up at Athens during the

Florentine domination of Attica and Boeotia in the fifteenth century, though this theory awaits proof.

Salona: As one of the chief baronies of the duchy of Athens, Salona became a Crusader mint probably during the reign of its count Thomas III (1294-1311), although Schlumberger felt that the billon coin with the arms of the Stromoncourt may have been issued earlier than the coins of tournois type, perhaps during the reign of Thomas II (1212-*ca.* 1258). Ordinances concerning the minting of coins by Thomas III at Lepanto are known,[169] but the coins that have survived in the name of Thomas of Salona are all inscribed DELLA SOLA.

TRIARCHY OF EUBOEA

Negroponte: When William of Achaea inherited a fief in Euboea upon the death of his wife Carintana dalle Carceri in 1255, it is generally agreed that he began to strike coins, either at Negroponte, the chief port of the island, or elsewhere for lordship, of which he claimed himself suzerain. These rare coins were, as has been said, probably minted at Negroponte between about 1255 and 1259, and their duration is not known.

NEPOLITAN PRINCES OF EPIRUS AND CORFU

Lepanto: In 1294 Philip of Taranto, the favorite son of Charles II d'Anjou, became despot of Epirus upon his marriage to Thamar, the daughter of despot Nicephorus of Epirus. Philip issued large numbers of billon deniers tournois bearing his name and many titles at Lepanto between 1294 and 1313. After that period mint production at Lepanto ceased, though Philip also took over the administration of Achaea between 1307 and 1313, when he also struck deniers tournois at Glarentza.

Corfu: In contrast to those he minted at Lepanto, the deniers tournois struck at Corfu by Philip are extremely rare. Though of the tournois type, they bear legends reading DEI GRACIA, rather than the ruler's titles, the usual inscription of the denier tournois.

DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS

Arta: Originally a Byzantine state on the mainland of Greece, Epirus came under the influence of its Frankish neighbors during their occupation of the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece. Giovanni II Orsini, a Venetian who ruled Zante and Cephalonia and who also became heir to the Angelos family's

rule in Epirus, issued billon deniers of tournois type between 1323 and 1335 at Arta, the capital of Epirus.

SEBASTOCRATORS OF THESSALY *or* DUCHY OF NEOPATRAS

Neopatras: John II Angelus (1303-18), who as a child had been placed under the tutelage of Guy II de la Roche, duke of Athens, began his issue of good billon deniers tournois modeled after those of Thebes at Neopatras. On these coins, issued between about 1303 and 1318, John used the title of DVX in the Latin manner, as well as SAB, for Sebastocrator, his Greek title, the former type being much more rare.

DUCHY OF NAXOS AND THE DODECANESE

Naxos: Nicolo I Sanudo continued the Venetian domination of Naxos as vassal of the princes of Achaea between 1323 and 1341, when he issued some billon deniers bearing his name and portrait. Giovanni I Sanudo (1241-62) continued the issue during his reign, and the coins ceased being minted after his reign. The Crispo family who took possession of Naxos in 1383 do not seem to have issued coins.

LORDSHIP OF TENOS AND MYKONOS

Tenos: Giorgio I Ghisi (1303-11) minted deniers tournois, modeled after those of Thebes, at the mint on the island of Tenos. He was the only ruler of Tenos known to have minted coins; and his deniers are quite rare.

LORDSHIP OF CHIOS

Chios: The Genoese family Zaccaria seized the island of Chios from the Palaeologi in 1261. Martino Zaccaria (1315-45) was given the title despot and lord of Chios, etc., by Philip of Taranto in 1315. At some point during his reign, Martino began issuing deniers tournois modeled after those of Achaea, possibly before his incarceration in Constantinople between 1329 and 1338. These deniers tournois are extremely rare, but the Genoese of Chios continued to mint other types throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are beyond the scope of this book.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem

Throughout the greater part of the eleventh century, Palestine and southern Syria were subject to the Fatimids of Egypt. After the middle of the century, some local rulers made themselves independent, and in 1071 the Turcoman chieftain Atsiz occupied Palestine and captured Damascus four years later. In 1079 he surrendered the latter to the Seljukid prince Tutush, brother of Malik-Shah, and it became the capital of a new Seljukid principality in Syria. Tutush appointed as governor of Jerusalem the Turcoman chief Artuk, who was succeeded on his death in 1091 by his sons Soqman and Il-Ghazi. In 1089 the Fatimids regained control of Acre, Tyre and other ports and in 1098 recovered Jerusalem from the Turcomans, just months after the Crusaders of the First Crusade had captured Antioch. Marching southward in the spring of 1099, the Crusaders reached Jerusalem on June 7, and besieged the city, which they captured on July 15.

After the capture of Jerusalem, Godefroy de Bouillon, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, was elected to be ruler; but he refused to be proclaimed as *King,* and adopted instead the title of *Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.* Finding his supply of manpower greatly diminished when many of the Crusaders returned home after the conquest, Godefroy tried to make the native Palestinians politically and economically dependent on the Frankish government at Jerusalem, rather than on the Fatimid regime of Egypt. He made commercial treaties with the sheikhs of Trans-Jordan, ordered the execution of any Muslim who came to Palestine by sea, and proceeded to capture Palestine's port cities.[1]

On his death in 1100, Godefroy was succeeded by his brother Baldwin de Boulogne, count of Edessa, who was crowned king of Jerusalem (1100-18), and who continued his brother's policies of extending the domain along the coast and of making neighboring Muslim tribes dependent on the Frankish regime. During the reigns of Baldwin I and his cousin and successor Baldwin II (1118-1131), the Franks conquered the greater part of Palestine and the coastal plain of southern Syria, and small areas east of the River Jordan. The occupied territories were divided up and granted as fiefs to the principal barons of the kingdom, the chief of which were the principality of Galilee and the county of Jaffa and Ascalon, and which also included the lordships of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut. The counts of Tripoli also maintained feudal ties with the kings of Jerusalem, whereas the princes of Antioch and the counts of Edessa were virtually independent.

Baldwin solved his problem of succession by arranging the marriage of his daughter Melisende to Foulques, count of Anjou, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1129

and succeeded Baldwin on the latter's death in 1131. Having helped defend Tripoli from Turcoman invasions and having invited Raymond, count of Poitou, to rule at Antioch, Foulques turned his attentions to the kingdom's southern frontiers, which he fortified. He was succeeded by his son Baldwin III (1143-63), who came to the throne at the age of thirteen, and for whom his mother acted as regent.

During Baldwin III's reign, the conquest of Edessa by 'Imad ad-Din Zengi in 1144 provided the impetus for the Second Crusade, led by Emperor Conrad III of Germany and King Louis VII of France, in which an abortive attack was made on Damascus and little else was accomplished. The newly-arrived Crusaders from Western Europe tended to be bellicose and rash, and often failed to understand the efficacy of alliances with Muslim rulers. On the other hand, the kings of Jerusalem better understood the political divisions and often best defended their domains by seeking to maintain a balance of power. Baldwin III's reign was nevertheless quite prosperous commercially, despite the Second Crusade against Damascus and skirmishes with the Egyptians along the kingdom's southern frontier. Reasons for this commercial prosperity were that the Franks controlled the ports of Palestine and Syria,[2] and that many of the Syrian-born Franks, or *pulani* as they were called, had by this time become well-acquainted with the way of life of their Muslim neighbors and had begun to trade peacefully with them.

When in 1163 Baldwin III died childless, he was succeeded by his younger brother Amaury (1163-74), who invaded Egypt, making it a Crusader protectorate for a time, and under whom the kingdom reached the height of its prosperity. The reigns of Baldwin IV, the "Leper King" (1174-85), and his young nephew Baldwin V, called "the Child" (1185-86), however, witnessed a decline in the fortunes of the Latin Kingdom. Because of the lack of strong monarchial leadership, the powerful native barons were often at odds over the policies of the bailies appointed by the king or selected by the barons.[3] The kingdom reached the verge of civil war when Guy de Lusignan became the second husband of Amaury's daughter Sybil and ascended the throne in 1186, because most of the barons, including the lords of Sidon and Ramleh and count Raymond of Tripoli, vehemently opposed him on the grounds that he was an adventurer. Meanwhile, the unification of Egypt and Syria by Salah-al-Din Yusuf, or Saladin as the Franks called him, for the first time since the foundation of the Crusader states also gravely threatened the existence of the Frankish Kingdom. When one of Guy's followers, Renaud de Chatillon, early in 1187, sacked a Muslim caravan traveling from Damascus to Mecca and refused to make restitution, Saladin proclaimed a Holy War (*Jihad*) against the Kingdom of Jerusalem. At the battle of the Horns of Hattin on July 4, 1187, Saladin decisively defeated the opposing Frankish forces, killed or captured many of their leaders, and quickly overran and conquered almost all the Latin Christian possessions in the Levant. Jerusalem fell on October 2, 1187; and by the spring of 1189, the Franks held only the cities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre and a few isolated fortresses.

The defeat of the Franks at the battle of the Horns of Hattin and the loss of

Jerusalem and their other possessions provided the incentive for the launching of the Third Crusade, under the leadership of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, King Philip Augustus of France, and King Richard Coeur de Lion of England. Frederick was drowned on June 10, 1190, while crossing the Calycadnus River in southern Anatolia; but Philip Augustus and Richard Coeur de Lion arrived in Palestine in 1191 - the latter after conquering Cyprus from its Byzantine ruler, Isaac Comnenus, en route. The two kings brought reinforcements to the local Frankish forces which were besieging Acre, and as a result of their combined assaults the city surrendered on July 12, 1191. Gradually, within the next ten years, the Christians recovered most of the ports and coastal plains that they had lost, but they did not regain Jerusalem until 1229.

Since King Guy de Lusignan was generally unpopular with the barons in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1190, after the death of his wife, the princess Sibyl, through whom he had acquired the throne, the majority of the barons ceased to recognize him as king. Conrad de Montferrat, who married Sibyl's younger sister Isabelle in the same year, claimed the throne as his wife's inheritance, but he was murdered by two Assassins on April 28, 1192. A week later, count Henry de Champagne married Isabelle and became ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1192-97) without adopting the royal title.

After Guy de Lusignan had lost the throne of Jerusalem to these rival claims, he purchased the island of Cyprus in 1192 from Richard Coeur de Lion, who had conquered it in the previous year. Guy styled himself lord of Cyprus, and on his death in 1194 he was succeeded by his younger brother Aimery, who was crowned king of the island and, in 1197, of Jerusalem also. Aimery died in 1205 and the two kingdoms were then separated, his young son Hugh inheriting the throne of Cyprus, and his wife, the princess Isabelle, that of Jerusalem. Isabelle died soon afterwards and was succeeded by her daughter Marie de Montferrat, for whom John I of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, acted as bailie (1205-10). In 1210 Marie married John de Brienne, who became king of Jerusalem (1210-12) and then regent for his daughter Isabelle (Yolanda) until her marriage to Emperor Frederick II in 1225. During John's regency, the Fifth Crusade was launched against Egypt, resulting in the capture of Damietta, which was held for two years (1219-21). The campaign was bedeviled by quarrels between John de Brienne, the commander of the forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Papal Legate Pelagius, who claimed that the Crusaders were subjects of the church and not of the kingdom. After John's death in 1225, Emperor Frederick II, on his marriage to Isabelle, assumed the title of king of Jerusalem (1225-28), and later acted as regent for his son Conrad until he attained his majority and adopted the royal title (1243-54). In 1228, Frederick II went on crusade under sentence of excommunication, and in 1229 recovered the city of Jerusalem by treaty, for fifteen years. At this period, he was engaged in a long struggle with the local barons, the so-called War of the Lombards.

Having returned to Europe, Frederick sent to Palestine as his imperial legate and bailie, Ricardo Filangieri of Naples, who sought to carry out the emperor's

policies. The barons of the kingdom, who were proud of their rights as members of the High Court, violently opposed him. The merchants of Acre formed a commune dedicated to St. Andrew and elected as mayor John I of Ibelin, the "old Lord of Beirut," as he was called by his contemporaries; under John's leadership, the commune, along with most of the barons of Cyprus and Palestine, opposed Filangieri and his Lombard reinforcements, and the Teutonic Knights and Pisans who were his allies. The civil war resulted in internal strife and the virtual lack of any central authority.[4] John of Ibelin enjoyed great presage until his death in 1236, while Balian of Sidon and Garnier the German were "co-baronial bailies" during the 1230's. Filangieri also remained imperial bailie, but only managed to retain control of Tyre and to aid the imperial representative in the city of Jerusalem. Because Frederick's son Conrad, the titular king of Jerusalem (1228-54) never came to Palestine, imperial power was virtually ignored during the 1240's, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem remained a loosely-governed collection of cities and fortresses until St. Louis' appearance in Palestine caused the barons to unite for a time under his leadership.

In 1249, King Louis IX of France led a crusade to Egypt, in which Damietta was again captured, but the king and most of his forces were taken prisoners at Mansurah and only obtained, their release on payment of a ransom and the surrender of Damietta. The male population of the Latin Kingdom suffered severe losses as a result of this crusade. After he had regained his freedom, Louis, accompanied by the Papal Legate Eudes de Chateauroux, sailed to Palestine. He established his headquarters at Acre, and later at Jaffa, and remained to administer the Crusader states between 1250 and 1254. His brief sojourn in the East had the happy effect of uniting the barons under a disinterested administrator, though it was a unity which was sorely needed after the relative failure of his own crusade. Before he returned to France, Louis helped bring peace and security to Tripoli and Antioch by knighting young Bohemond VI and arranging a marriage between him and the Armenian princess Sybil. Louis' return to France coincided with the death of Conrad in 1254, leaving the Latin Kingdom in a fairly precarious position. Conradin (1254-68) succeeded his father as king of Jerusalem at the age of two; like his father, he never set foot in the East. Conradin was put to death by Charles d' Anjou in 1268, leaving no heir; whereupon Hugh III of Cyprus, who had become monarch of that island in the previous year, assumed the title of Jerusalem (1269-84) also, after having been regent for a time in both kingdoms. Thereafter, the crowns of the two kingdoms were permanently united under the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus.

During the reigns of both Conradin and Hugh III, Baybars, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt and Syria (1260-77), made serious inroads into Frankish territory, capturing a number, of towns and fortresses, besides the city of Antioch in 1268. Hugh III was succeeded in 1284 by his eldest son John I, who died a year later and was followed by his brother Henry II, who was crowned king of Jerusalem at Tyre in 1286. Soon afterwards, the last Frankish possessions in Syria and Palestine succumbed to the attacks of the Mamluk Sultans Kalavun (1279-90) and al-Ashraf (1290-93). Lattaqiyah fell in 1287, Tripoli in 1289, and Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and

Beirut in 1291, as well as the last remaining castles on the mainland, which the Franks evacuated completely. Those who managed to escape went, for the most part, to Cyprus, swelling the numbers of those who were already settled there. They never obtained a permanent foothold in Syria and Palestine again.

The right to strike money.

Since Schlumberger published his volume on Crusader coins, scholars have not only disagreed with his theory that the Kingdom of Jerusalem formed a perfect feudal system,[5] but have also taken issue with his explanation of a passage in the *Assises of Jerusalem* that the right to "court et coins et justice" involved the right to strike coins.[6] Schlumberger felt that the fiefs cited in this passage of the *Assises* were those that were privileged to mint coins on their own lands, and he accordingly looked for deniers and oboles that might be assigned to these fiefs. During the first four decades of its existence, however, the kingdom was in fact a feudal monarchy, whose fiefs functioned only as military and administrative units and in no way weakened the power of the king.[7] Although Schlumberger felt that the *Assises* characterized the government of Jerusalem, the document was actually a theoretical treatise, written no earlier than the second-third of the thirteenth century, and expressive perhaps of the political climate of a specific period in the history of the kingdom, but not of its entirety. The term "coins" in the *Assises,* furthermore, may merely mean the right to append *bullae* to official documents, rather than the right to mint coins.[8] If this is correct, then the fiefs that enjoyed this right must not be seen as mints, but as lordships that had the capacity during the middle years of the thirteenth century to administer local justice.

Of course, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli, and the princes of Antioch were also, theoretically, vassals of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Presumably because these semi-independent states had minted coins from the very beginning, even before the kings of Jerusalem began their own coinage, they were not forbidden to continue; nor could they probably have been prevented from continuing to issue their coins, had an official interdict been proclaimed. It is nevertheless a mistaken view, so far as we know, that any fiefs were actually accorded the right to mint coins, least of all the fiefs within the domain of the Frankish Kingdom and owing direct allegiance to the kings of Jerusalem. Either Baldwin II (1118-31) or Baldwin III (1143-63)[9] in fact issued a writ stating that the right to strike money was exclusively the king's and forbidding any vassal to mint coins in his own lands:

> "se aucun homme liege fait ou fait faire fauce monee ou faus besants . . . se aucun home lige . . . faiset faire et labourer et batre monee en sa terre si juge la raison qu'il det estre descries a toujours mais parce que nul hom ne deit . . . monee labourans, fors li rois."[10]

A vassal's punishment for usurping this royal prerogative was the confiscation of his fief by the king, without appeal. There is no record, as we stated before, that any vassal of the kingdom was ever accorded the privilege of striking coins. Nevertheless, baronial coinage exists, but illegally; and it does not appear before the character of the government of Jerusalem was transformed.

As their fiefs became hereditary and were enlarged through intermarriages, the barons were better able to guard their rights and increase their privileges. The first aristocratic revolt occurred during Foulques' reign (1131-43); and the struggles between Girard of Sidon and Amaury (1163-74) led to the famous *Assise sur la ligece,* in which the king abandoned his power to submit a fief to the arbitration of the lords' High Court, thereby creating a direct link between the king and his vassals that had not before existed.[11] Indeed, Schlumberger's ideal feudal society, in which the rights of the king balanced those of his court, perhaps did exist for a short time after this legislation. Although at least one historian has expressed the opinion that baronial coinage could not have existed before the dislocation of central power occurred under Baldwin V (1185-86),[12] numismatists have substantial evidence from the coins themselves that the baronial coinage did appear earlier, at precisely this juncture, the latter part of the reign of Amaury (1163-74). The copper coins of the rebellious Girard (ca. 1130-70) and his son Renaud of Sidon (ca. 1170-87) were, therefore, the first coins minted by a baron of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

After the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin and during the turbulent period of the Third Crusade, when the royal coinage was often immobilized or issued anonymously, the barons were obliged on several occasions and for various reasons to decide who should rule, and to take a more important role in the administration of the kingdom. After the Third Crusade, John of Ibelin of Beirut (ca. 1198/1205-36), for example, began to mint his own coins on his own lands; and though the coinage of the lords of Sidon had preceded these, John's coins were minted on a larger scale. Thus, when the fiefs became large and powerful enough to rival the royal authority and to insure that their lords would be exempt from punishment, then certain barons were able to declare their autonomy, in effect, by minting coins.[13]

The struggles between the barons of Jerusalem and the imperial forces sent by Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen after 1229 also transformed the government of Jerusalem. After 1243 the kingdom became a confederation of separate fiefs with no central authority. Having evolved from a feudal monarchy in the early twelfth century, it became what might be called a "feudal republic" in the thirteenth century, which some scholars consider the prototype of a parliamentary government, though Runciman prefers to call it "legalized anarchy."[14] The *Assises de la Haute Courte de Jerusalem* were codified at this period to express what the barons felt were their rights and traditions under the law. Since they had successfully defied Hohenstaufen imperial authority, the privileges they did claim were probably more than they could have dreamed of claiming a century before. This situation Schlumberger also mistakenly characterized as a feudal government in which the barons participated as

peers of the king. In reality the bailies selected to carry out the duties of the crown during this era had no power to effect any action that the High Court did not propose or condone.[15] An expression in numismatic terms of the state of affairs in the kingdom is evidenced: when the barons had recovered Tyre from the hands of the imperial forces in 1243, the lords de Montfort began to mint their own copper coinage there, rather than provide means for the re-establishment of a royal mint. At this time the barons, in fact, preferred not to release any cities to the bailies, but kept them under the direct authority of the High Court.

Only the largest and most powerful lordships are known to have minted billon and copper coins: Sidon, Beirut, Tyre, and Jaffa, the latter being a royal fief. We shall have ample opportunity to discuss the subject of the feudal or baronial coinage from the evidence of the coins themselves in the sections dedicated to the various fiefs of the kingdom. Certain anonymous coinages, which abound among the Crusaders' issues, possibly were also struck during the late twelfth and thirteenth century by dissident fiefs or other ecclesiastical, civic, and military institutions of the Latin Kingdom, some of which were actually forced to assume the responsibilities of governing the state.

As for the gold coinage, which Schlumberger also suggested was minted by the Venetian commune at Acre, it is unlikely that any particular group could have usurped what had always been a royal privilege at Acre. This, of course, does not deny their participation in the production of the gold coins, in which they and the other merchant states had a special interest. In this era of legalism, the right to mint gold coins remained in the hands of the crown or its representative selected by the High Court. Though the court did allow the leaders of the merchant communes, including the Venetians, and the Military Orders a vote after 1243, still the traditional rights of the crown and the traditional mint practices at Acre would probably have been respected by law. The gold coinage in imitation of Arab prototypes is discussed in greater detail in that chapter.

COINAGE OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

The coins issued in the Kingdom of Jerusalem's several mints were struck in gold, silver, billon, and copper, with Arabic or Latin legends and types. The Arabic types, including the Crusaders' imitative dinars and dirhams, will be listed separately as a subsection of this chapter. The imitative Arabic gold coins from all the Crusader states will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III, contributed by Gordus and Metcalf. The royal billon Coinage, along with many of the anonymous Latin types struck in billon and copper in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, will be discussed first.

FRANKISH-TYPE COINS ISSUED BY THE KINGS

Baldwin I (1100-1118)

The first issue of Jerusalem is the copper follis or medallion struck by Baldwin I. It has been speculated that it is a coronation medallion, or a coin struck for Baldwin's coronation as king of Jerusalem. The inscription of HIERLSALEM is perhaps as early as 1100, and the square E's also suggest an early date. This unique piece has only recently come to light in the numismatic world.

Baldwin III (1143-1163)

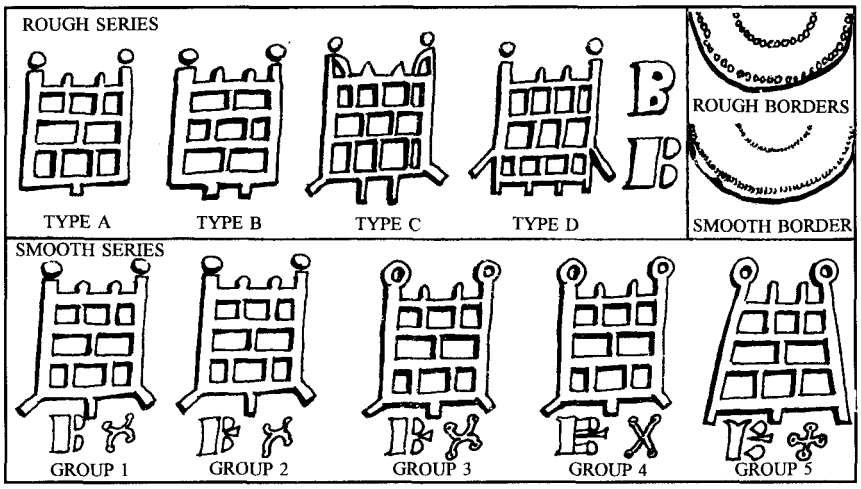
Of the types bearing Latin legends, the earliest known billon coins of the Latin Kingdom were presumably issued at Jerusalem itself. Indeed, though they bear the legends BALDVINVS REX /+DE IERVSALEM, with cross pattee and tower as types, there has been some question concerning their actual place of issue. Because during the twelfth century the imitative gold coins of the kings of Jerusalem were almost certainly minted at the chief ports of the kingdom, Acre and Tyre, some students have considered that the billon coins were perhaps also struck at one of these cities. The appearance of the Jerusalem hoard (concealed *ca.* 1225), however, tends to locate the billon coins of the kingdom in the vicinity of that city.[16]

The specific form of the tower, appearing on the reverse of these early billon deniers and oboles, with its courses of masonry three or four layers high, and its corner battlements depicted by pellets or annulets, represents a particular royal edifice or institution of the kingdom, judging by evidence of a similar structure appearing on the seals of the kings and an identical later coin type inscribed TVRRIS /+DAVIT. The *Tower of David* was, indeed, one of the chief political and religious monuments and one of the principal military edifices of the city of Jerusalem.[17] The Tower of David is represented with and without glacis. This glacis or slope extending down from the fortification is rendered as downward protuberances from the lower parts of the tower. Though the type may simply be a symbol of Jerusalem's royal power and authority, it also may be a more explicit reference to the spot where the coins were actually minted. One student of Crusader coins goes so far as to assign the mint at Jerusalem to the Tower of David; though it is certainly an attractive and plausible theory, there is no actual documented evidence that this was so.[18]

These early billon coins fall into two categories: some were struck from experimental, crudely-cut dies, whereas others, more common and of a more mature style, are neatly-inscribed, decorative, and well-proportioned. The earlier types have come to be called the 'rough' series, the latter the 'smooth' series. The legends of the experimental types vary slightly: what may be the earliest form of *Jerusalem* is spelled +DE hIERVSALEN,[19] but similar varieties are spelled +DE hIERVSALEI and +DE hIERVSALEM. The obverse legends also undergo some syntactical changes by the positioning of the stop marks; for example, BALDVINVS REX becomes :REX BALDVINVS with the insertion of pellet stops. The common standard form of the

second group, however, is consistently BALDVINVS RE+, the + also serving as the cross at the beginning of this legend, and +DE IERVSALEM. The style of the lettering for the latter group is highly decorative - D is often written D, N is J-I and X is X, in much the same style as the letters on coins of Amaury (1163-74). This fact is an indication that the more elegantly inscribed group of coins were issued after the cruder types, and nearer Amaury's reign. The ornaments evidently correspond with the sequence of emissions and vary from one die to another.[20]

Though its date and integrity are uncertain, the only published hoard known to date from earlier than 1182 is the Briailles hoard, consisting exclusively of coins of Tower of David type.[21] The hoard tends to confirm that these two stylistic categories of deniers and oboles were closely associated. Though there is a gap in hoard evidence between the concealment of the Samos hoard in 1182 and the deposit of several hoards around 1221, all of these hoards have such low percentages of coins in the name of Baldwin that it is unlikely that they were minted during the reigns of Baldwin IV (1174-85) or Baldwin V (1185-86). The Jerusalem hoard, concealed between 1221 and 1225, has 72 coins struck at Jerusalem by Amaury (1163-74), vastly more than any of the subsequent rulers who were deprived of Jerusalem after 1187, including Aimery and John of Brienne, and only three coins in the name of Baldwin. These facts also tend to negate the possibility that they were issued by the later kings named Baldwin.[22]



Based on Metcalf

Tower of David Types

Although all recorded evidence points to the attribution of Baldwin's coins no later than the middle of the twelfth century, the question has arisen whether the experimental types might not belong to Baldwin II (1118-34). The absence of any

coins in the name of Foulques d'Anjou (1134-43) has been a stumbling block for this theory; and though the evidence may be insufficient, the Briailles hoard would suggest that the coins were closely associated, and thus belong to a single reign, probably that of Baldwin III (1143-63). Since this theory is derived from very little concrete evidence, the question naturally arises why the kings of Jerusalem hesitated to issue the billon coins in their names until Baldwin III did so around 1143. Count Bertrand of Toulouse had already issued some deniers, for example, at Tripoli shortly after 1109. The answer maybe, as Prawer points out, that the native Muslims' initial hostility toward the Frankish regime in Jerusalem made issuing Frankish-type coins a luxury they could not afford.[23] That, first, the Muslim-type gold coins were issued in the kingdom and that billon coins followed as a petty currency is a distinct historical probability, though the subject will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere.[24]

There has been some slight conflict in the details of the published weights and alloys of these coins. Working with many examples of the type, Yvon found that the coins of the first category, the earlier, 'rough' types, weigh generally about 0.95 grams, and those of the second group weigh about 0.96 grams. Taking a more theoretical overview, Cox found that one early specimen, which she assigns to Baldwin II (similar to *Figure 3* in our Catalogue), weighs 1.02 grams; and she determined, from only four random specimens, that the mean weight of the later types is 0.82 grams. From some assays of the fineness of the second group of coins, she found that the later deniers contain about 0.285 grams fine silver at 34.7%, and she, therefore, assumed that the early coin weighing 1.02 grams is of the same alloy and contains 0.354 grams fine silver, which corresponds to the value of the current continental denier, or one-quarter of an English sterling (1.40 g).[25] Miss Cox may have been stretching this analogy slightly; but, obviously, if we apply her reasoning to the more accurate mean value of the coins that Yvon supplies, then the silver content at 34.7% is roughly 0.329 grams, which is nearly the same amount of silver as in Amaury's coins (1163-74). More tests in the future may lead to better average values for the weight and percentage of silver content, and until they are performed and published, Cox's figures must be considered rough estimates. Suffice it to say that neither scholar actually found there to be any substantial difference in the alloy between the early experimental, 'rough' type and the later, 'smooth' type, that Yvon's observation that the average weights of the coins of both groups were essentially the same is correct, and finally, that the types are closely associated.

The oboles of the first group, according to Yvon, generally weigh, about 0.46 grams, and those of the second average 0.48 grams.[26] Both varieties of oboles are infinitely rarer than the deniers, but the cruder-style obole is the rarest of all the types of this denomination. In accordance with the metrological and hoard evidence, therefore, all these coins are assigned in the Catalogue to Baldwin III.

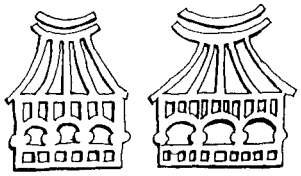
Metcalf, in his die study,[27] concluded that the 'smooth' series would have had a mintage of 5½ million deniers, while the earlier, 'rough' series would have

amounted to a little over a million. This is a result of considering an effective die out put of 10,000 pieces. He has also observed that the 'smooth' series can be broken down into five separate groups. He has suggested that the 'rough' and 'smooth' series are probably from two different mints, with a third mint or workshop producing group 4 of the 'smooth' series.[28]

Amaury (1163-1174)

Amaury also minted billon deniers and oboles, bearing a cross with annulets in the second and third quarters and the Holy Sepulchre with a cone-shaped roof as types, and the inscription AMALRICVS REX-/+DE IERVSALEM. Three coins, weighing between 0.79 and 0.98 grams, were discovered in the Samos hoard of 1182, thus justifying the attribution of the coins to Amaury, though the type may have been immobilized and continued by his successors.[29] The representation of the Holy Sepulchre has an arcade surmounted by a roof with slightly concave profile and a crescent above, indicating the oculus of the actual building as it was remodeled by the Franks during the early part of the twelfth century.[30] The type continued to be used on the deniers and dirhams of the Latin Kingdom into the thirteenth century, as we shall see in due course.

Like the coins of Baldwin, Amaury's coins generally weigh more than 0.90 grams, consist of about 33% silver, and are consistent in style and type with a great variety of ornamented letters indicating emissions.[31] The Tell Jemmeh Hoard and the Jerusalem Hoard have resulted in a more in depth study of the AMALRICUS coins.[32] Three mints are proposed by Metcalf, with the analysis of these early AMALRICUS deniers. The criteria for Metcalf's results were A) calligraphic style of the letter 'A,' B) the rendering of the Holy Sepulchre, C) quality of the flans, D) die alignment, E) average weights and occurrence of the obole. This coinage was probably started in 1167,[33] coinciding with the making of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre into one entity. The fine-style series has now been divided into three sub-series.[34] The first consists of varieties with Ā, the second of varieties with multi-barred A's, and the third with Ā and dotted chevron.[35] Like Baldwin's coins, Amaury's billon oboles are much rarer than the deniers.



Types 1-4 Type 5

HOLY SEPULCHRE - FINE STYLE

Guy de Lusignan (1186-1190)

The generally unpopular King Guy de Lusignan also issued a portrait coin. On the reverse, these copper coins also bear a more bulbous church of the Holy Sepulchre. As for Guy's portrait, it also seems to be of at least three varieties, which

differ only in terms of the coiffure and crown. According to Schlumberger's illustration of the type, Guy is represented with bearded bust facing, wearing a triangular crown with pendilia on either side, a series of pellets across the front for curls or jewels, and a pellet to the left and right in the field. Other varieties of the type seem to have hair in curls, rather than pendilia, or three trefoils above the jeweled band, rather than a triangular frame for the crown. Though the variations do not justify their being classified as separate types, the varieties are illustrated in the Catalogue along with Schlumberger's engraving.

The inscription on Guy's coins is novel in terms of the division of D-E between the obverse and the reverse, no doubt because of spacing; and the letter M appears in its uncial form on his coins. Weighing between *ca.* 0.90 and 1.11 grams as a rule, the coins may have been issued by him at Jerusalem soon after his coronation late in the summer of 1186, and before the battle of Hattin, in which he was taken prisoner, in July 1187.[36] Another possibility is that Guy issued the coins at Acre as a propaganda piece when his rule was contended by Conrad between 1191 and 1192, though this is less likely. The denomination of his coins is also uncertain: they may be copper fractions, or simply debased deniers, minted when the economy of Jerusalem had declined just before the war with Saladin.[37]

Henry of Champagne (1192-1197)

The coinage during the reign of Henry of Champagne is exemplified by a copper *pougeoise* with cross pattee with annulets in four quarters and a fleur-de-lis, and another type bearing a similar obverse cross and a double hexagram pattern. The legends are +COMES HENRICVS and +PVGES D'ACCON (for *Pugesia d'Accone* or *Pougeoise d'Acre*) labeling the denomination of the coin. What may be a *piefort (?)* of similar type also exists, weighing over 9 grams, but still inscribed PVGES D' ACCON, with a fleur-de-lis. The pougeoise with fleur is scarce, but the piefort and pougeoise with double hexagram are both extremely rare. Schlumberger, incidentally, did not know the latter pougeoise. The existence of these new types and denominations illustrates in part the influence of the coinages of France in the Latin Orient during this period after the Third Crusade. The fleur-de-lis had often occurred on French deniers, and the hexagram had also appeared earlier on the silver deniers of Déols in France. One uncertain gold coinage of the twelfth century kings of Jerusalem, today known only from clipped fragments, also bore the hexagram matrix.

Aimery of Lusignan (1197-1205)

The attribution of the degenerate deniers copied from the Amaury deniers at Jerusalem has stirred controversy since Schlumberger's day. These degenerate billon deniers bear the same inscriptions and types and contain the same percentage of silver[38] as their prototypes; but they have thinner, more irregular flans and are of lighter weight and far inferior workmanship. Hoards demonstrate that these debased deniers were issued in large numbers and were often recoined therefore precluding

the idea that they were a false money - and that they were available in large numbers for concealment by 1221. Some of the prototypes issued by Amaury appeared in the Samos hoard of 1182, and hundreds of its crude and light-weight degenerate types were included in the Kessab and Tripoli hoards, deposited between 1221 and 1225.[39] Because this general chronology has been established by the evidence of hoards, Cox's theory that all the deniers with the Holy Sepulchre type were issued by Aimery de Lusignan - the better ones on Cyprus and the cruder ones on the mainland - is no longer viable.

Today, there is a dispute whether the coins were immobilized and recoined by several of Amaury's successors or by one of the later kings after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Erroneously referring to "Aimery" as "Amaury II," Schlumberger came to the tentative conclusion that the heavy, neatly-struck coins were issued by Amaury I and the crude ones were imitated by the second ruler of that name, "Amaury II."[40] Longuet accepted Schlumberger's attribution, though he noted that "Aimery" was never called "Amalricus," as Amaury I was, by his contemporaries, but "Aimericus," a different name.[41]

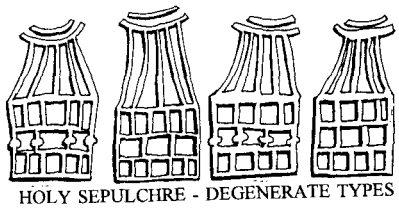
The occurrence of the degenerate types in such large numbers in late hoards strongly suggests that they were issued no earlier than the last decade of the twelfth century. Even though Aimery's reign falls within this period, there is no overwhelming evidence contradicting the possibility that they were immobilized and recoined during the period of the Third Crusade (1190-92), or while John of Ibelin was constable of Jerusalem for Aimery (1197-1205), or bailie for Marie de Montferrat (1205-10), or even during the reign of John of Brienne (1210-25), who is known to have issued dirham-weight coins of the same Holy Sepulchre type. A more positive piece of evidence is that, besides being represented in the same hoards,[42] these imitative coins share certain traits of re-coining, with the early billon deniers issued by John I of Ibelin at Beirut (*ca.* 1198/1205-1236).[43] They have similar variations of the decorative elements within the quarters of the obverse cross, quite unlike the coinages of either Amaury or John of Brienne.

No other coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem are so crudely manufactured as these. According to Cox, however, though they are reduced in module, from the 17 mm of Amaury's coins to 14 mm,[44] they are of the same silver alloy as the earlier deniers of Jerusalem.[45] Their weights range widely between 0.20 and 0.70 grams; and from this fact Longuet suggests that they may have been reduced over a long period of time. Also, according to Cox, these types correspond, at *ca.* 0.55 grams and 32.3% silver, to the other coinages being issued in the Crusader states at this period at a reduced percentage of silver. The coins, for example, of Guy and Hugh of Cyprus (1192-1218) weigh 0.758 to 0.771 grams at 21.2% silver, and the deniers of John de Brienne, minted at Damietta (1219-21), weigh 0.739 grams at 22% silver.[46] Longuet, however, found that the mean weight of these deniers in the Kessab hoard centered around 0.472 grams,[47] showing that Cox's statistics are perhaps not strictly accurate.

Nonetheless, the style and quality of the deniers are so different from the other coinages that it seems unlikely that they were issued at the same mints, either a mint on Cyprus, at Acre, or at Damietta. As has been suggested, Tyre probably served along with Acre as an auxiliary mint while Jerusalem was under Ayyubid control (1187-1229).[48] In the Jerusalem hoard, concealed around the year 1225,[49] the coins of Amalric I (i.e., Amaury) outnumber the imitative types substantially, suggesting that Amaury's coins had been issued at Jerusalem and the cruder coins had not. The fact that so many of the coins were hoarded in the areas of Tripoli and Kessab in Syria might further indicate that they were issued at the kingdom's northernmost mint of Tyre, though, if they were travelers' hoards, this would not necessarily be so.

Cox doubted that a type would have been revived as an immobilized currency in the name of "Amalricus" thirty years after its original issue; and, as Briailles has shown, since Aimery was never referred to as "Amalricus II" by his contemporaries, he therefore would have had no personal reason for issuing these imitations. On the other hand, Aimery seems to have avoided issuing coins in his own name at Cyprus and may have continued that policy on the mainland by imitating a type issued by one of his predecessors. The fortunes of the kingdom for at least twenty years after the Ayyubid wars were, indeed, so low that it is conceivable that the royal mint reduced the flan and weight of its deniers, and perhaps had the former types clipped at this period,[50] in order to supply large numbers of coins at a lower cost. The allusion, even through these crude little coins, to an earlier type issued when the fortunes of the kingdom had been at their peak, and when the Holy Sepulchre had been in Latin Christian hands, must have had an impact on the Frankish population in what remained of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Therefore, despite the uncertainties and qualifications, in our Catalogue these coins are classified as belonging to Aimery de Lusignan (1197-1205), and later.

Continued analysis of these degenerate types reveal more information as to the nature of these coins. Pesant shows that 87% of the weights lie between 0.31 and 0.60 grams, and half gather at 0.41 to 0.50 grams.[51] Large numbers of these coins were double-struck in the minting process and a high percentage of these coins reveal flan cracks. These cruder dies often show great deterioration due to overuse. Rusty dies are not uncommon, and brockages are also found. The final point of deterioration is found on dies having almost no legend visible and with but slight central motif. On some of the dies the central motif only has been recut. This coinage was produced under high stress.



HOLY SEPULCHRE - DEGENERATE TYPES

John of Brienne (King, 1210-1212; Regent, 1212-1225)

John de Brienne, who was at first king (1210-12) and subsequently regent (1212-25) of Jerusalem, struck silver dirhams weighing *ca.* 2.70 grams, which are similar in weight to contemporary Arabic dirhams circulating in the area. They bear a cross and the Holy Sepulchre, like the billon pieces of Amaury and Aimery, and the legends +IOHANNES REX and +DE IERVSALEM. Anonymous silver dirhams of similar design, but with the legends +DRAGMA ACCONEN and +SEPVLCHRI DOMINI, which are probably close to them in date, also exist. The former might possibly have been issued during John's reign, and the anonymous dirham during his regency; and they both, as the latter type is inscribed, were issued at Acre.[52] Neither appears in hoards and both are quite rare. Weighing about four times as much as his billon deniers, they may have been valued in a multiple of that ratio to them, though their actual value is not known. The large fine silver coins of Latin type are indeed a landmark in the coinage of Jerusalem.

John de Brienne also minted billon deniers associated with the Fifth Crusade, when he was the leader of the Palestinian forces and Damietta was occupied (1219-21). These deniers are of two types: those bearing a cross and +IOhES REX on the obverse, and a crowned head, facing, and +DAMIATA on the reverse; and others bearing a mitred head, facing, and +IOHANNES REX on the obverse, and a similar cross with pellets in two quarters and +DAMIETA on the reverse. It has been suggested that the mitred (?) head might represent the Papal Legate Pelagius, who quarreled with John de Brienne about the leadership of the Crusading forces, and might have struck the second type during John's absence from Damietta.[53] The transposition of the head and the cross in relation to the legends might also be significant; such transpositions of types on contemporary deniers of Cyprus seem to have occurred during regencies.

The Damiettan deniers appear in substantial numbers in hoards concealed during the 1220s and 1230s, and are not as rare as Schlumberger formerly surmised. Hoards reveal that the first type with John's crowned portrait outnumber by a large margin those with mitred portrait.[54] The varieties of stops within the legends of the first coinage would signify that they underwent several emissions; whereas the mitred portrait coins are quite regular, probably indicating, in this instance, that they were issued for a shorter period of time.[55]

Though the coins with Latin legends naming the kings of Jerusalem end at the reign of John de Brienne, some anonymous and uncertain deniers and other denominations may help complete the picture.

ANONYMOUS "DRAGMA" AFTER CIRCA 1210

One enigmatic type, struck in silver, does helps illuminate several points concerning the coinage of the Latin Kingdom. Weighing *ca.* 2.10 grams, this

rare type bears on the obverse the legend +SEPVLCHRI.DOMINI, doubtlessly with *moneta* understood. This legend labels its accompanying type, the familiar edifice with conical roof and oculus, which is identical to that appearing on the deniers of Amaury and the larger silver coins of John of Brienne, therefore indicating beyond any doubt that the building represents the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. The reverse legend, like other coins of Jerusalem, bears its denomination and mint, +DRAGMA ACCONEN, like the pougeoise of Henry of Champagne and the denier (denier de Seete) of Sidon, issued after *ca.* 1230. The use of the word *dragma* is unique among the coins of the Franks in the East, though the word is used interchangeably with *denier* in certain chronicles of the Crusades, including Joinville's. In the Munich version of the *Assise, dragma* is substituted for *denier,* which appears in the Venetian manuscript.[56] Furthermore, the word *dragma* is associated with the Arabic *dirham* and the Armenian *tram.* Did the state regard the Frankish billon denier as equal to and synonymous with the Muslim dirham? This seems possible, considering the baseness of the Fatimid dirham of Egypt; but when the Ayyubid rulers of Aleppo and Damascus began issuing their dirhams, weighing nearly 3.00 grams of the finest silver, the Crusaders must have been forced to improve their silver issue. This DRAGMA ACCONEN may therefore be one of their first attempts at rivaling the large silver issues of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Taken together, the legends indicate that the "money of the Holy Sepulchre" was minted as the "dragma of Acre." Presumably the coins were issued while Jerusalem was in Muslim hands and the mint at Acre still produced the royal coinage. Vogüé suggested that the obverse inscription and type were retained as a nostalgic reminder of the days when the city of Jerusalem was in Christian hands. Schlumberger assigned the coins to Acre during the era of the Third Crusade, when the Military Orders controlled the revenues of the state, thus explaining the coins' anonymity.[57] Did these coins predate the influential Venetian grosso of the same weight, first issued in 1202? Or, were both these coinages prompted separately by the example of the large silver Islamic and Byzantine coins in circulation in the East? Did the Crusader dragma predate the dirham imitations struck by the Crusaders after 1216? One possible solution to the problem of attributing this difficult coinage is: because John of Brienne (king, 1210-12; regent, 1212-25) issued a large silver coin of precisely the same type and of dirham weight (2.70 g.) in his own name, the anonymous coin may well be closely associated with it. It may, therefore, tentatively be proposed that the coin belongs to the era of the Fifth Crusade (1217-21), in which the forces of the kingdom led by John de Brienne participated. The coinage may have been anonymous because John, then regent for his daughter Isabelle, was absent from his kingdom on a Crusade. The type may also have suggested the goal of the Crusade, the recovery of Jerusalem and its sacred monuments. The actual date and attribution of the type must finally be resolved when and if more specimens appear in dated contexts, but until then they may be thought of as associated with the large silver coins minted in the name of John de Brienne.

PILGRIM COINAGE ISSUED BY ECCLESIASTICAL ORDERS

One rare billon denier, as well as an obole, which may have been issued by the Military Orders was, in all probability more likely a token coinages minted by Ecclesiastical Orders for pilgrims' use. These types bears a patriarchal cross on a base set on two concentric rectangles, flanked by two palm branches. The simple cross on the reverse is within the legend CRVCIS, Latin genitive for cross, or as is sometimes read V:CRVCIS (both retrograde) for *Via, Victoria, Verus* or even *Vrbs Crucis. Victoria* may be the most probable, as it also alludes to the palm branches and victory of Christ. Some recent scholars, however, have called into question the identification of this letter as V at all. The cross is presented with the upper bar, representing the sign over Christ's head bearing the charge against him, "This is Jesus the King of the Jews.[58] The large, pedestal-like base represents the mount of the crucifixion, Golgotha. This cross type is found on various seals.[59] As Seltman points out, the coins may have been sold to pilgrims, just as tokens have in modern times been sold to travelers in Jerusalem or at pilgrimage sites, for example, in India. One might associate this particular type, as well as the SAN AEREA type and the SEPULCRUM DOMINI type, with a specific area or monument of Jerusalem, perhaps one of the stations of the Cross.

Another rare pair of billon denier and obole, the SAN AEREA type mentioned above, bears a tall building with large arched portal and a clerestory, flanked by two domed towers, and inscribed on the opposite face +SAN AEREA, for *Sancta Aerea*, surrounds a simple cross. The coins refer to the al-Aqsa mosque of Jerusalem, where the Templars were headquartered in the area of the *Templum Domini*, today known as the Dome of the Rock.[60] On the seals of Baldwin I and his successors, the reverse type shows the three principal monuments of Jerusalem: the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, and the *Templum Domini*, surmounted by a cross.[61] The rendering of the temple on these coins can be closely identified with that on the seal and is definitely the *Templum Domini.*

C.J. Sabine has studied the *Sepulchrum Domini* type billon denier and correctly observed that obverse bears a retrograde TVRRIS DAVIT inscription, while the reverse inscription reads +SEPVLChRVM DOMINI or +SEP'RVM DOMINI. The Tower of David shows protuberances, but they must be considered as surrounding fortifications.[62] The Holy Sepulchre is the actual tomb edicule within the larger rotunda, and is one of the most sacred Christian shrines. It is felt that this type falls into the category of Jerusalem pilgrim coinage, along with the preceding types.

Without indicating a city of origin or a ruler, these types have an exclusively religious significance, which strongly tends to suggest that they were struck by one of the religious institutions which had charge of the places of pilgrimage. The patriarchal cross appearing on the reverse of the first type also occurs on the seals of

the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, those of the bishops of Acre, and those of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, as well as on the Hospitallers' coinage minted on Rhodes.[63] It is therefore tempting to attribute the coins to the Hospitallers. The Templars may also have been responsible for the token coinage distributed in the "Holy Area" of the city. It is known that when pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem, they were given itineraries, though sometimes the rival Orders, such as the Templars and Hospitallers, held different views about the sites of the ancient monuments where the pilgrims desired to worship. Because they possessed establishments both in Europe and in the Levant, the Orders were often entrusted at one location with money which the pilgrims could recover with an order of payment at their destination, thereby avoiding some of the dangers involved in traveling.[64] Therefore, not only were these Orders involved in the financial affairs of the pilgrim traffic, but they may also have taken part, as we have seen, in the minting operations of the kingdom; and they might plausibly have produced a token coinage as well.

BILLON ISSUE OF THE COMMUNE OF ACRE

One anonymous royal billon issue has been plausibly, attributed to the period of the Third Crusade. The type is inscribed MONETA REGIS/+REX IERL'M, and bears a patriarchal cross, the lower arms of which are accosted by an Alpha and an Omega on the obverse, and a plain cross pattee on the reverse, reminiscent of the deniers of King Philip Augustus of France. The coin weighs generally between 0.90 and 0.96 g. The circumstances surrounding the minting of these rare and handsome royal coins were once thought to have been influenced by the presence of the French king and Richard Coer de Lion of England in the Holy Land. Hence, Vogüé and later Schlumberger, both held to an early attribution, but both Metcalf[65] and Rahmani[66] now believe it dates from a later period. Two hoards have been found of these "moneta regis" coins, on at Nahal 'Amud near Tiberias, the other at Kfar Nahum near Capernum. No other coins were present in these hoards. Metcalf proposes a date of issue of 1231-43, and attributes the type to the Commune of Acre.

HYBRID IMITATIONS WITH COMBINED LATIN AND ARABIC CHARACTERISTICS

Certain rare Crusader coins appear to be conflations of both Islamic and Frankish types. One such coin, struck in billon, bears the mint name of Jerusalem inscribed in Arabic script as the obverse type, and a cross pommetée with small churches in the, angles on the reverse. One variety of this reverse type is arranged with the churches' spires pointing outwards from the center of the cross, and another variety bears similar churches with spires pointing inwards. A copper coin, weighing 2.48 grams, is quite similar, but this time bears "Struck at Acre," inscribed in good

style naskhi, and a cross fleurdelisée. Who minted these unusual coins at Acre and Jerusalem and when they did so remain a mystery, though one might guess that they were associated with some disruptive period during the thirteenth century. Another copper coin bearing a star and a cross-and-crosslets as types is inscribed in pseudo-Arabic and may also have been minted by the Crusaders, though when and where has not as yet been determined.

CUT GOLD FRAGMENTS OF JERUSALEM

Cut fragments of gold coins with Latin inscriptions, which Schlumberger had never encountered, have been discovered in several hoards. Seven fragments were first unearthed during some archaeological excavations at 'Amwas el-Qubeibeh, located just northwest of Jerusalem. These were published in 1947 by Bagatti who attempted to reconstruct the legends as +AMALRICVS REX / +DE IERVSALEM.[67] In 1967 Miles published ten more fragments from a hoard containing Islamic imitative dinars, said to have been discovered at Marash in modern Turkey, located due north of Aleppo. Although he doubted that the coins could have been struck as early as the reign of Amaury (1163-74), Miles did try to reconstruct the types as a six-pointed star or hexagram on the obverse and a gridiron or gate pattern within a circle of arches on the reverse.[68] After conducting some metrological studies on the cuttings that Miles had published, Gordus and Metcalf found that they contained between 50 and 60% gold, much less in fact than that contained in the Crusaders' imitations of Fatimid dinars also minted during the twelfth century. From the hoard evidence, Gordus and Metcalf also determined fairly conclusively that these slivered fragments themselves were in circulation at least as early as the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[69]

The monetary use of cut gold fragments was not an innovation. The use of Islamic cut gold has been well established. Moreover, Brady has been able to study a large hoard obtained by an American collector in Beirut in 1974, which consists of 84 pieces with legible inscriptions and over 100 sundry cuttings, including fragments of Fatimid and Norman-Sicilian gold coins. The fragments of this hoard are more irregularly cut than those found in other hoards, ranging in weight between 0.30 and 1.08 grams. The large number of legible fragments enabled Brady to reconstruct the legends of these coins with a greater degree of accuracy than had previously been possible. Since then Metcalf has published the Ashmolean Museum's fine holdings. Brady has also published a second hoard of forty fragments, while in *Coin Hoards VII*, Beasly has published two hoards of 79 and 22 pieces respectively. Recent research by Sharon Salvadori of the New York Institute of Fine Arts has attempted to clarify the evolution of the series.

What may plausibly be inferred from the evidence is that the first of these coins was struck whole by Baldwin III and cut into pieces at a mint or mints of the

kingdom. After having been cut, the fragments circulated widely, from Jerusalem and Caesarea to Marash, and were weighed as bullion. The fact that not one example of the original type has survived intact might suggest that it was not meant to circulate as a regular coinage, but rather as bullion. Why indeed would the kings of Jerusalem have minted imitations of Fatimid dinars of fine alloy and at the same time a gold coinage of Latin type and inferior alloy? The answer may be that they were a fractional denomination, worth intrinsically less than the dinar itself, perhaps the *rabouin* so frequently mentioned in Crusader documents. However, why would a half denomination have been cut into fragments unless these cut fragments circulated at a value close to that of the cut fragments of the Islamic and Sicilian gold coins also present in the hoards? This would make sense and show a handsome profit for the mint.

Cut Coin Fragments

The cut fragments have been divided into two groups. The earlier group consists of cut coin fragments, with a redder color gold and higher gold content. This group is distinguished by one round, coin-type edge visible on each fragment. The shape is usually that of a pie wedge of various proportions. Fragments from one quarter to even one sixteenth of a complete circle have been found. The larger the size, the more legend will be revealed, and thus of more interest to the numismatist. The usual design is the hexagram obverse and the gate in octafoil reverse. The standard legend for Baldwin III (1143-63) found on most types is SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS for the obverse and HIERVSALEM CIVITAS for the reverse. Brady[70] has definitely established this as the main coin type in his study of 40 Latin types now in the cabinet of the ANS. The Amaury coin type is much more open to uncertainty. No definite cut coin fragments are known. Two coins from the Ashmolean, Nos. 162 and 165[71] with legends AMA and RI o C are not necessarily cut coin fragments but appear to be.

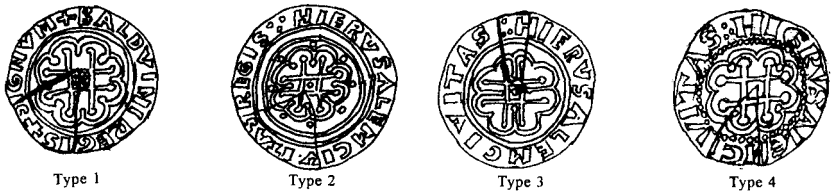
Three definite hexagram types have been reconstructed, while four gate types have been identified. In the reconstruction of the coin types it is difficult to be sure of certain peculiarities, especially in the direct center of the coin as this area is the least revealed in the coin fragments. Three other coin designs have also been identified. They are the expanding cross type, similar to the gate type, the four-shield type, and three cross moline types. These three later coin designs are known from just a few examples and are open to possible future revision.

Of special note are two cut gold coin fragments of the Crusader bilingual type. The Ashmolean has one with the inscription REI or RΞI, while ANS has one with AN or AII. Each has a pseudo-Arabic inscription on the reverse. The style of these is similar to the dinar and bezant with a plain middle circle. The central devise is undetermined. It has been thought that this could be a transitional type from the earlier besants of Jerusalem to the cut gold, but more fragments must come to light

RECONSTRUCTED CUT GOLD COIN DESIGNS

Type 1 Type 2 Type 3

HEXAGRAM TYPES

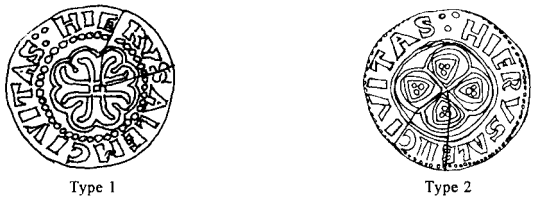


Type 1 Type 2 Type 3 Type 4

GATE IN OCTAFOIL TYPES

Type 1 Type 2 Type 3

CROSS MOLINE IN OCTAFOIL TYPES



Type 1 Type 2

EXPANDING CROSS IN OCTAFOIL FOUR SHIELDS IN QUATREFOIL

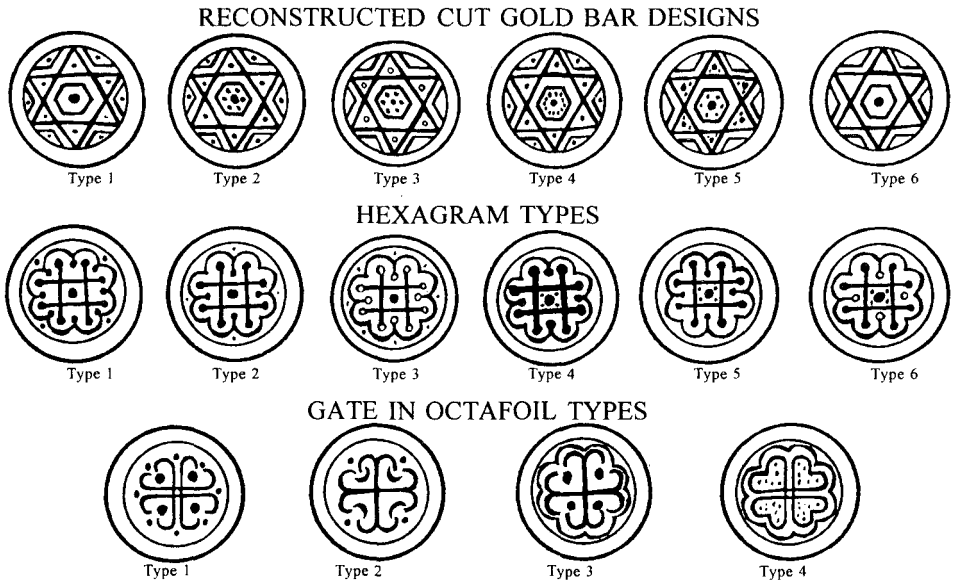
before this will be apparent.

The post-Amaury coin types are for the most part speculative until more examples are found to substantiate these assigned types. One characteristic of these types is that they are often found with beaded inner and outer borders. A similar cross moline design is found on the coins of Baldwin IV (1174-85). The inscription is SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS, along with the possible inscription BALDVINI DEI GRACIA REX. The latter inscription is of Baldwin IV as revealed by his lead seals.[72] Baldwin IV only used GRACIA not GRATIA as the other Baldwins did. Two other types with the cross moline design have and obverse X for REX and DEI or DΞI in DEI GRACIA REX. These elements would help tie the cut fragments of Baldwin IV together. One cut fragment in the Ashmolean revealing the legend

+RA... would may indicate an attribution to the regency at Jerusalem of Raymond III of Tripoli. This, as Metcalf suggests, is certainly possible. The four shield type has been assigned to Baldwin V. The cut fragment with COM inscription (for +COMES HENRICVS?) is assigned to Henry of Champagne (1192-97). This legend is also found on Henry's pougeoise coinage of Jerusalem. This type has the design of a gate on both the obverse and reverse.

Cut Bar Fragments

A second group, distinct from the cut coin fragments are cut bar fragments. Unlike the pie-wedge shaped cut coin fragments, these are an irregular, rectangular shape. On the occasion that triangular or irregular examples are found, all sides can be expected to be straight. They were struck in a pale gold alloy and have thicker flans than the cut coin fragments. They were never struck as coins but as flat bars[73], and then cut with shears into the irregular, rectangular pieces. One natural straight edge with three sheared edges is common, but two parallel natural edges or even



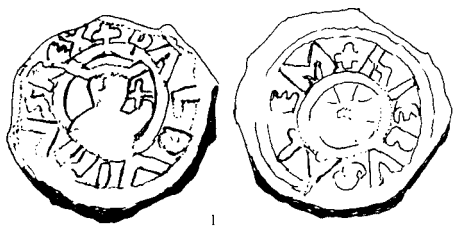
three natural edges are known. Occasionally all edges are sheared, showing the diversity of the width of the original bar as well as in the shearing. There is no relationship of the natural edge to the position of the coin design. The apparent die alignment is adequate to show an intended alignment, however examples are known

from fragments where there is no relationship between the obverse and reverse at all.

The pale gold alloy suggests a late issue. A post-1187 date circulating through the 1220s is suggested. The nature of the pieces reveals a different stage than the cut coin fragments, a phase two, so to speak. It would seem that the mint was simplifying the manufacturing process and lowering expenses, while still meeting demand. All pieces have part of the design present, making them acceptable to money exchangers, merchants, travelers and pilgrims, and the populace as a whole. These fragments may have circulated at a higher gold rate than the gold alloy present in each cut piece.

The cut bar fragments can be divided into three categories. The first type is made in the name of Amaury with the AMALRICVS REX legend. This type uses the standard hexagram/gate design. It is interesting to note that the degenerate Holy Sepulchre deniers of the period 1197 to *ca.* 1220 are also in the name of AMALRICVS, thus suggesting a link between the cut gold bar fragments to the same period of 1197-1220. The second group is the anonymous hexagram/gate type. The letters found on these are often random letters with no apparent proper inscription. In some cases there is no intent of letters around the outer edge. Six hexagram types have been reconstructed, along with six gate types. The third group is the anonymous cross moline types, of which there are four reconstructed types.

Baldwin I (1100-18)



1

1. AE follis or medallion. 12.30 g. Meshorer, *History of Jeruslem, Crusaders & Ayyubids, p. 395-6.*

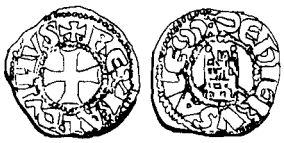
O: +BALDVINVS REX

Facing bust of king wearing crown tipped with cross, and holding globus cruciger.

R: +HIERVSALEM

Expanding cross in center, within inner border.

Baldwin III (1143-63)



2

3

I. *Crude Style 'Rough' Series*

2. Billon denier. 0.98 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), ser. 0,1; Yvon, III,7; Cox, *Tripolis Hoard,* pp. 56-7.
   O: +RЄX BALƋVINVS
   Cross pattée
   R: :ƋЄbIERVSALЄƠ
   Tower of David with glacis

3. Billon denier. 0.84 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), 13.
   O: BALƋVINVS RЄX
   Cross pattée
   R: ⁝ƋEbIЄRVSALЄN
   Tower of David
   Also known without initial stop (Yvon, III,4).

4

5

4. Billon denier. 0.80 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), 12.
   O: BĀLƋVINVS RCX
   Cross pattée
   R: ⁝ƋЄ bIЄRVSALЄH
   Tower of David with glacis

5. Billon denier. 0.86 - 0.95 g. Yvon, III, 5&6.
   O: ⁝RЄX BALƋVINVS
   Cross pattée
   R: ⁝ƋЄhIЄRVSALЄH
   Tower of David

6

7

6. Billon obole. 0.40 g. Yvon, III, 8.
O: ⁝RЄX BALƏVINVS
Cross pattée
R: ⁝ƏЄbIЄRVSALЄOI
Tower of David

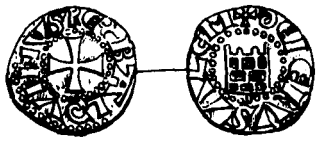
7. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1978) 3.
O: ⁝RЄX BALƏVINVS
Cross pattée
R: ⁝ƏЄ hIЄRVSΛLЄH
Tower of David with glacis

8

9

8. Billon denier. Yvon, III, 6.
O: ⁝RЄX BALƏVIHV
Cross pattée
R: ⁝ƏЄBIЄRVSALЄI
Tower of David

9. Billon denier. 0.90-1.00 g. Cox, pp. 56-7.
O: +RЄX BΛLDOIHVS
Cross pattée
R: ⁝ƏC bICRVSΛLC
Tower of David with glacis



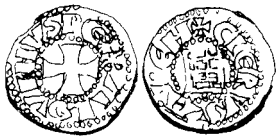
10

11

10. Billon denier. 0.90 - 1.00 g. Schl. III, 22; Saulcy, IX,2.
O: BAL∂VINVS RЄX
Cross pattee, within circle of large pellets.
R: +∂ЄIЄRVSALЄN (or M)
Tower of David, within circle of large pellets.
A variety exists with tower with three middle turrets (Metcalf, NC *1978, 30.)*

11. Billon Obole. 0.45 - 0.51 g. Yvon, *RN*(1966), pl. III, 3.
O: BAL∂VINVS RЄX
Cross pattée within circle of large pellets
R: +∂ЄIЄRVSALЄN, N reversed
Tower of David, within circle of large pellets.
There are examples of oboles of heavy weight and deniers of light weight.

12



13

12. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), 16.
O: BĀLoVINVS RЄX
Cross pattée
R: ✠∂Є IЄRVSĀLЄN
Tower of David with glacis

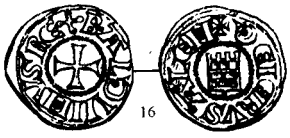
13. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), 14.
O: BĀL∂VINVS RЄX
Cross pattée
R: ✠C IЄRVSĀLЄH
Tower of David

14

15

14. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), 15.
O: BĀL∂VINVS RЄX
Cross pattée
R: ✠∂Є IЄRVSĀLЄN
Tower of David

15. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), 18.
O: BAL∂VINVS RЄX
Cross pattée
R: ✠∂Є IЄRVSĀLЄH
Tower of David with glacis
Types with blundered legend exist (Metcalf, NC *1978, 36).*


16

17

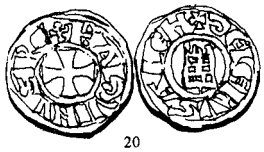
II. *Fine Style 'Smooth' Series*

16. Billon denier. 0.90 - 1.00 g. Schl. III,21; Cox, p. 49, Metcalf, *NC* (1978) p. 78a; *Ash.* gr. 1.
O: BAL∂VINVS RЄX
Cross pattee similar to preceding, but finer style, more decorative lettering, and smaller pellets in circle of pellets. X with pellet ends.
R: +∂Є IЄRVSALЄM
Tower of David, in fine style.

17. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.*, group 2.
Similar, B has central tongue.

18. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.*, group 3.
Similar, X has annulet ends, tower's top ends are annulets.

19


20

19. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.*, group 4.
Similar, straight X with annulet ends, B ends touching, elongated.

20. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.*, group 5.
Similar, cross-type (+) X with annulet ends, tower top tapers, fish-tail serifs, lesser quality flans.

The smooth series has many varieties according to the details within the letters.

21. Billon obole. 0.45 - 0.50 g. Schl. III, 24; Metcalf, *NC*(1978) 66-79, gr. 5.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.

Amaury (1163-74)

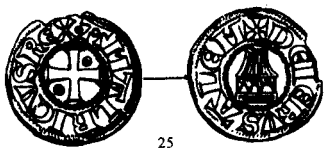
22. Billon denier.
a. O: AMALRICVS RЄX⁝ Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 1a.
Cross pattee, with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
Varieties: REX·⁝·, +, REX⁝, REX , +, or +.
b. Type with A's, RЄX⁝, finely detailed Holy Sepulchre.
Experimental type *a*. Metcalf 1a.
c. Type with A's, RЄX ·⁝·, +. Experimental type *b*.
0.92 g. Metcalf 1b.

22

23

23. Billon denier. 0.87 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 2.
O: AMALRICVS RЄX
Cross pattee with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Regular type *a*.

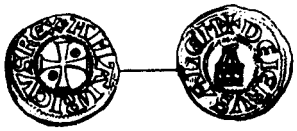
24


25

24. Billon obole. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 2.
Similar to denier above.

25. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 3; Schl. III,19.
O: AMALRICVS RЄX o
Cross patée with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Regular type *a*.
Varieties: RЄX o, +, RЄX·, + (Metcalf 4).

26. Billon obole. 0.46 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 3; Schl. III,20.
Similar to denier above.


26

27. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 5; *Ash.* 114.
O: AMALRICVS RЄX (plain).
Cross pattee with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Regular type *a*.

28

28. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 6-7.
O: AMALRICVS RЄX o (multi-barred A).
Cross pattee with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Regular type *b*.
Varieties: REX o, +.

29. Billon denier. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 8.
O: AMALRICVS RЄX (double barred A).
Cross pattee with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

30

31

30. Billon denier. 0.71 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 9-13.
O: AMALRICVS RЄX o (dotted chevrons).
Cross pattee with annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DЄ IЄRVSALЄM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Regular type *b*.
Varieties: RЄX, RЄX·, R.ЄX o.

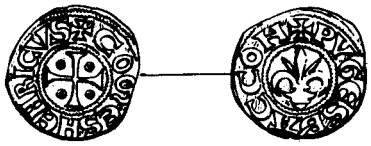
31. Billon obole. 0.49 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), 9-10.
Similar to denier above.
Varieties: RЄX o, +.

Guy de Lusignan (1186-90)

32a 32b 32c

32. AE fractional denier. 0.9 - 1.70 g. Schl. III, 25; Saulcy, IX,4,5.
a. O: +REX GVIDO D
Bust facing, wearing crown with pendilia, pellet to l. and r.
R: +E IERVSALEM
Church of the Holy Sepulchre with round dome.
b. Similar, but portrait has crown with series of trefoils.
c. Similar, but portrait has curls rather than pendilia, and Holy Sepulchre is elongated.

Henry of Champagne (1192-97)

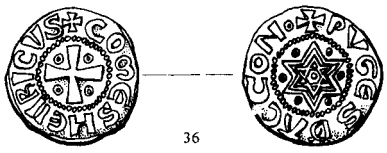


33

33. AE pougeoise. 0.74-1.40 g. Schl. III, 28.
O: +COMES HENRICVS
Cross pattée, annulets in four quarters.
R: +PVGES D'ACCON
Fleur-de-lis.

34. AE pougeoise. 0.79 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: +COMES HENRICVS, retrograde.
Similar.
R: +PGES D'ACCON
Similar.

35. AE piefort. 9.64 g. Schl. III, 29.
Similar to 33 but very large planchet.



36

36. AE pougeoise. A.Spaer, *NC*, (1977), p. 185.
O: +COMES HENRICVS
Cross, annulets in four quarters.
R: +PVGES D'ACCON o
Double hexagram (Shield of David), annulets in angles.

Aimery de Lusignan (1197-1205)
and later to 1220

37

38

37. Billon denier 0.21 - 0.72 g., mean *ca.* 0.45 g. Cox, Class I; Longuet, *RN*(1935), pl. VI,2.
a. O: AMALRICVS REX o
Cross pattee, annulets in second and third quarters.
R: +DE IERVSALEM
Holy Sepulchre (Degenerate type A).
b. Holy Sepulchre (Degenerate type B).
c. Holy Sepulchre (Degenerate type C).
d. Holy Sepulchre (Degenerate type D).

38. Billon denier. Cox, Class II, pl.VII,1; Longuet, VI, 3.
O: AMALRICVS REX o
Cross pattee, pellet in second and third quarters.
R: +DE IERVSALEM
Holy Sepulchre.

39

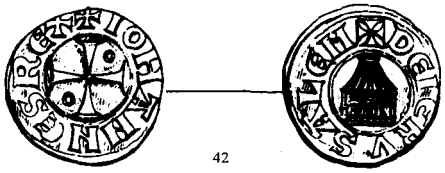
40

39. Billon denier. Cox, Class III, pl.VII,2.
O: AMALRICVS REX o
Cross pattee, annulet in second quarter, pellet in third.
R: +DE IERVSALEM
Holy Sepulchre.

40. Billon denier. Cox, Class IV, pl.VII,3; Longuet, p. 171.
O: AMALRICVS REX o
Cross pattee, annulet in first and fourth quarters.
R: +DE IERVSALEM
Holy Sepulchre.

41. Billon denier. Cox, Unclassified, pl.VII,4; Longuet, p. 171.
O: AMALRICVS REX o
Cross pattee, either no decorations in quarters, or an ornament in each, and other anomalous types.
These types are similar to the deniers of Amaury, but of inferior workmanship and reduced module.

John of Brienne, King (1210-12), Regent (1212-25)


42

42. AR dirham or dragma. 1.64-2.70 g. Schl. III,30.
a. O: +IOHANNES REX
Cross pattee with annulet in second and third quarters.
Inscription between two circular borders.
R: +DE IERVSALEM
Holy Sepulchre. Inscription between circular borders.
b. Same type, but cup-shaped.

43

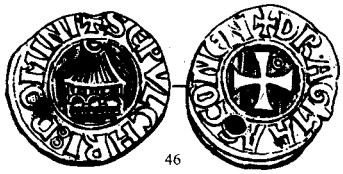
45

43. Billon denier. 0.70 - 0.90 g. Schl. III,31; Cox, VII,5,6;
O: +IOhES : REX : Longuet, VI,6.
Cross pattee, annulets in second and third quarters.
Numerous varieties of pellet stops exist.
R: +DAMIATA
Head facing, with curled hair, and wearing crown with three pellets.
Varieties: IOhЄS·, IOhЄS:, IOhЄS : , REX·, REX:, REX :
+IOhANS REX / +DAMITTA, +IOnЄS REX / +DAMIATA
+IOhЄS : REX : / +DAMI·ATA, +IOhЄS : REX : / +DAMIATA.

44. Billon denier. 0.61 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: +IOhES : REX :
Cross pattee, pellet in third quarter.
R: +DAMIATA
Head facing, with curled hair, and wearing crown with three pellets.

45. Billon denier. 0.70 - 0.90 g. Schl.XX,4; Cox,VII,7;
O: +IOHANNES REX Longuet, VI,7.
Head facing, wearing triangular crown, resembling a mitre with pendilia.
R: +DAMIETA
Cross pattee, annulets in second and third quarters.
This could be an Egytian mint.

ANONYMOUS "DRAGMA" AFTER CIRCA 1210

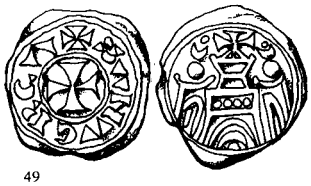


46

46. AR dirham or dragma. *ca.* 2.10 g. Schl.XX,3.
    a. O: +SEPVLCHRI:DOMINI, Holy Sepulchre.
       R: +DRAGMA ACCONEN, Cross, with annulet in the second quarter.
    b. O: +SEPVLCHRI.DOMINI Schl., *Supplement,* p. 22.
       R: +DRAGMA.ACCONSIS.

JERUSALEM PILGRIM COINAGE

47c



49

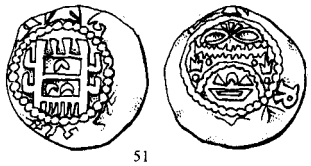
47. Billon denier. 1.05-1.68 g. Schl.XIX,3; Seltman, *NCirc.* (1966), p. 32.
    a. O:CRVCIS (retrograde), Cross pattee
       R: Patriarchal cross on concentric rectangles representing the mount of Golgotha, between stars and palm branches.
    b. Similar, but V(?):CRVCIS (retrograde).
    c. Similar, but CRV⁝CIS⁝+ (retrograde).
    d. Similar, CRVCIS not retrograde.
       Metcalf identifies this type with the seals of the Masters of the Order of St. John.

48. Billon obole. 0.30 - 0.59 g. Spaer, *NC* (1982), p. 160, pl. 42.B.1., Wilkinson 1986.
    O: +:ꝺICVRC. (retrograde)
       Cross pattee
    R: Patriarchal Cross between stars and palm branches.

49. Billon denier. *ca.* 1.05 g. Schl.XIX,4 (inaccurately rendered); Seltman, *NCirc.* (1966),
    O: +SAN AEREA, Cross pattee.
    R: Tall pedimented tower, surmounted by cross, with large arched portal, and flanked by two domed towers surmounted by crescents and pellets. No inscription.
    This type illustrates the al-Aqsa mosque, in the area of the Templum Domini *and the Holy Sepulchre.*

50. Billon obole. 0.41 g. Spaer, *NC* (1982), p. 160, pl. 42.B2.
    O: S.N ... Λ,
       Cross pattee
    R: Tall pedimented tower as denier above.

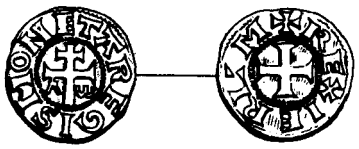
50



51

51. Billon denier. 0.98-1.16 g. Quesne-Bird, *NCirc.* (May, 1965), p.109; Sabine, *NC* (1979), pl. 17:1-4; Malloy Auction XX, 887.
O: TVRRIS DAVIT (retrograde)
Tower of David, projection each side.
R: +SEPVLChRVM DOMINI
The Holy Sepulchre with representation of guardian angel behind and arched tower above, all within circle.
This type is known from 5 dies.

COMMUNE OF ACRE, 1231-1243



52

52. Billon denier. 0.64 - 1.10 g. Schl.III,27; Metcalf, *Ash.*, p. 19; Rahmani, *Isr.N.J.*(1980), p. 73.
O: MONETA REGIS
Patriarchal cross, Alpha and Omega in lower angles.
R: +REX IERL'M
Cross pattee.

Varieties:	
+REX ILEM retrograde	NOMETA REGIS
+REX IEERL'M	NOMETA IIGIS
+REX IEIREM	N(retrograde)OMETA REGIS
	MONoETA REGIS
	IIOMETA GEGIS

HYBRID IMITATIONS WITH COMBINED LATIN AND ARABIC CHARACTERISTICS

53

54

55

53. Billon. 0.76 - 1.15 g. Schl.XIX,7; BY49a & b.
O: "Struck at Jerusalem" ضرب قدس
R: Cross pommetée, Triangular ornaments in quarters.
Balog and Yvon identify the ornaments as small churches with spires. On one variety (49a) the spires point towards the center, and on another (49b) the spires point outward from the center.

54. AE. 2.48 g. Schl.XIX,6; BY50.
O: "Struck at Acre" (in good style nashki) ضرب بعكا
R: Cross fleurdelisée.

55. AE. Balog Collection.
O: Aleppo type, with hexagram.
R: Cross moline, small cross in each angle.

CUT GOLD COIN FRAGMENTS

56

57

58

Bilingual Type (post-1137)

56. AV coin fragment. 0.43-0.65 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 141; ANS 59.
O: ...AM or AII, beaded borders
Undetermined
R: Pseudo-Arabic characters in outer and inner bands of legend, beaded borders.

Baldwin III (1143-1163)

57. AV coin fragment. 0.16-1.08 g. Bagatti, *PSBF,* 159-65; Metcalf, *MN* (1967), pl. XLVII; Brady, *MN* (1978), pl. 28-31; Metcalf, *Ash.* 146-192.

O: SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, quincunx in center, all within octafoil.

R: HIERVSALEM CIVITAS or HIERVSALEM CIVITAS REGIS
Hexagram with double outline, pellet in each angle, pellet in center, all within wire border

58. AV coin fragment. 0.35-0.67 g. ANS 39; Brady, *A.C.I.N.* (1979) 34-6.
Similar but beaded borders.

59. AV coin fragment. 0.71 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 143; Brady *MN* (1978) 5.

O: SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS
Hexagram with double outline, pellet in each angle, septcunx in center

R: HIERVSALEM CIVITAS
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, quincunx in center, all within octafoil.

Due to the nature of the shearing, examples of 57 through 60 may often be indistinguishable.

59

60

61

Amaury (1163-74)

60. AV coin fragment. 0.32-0.74 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 162, 165.

O: AMA[L]RIC[VS REX] or [SIGNVM] AMA[L]RIC[I REGIS]
Hexagram with double outline, pellet in each angle.

R: HIERVSALEM CIVITAS
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, within octafoil, all within linear border.

Only two examples are known and both may actually be bar rather than coin fragments. If so their attribution would fall under 68.

Baldwin IV (1174-1185)

61. AV coin fragment. 0.70 g. *MN* 23, 63.
O: +[BALDVINI DEI G]RAC[IA REX]
Expanding cross in octafoil, inner and outer beaded borders.
R: [CIVITAS HIE]RVS[ALEM]
Cross moline in octafoil, beaded inner and outer borders.
The use of GRACIA not GRATIA in the inscription started with Baldwin IV on lead seals of Jerusalem. It is known only seals of Baldwin IV.
This type is only known from one fragment. The reading of the inscription is highly speculative. More examples will be needed to yield a concrete attribution, but the cross moline certainly links this issue with the next type.

62

63

64

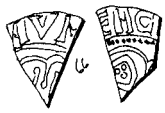
62. AV coin fragment. 0.30 g. ANS 69.
O: [BALDVINI DEI GRACIA RE]X
Cross moline type 3
R: [CIVITA]S ₀°₀ [HIERVSALEM]
Cross moline type 3

63. AV coin fragment. 0.15-0.52 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 200-07.
O: SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS
Cross moline type 1 in octafoil, beaded inner and outer border.
R: CIVITAS HIERVSALEM
Cross moline type 4 in octafoil, beaded inner and outer border.

An interesting type in Coin Hoards VII, 87 has obverse and reverse cross moline type 1 with obverse inscription DEI *or* DΞI, *and reverse* Vo.

64. AV coin fragment. 0.82 g. ANS 32.
O: [SIGN]VM B[ALDVINI REGIS]
Expanding cross in octafoil, within wire borders
R: [CIVI]TAS [HIERVSALEM]
Cross moline type 2 in octafoil, within wire borders
The reading of the reverse inscription is open to dispute. It could read TAT or TA+.

65



67

Raymond III of Tripoli,
Regent of Jerusalem (1184-1185)

65. AV coin fragment. 0.81 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 142.
O: +RA[MVNDVS]
Gate in octafoil as 57
R: [CI]VITA[S HIERVSALEM]
Hexagram with double linear border, quincunx in center.
Known from only one example. Reading is open to conjecture.

Baldwin V (1185-1186)

66. AV coin fragment. 0.37-0.56 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*; Brady, *MN* (1978), 65.
O: SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, within octafoil, all within beaded border.
R: CIVITAS HIERVSALEM
Four shields with three pellets, all within quatrefoil within wire border

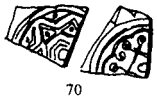
Henry of Champagne (1192-1197)

67. AV coin fragment. 0.43 g. Brady, *MN* (1978), 64.
O: +COM[ES HENRICVS]
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, within octafoil, with beaded inner border.
R: CI[VITAS HIERVSALE]M
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, within octafoil, with beaded inner border.
Only one example is known. Reading is open to conjecture.

CUT BAR FRAGMENTS

68

69


70

In the Name of Amaury

68. AV bar fragment. 0.54-1.36 g. Miles, *MN* (1967) 13-19; Brady, *MN* (1978) 7-11, 13-14; Metcalf, *Ash.* 146-60, 165-71, 175-91.

O: AMALRICVS REX
Hexagram with double outline, pellet in each angle and center (Type 1).

R: HIERVSALEM CIVITAS
Gate of two horizontal and two vertical bars, pellet in center, within octafoil.

Very often found with no legend.

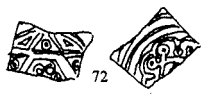
Anonymous Hexagram/Gate Types

Letters with No Apparent Sequence

69. AV bar fragment. 1.07 g. Brady, *MN* 23, 40.
O: Hexagram Type 1
R: Gate Type 1

70. AV bar fragment. 1.11 g. Besly, *Coin Hoards VII*, 35.
O: Hexagram Type 1
R: Gate Type 3

71


72

73

71. AV bar fragment. 0.84 g. Besly, *Coin Hoards VII*, 17.
O: Hexagram Type 2
R: Gate Type 3

72. AV bar fragment. 1.05 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 154.
O: Hexagram Type 3
R: Gate Type 1 (?)

73. AV bar fragment. 0.44 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 169.
O: Hexagram Type 4
R: Gate Type 2

74

75

76

74. AV bar fragment. 0.91 g. Brady, *MN* 23, 100; Beasly, *Coin Hoards VII*, 13.
O: Hexagram Type 5
R: Gate Type 6

75. AV bar fragment. 0.51 g. Miles, *MN* 13, 7.
O: Hexagram Type 6
R: Gate Type 1 (?)

76. AV bar fragment. Miles, *MN* 13, 15.
O: Hexagram Type 1
R: Gate Type 2

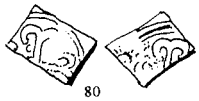
77. AV bar fragment. 0.73-1.36 g. Brady, *MN* 23, 92; Metcalf, *Ash.* 150-51, 168.
O: Hexagram Type 2
R: Gate Type 4

78. AV bar fragment. 0.89 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 153.
O: Hexagram Type 1
R: Gate Type 5

77

78

79

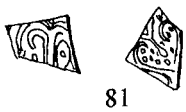

80

Anonymous Cross Moline Types

79. AV bar fragment. 0.31-0.83 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 209-11.
O: Cross moline Type 1
R: Cross moline Type 1
The legend ...:I:P has been observed.

80. AV bar fragment. 1.39 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 213; ANS 64.
O: Cross moline Type 2
R: Cross moline Type 2
No legends have been observed.

81. AV bar fragment. 0.29 g. Brady, *MN* 23, 82.
O: Cross moline Type 3
R: Cross moline type 4
No legends have been observed.



81

The Gold Coinages of the Crusader States

"Si une monnaie s'impose à l'étude en raison de la place qu'elle tient dans l'histoire, qu'elle a tenue dans l'économie financière, aucune, au moyen âge, ne peut, je crois, aller de pair avec le sarrazinas." — L. BLANCARD

GOLD ISSUES BEFORE THE CRUSADERS

On their arrival in the East, the Crusaders encountered two very different systems of currency from the silver denarii and oboles with which they were familiar. Both were more complex, and both were based on gold rather that silver. In the Byzantine Empire, the gold nomisma and tetarteron, which had suffered progressive debasement during the eleventh century, were replaced under Alexius I (1081-1118) by the good gold hyperpyron and its electrum third. The fractional coinage consisted of scyphate billon with a very low silver content, and also copper tetartera.[1] In the Caliphate, and particularly at the Egyptian mint, the gold dinar maintained its traditional high quality, while silver dirhams had virtually gone out of production except (again) in Egypt. There, the Fātimids struck coins which contained two-thirds, a half, a third, or even only a quarter of pure silver in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.[2] In Syria, the Zengids struck a large coinage of copper.

The Crusaders, and the Italian merchants who traded in the Latin East, at first made use of the coins, and particularly the gold coins, which they found in circulation. All the gold they called by the general name of bezants, qualifying the Islamic issues indiscriminately as *bizantii saraceni* or *bizantii saracenati*. The legal documents show their concern for the weight and fineness of the coins in which payments were contracted to be made — a concern sharpened, no doubt, by the continued availability of various base gold nomismata, such as the 16-carat coins of the emperor Michael VII which were the common currency of Antioch and Edessa,[3] and later by the problems of distinguishing different issues of dinars inscribed solely in Arabic. Thus for example we find an agreement of 1129 specifies "bicancios auri perperos [that is, Byzantine hyperpyra] bonos veteres et expendibiles quod eos vobis dedi ac prestiti in Constantinopoli in mense marcii ... ad Acres [Acre] michi dare et appagare debuistis bicancios auri saracenatos bonos pesantes et expendibiles in omni mercimonia."[4] These appear, however, to be merely legal phrases, without any very

exact numismatic significance. Saracenati are mentioned also in a will drawn up at Acre in the preceding year, 1128, in which we are told that the testator "abebat bizancios sarracenatos octo."[5]

Bertelè has published a chemical analysis of an hyperpyron of Alexius I which shows that it contained 86.8% gold, 9.8% silver, and 3.4% of other metals,[6] or in, other words about 21/24ths gold. A study by Hendy using the specific gravity method on a large number of specimens indicates that the Comnenian gold coinage was intended to contain 20½ carats of gold out of a total weight of 24 carats.[7] The weight of the hyperpyron was in practice about 4.35 g. The Islamic dinars struck in Egypt and Syria under the Fātimid rulers weighed somewhat less (about 4.2 gm.) but actually contained slightly more gold, as their fineness was upwards of 95%.[8] Ibn Ba'ra informs us that the Caliph al-Āmir (495-524 H./A.D. 1101-30) made an enquiry into the techniques employed in the Egyptian mint, and established a standard of fineness for gold "at a level which could not be surpassed"; and specific gravity measurements show that al-Āmir's dinars are of virtually pure gold. According to Ibn Ba'ra the Syrian issues, from the mint of Tyre, were 2-3% inferior to those of Egypt, but the difference is hardly apparent from their specific gravity: three specimens of al-Āmir gave the results 97.5%, 98.6%, and 99.2% gold.[9] The Egyptian coins of al-Āmir, and of the preceding sixty-year reign of al-Mustansir (417-87 H./A.D. 1036-94) were the best that was available to the Crusaders, and were the normal currency in southern Syria in the first decades after the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

FIRST CRUSADER ISSUES

When the city of Tyre eventually fell to the Franks in 1124 they continued for three years, or so Ibn Khallikān records, to strike coins in the name of al-Āmir, at the end of which time they ceased to do so. The gold issues of the mint of Tyre from 1124 onwards - probably struck with captured dies - may thus have been the earliest in the series of "Crusader bezants,"[10] but if they exist they are presumably identical in appearance with genuine dinars, and none have been identified. (The suggestion that a gold coinage was first struck by Bertrand, count of Tripoli, 1109-1112, was prompted long ago by the existence of bezants marked B, T; this attribution is certainly incorrect.) The more characteristic blundered or illegible imitations of Islamic dinars were produced in large numbers until the middle of the thirteenth century. They were struck, as documentary references show, as the mints of Acre, Tripoli, Tyre, and to a lesser extent Antioch. There are, however, many problems in assigning the actual coins to particular mints, and in dating them at all precisely, both because the coins inscribed with totally misleading information, and because one often cannot be sure whether the *bizantii saracenati*, etc. named in the documents are real dinars, or bezants, or merely legal dinars, that is to say, moneys of account.

In 1250, the bezants attracted the censure of the Papal Legate Eudes de Châteauroux, who came to Acre with King Louis IX of France. They found it scandalous that Christians should be striking coins bearing "the name of Mahomet and the number of years from his Nativity," and the practice was banned by Innocent IV under the threat of excommunication. The designs of the coins were therefore changed: gold bezants and also silver dirhams were struck, inscribed with legends in correct Arabic, but containing Christian proclamations of faith and the date — still written in Arabic — 1251 (or later) "from the incarnation of the Messiah."[11]

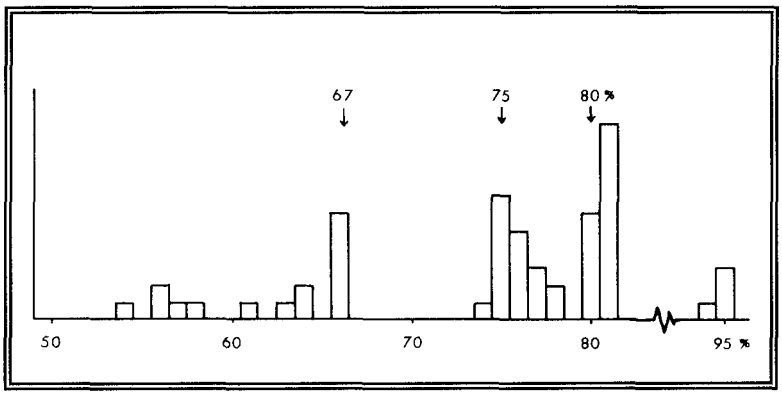
Curious and interesting as these are, they belong to the failing years of the Latin Kingdom. For the monetary history of the Crusades they are far outweighed in importance by the pseudo-Islamic gold. The series, spanning more than a hundred years, has been characterized by Ehrenkreutz as "a case of ignorance or of economic subversion," on the grounds that the coins contain at best about 80% and sometimes as little as 56% gold. He suggests that Mediterranean markets were penetrated by these pseudo-Fātimid dinars of poor intrinsic quality, and that as a result the international reputation of the Fātimid currency was compromised: whether the poor standard of the gold coins struck by the Crusaders should be attributed to their technological ineptitude or to a policy of monetary subversion, the consequences remained the same. Ehrenkreutz blames the Crusader bezants, too, for the developing shortage of gold in Egypt at the time of the rise of the Ayyūbids. The chronicler al-Maqrizi writes that in 567/1171 "a calamity overcame Egypt, because gold and silver left Egypt, not to return again ... to say the name of a pure gold dinar was like mentioning the name of a wife to a jealous husband, while to get such a coin into one's hand was like crossing the doors of paradise." Specific gravity calculations are said to show that the dinar was seriously debased during the rule of Saladin (A.D. 1174-93). Thus one of the "reserve currencies" of the earlier middle ages was undermined, and the minting activities of the Crusaders helped to pave the way for the reintroduction of gold coinages in the west.[12]

These bold theories have the merit of attempting to assess the effects of the monetary policies of the Latin Kingdom, and to trace their significance in the wider pattern of the monetary history of the western world. They seek to locate the bezant at the turning-point in the movement of gold back to the west, and even to make it the fulcrum. In examining the detailed evidence against which the theories must be judged, various comments and enquiries deserve to be made. Briefly, these are: a distinction between proximate and wider causes; an assessment of Saladin's diplomatic and military disbursements as the likely key to Egypt's immediate financial difficulties; a study of the extent to which Fātimid gold was actually used outside the Caliph's territories; and a reconsideration of the accepted attributions of some coins which are ostensibly dinars of Saladin of low alloy.[13] Whatever views are taken on these questions, Ehrenkreutz's thesis serves to focus attention on the period from the introduction of the Crusader bezant (which may in general have been rather later than 1124) up to about 1171, and on the difficult numismatic problems of chronology and attribution. In 1171 the Fātimid caliphate came to an end, and

Egypt under Saladin began to attack the Franks more vigorously. From 1174 Saladin controlled Damascus, and his territories encircled those of the Franks. He was held in check until 1187 when, at the disastrous battle of Hattin, the army of Jerusalem and Tripoli, together with 50 knights of Antioch, was virtually destroyed. Thereafter, in 1187 and 1188, Saladin conquered almost the whole of Frankish Syria, with the exception of the cities of Tyre and Antioch. The impact of these events on the coinage of Jerusalem may be judged from the issues of Guy de Lusignan (1186-92), which are excessively scarce and, instead of silver, are made of very poor billon or even of copper. When silver coinage was issued again in quantities, under Aimery (1197-1205), it was on a reduced standard of fineness. The political and economic background thus suggests a probable division of the series of bezants into those struck before the time of Saladin, and the subsequent issues in the period up to 1251. For the thirteenth-century phase there is a certain amount of documentary evidence which shows the categories of bezants that were recognized, their mints, and so on; for the twelfth century there is relatively little which offers interest or guidance. The coins for which a special economic importance is claimed are those of the first fifty years, and particularly the earliest coins, with which the new policies were launched; before one can measure their alloy, one must identify them among the surviving specimens. The numismatic classification of the bezants has, however, repeatedly resisted the best efforts of those who have set their hand to it. After a great deal of painstaking study, Balog and Yvon had to say, "la date exacte et le lieu précis de leur frappe [les imitations d'al-Āmir] n'en restent pas moins à résoudre, tout autant pour les imitations d'al-Mustansir. Nous avons déjà dit combien il est malaisé de trancher le problème."[14] And Miles concluded his study of the find-evidence by saying, "How much do the previously published hoards and the new ones contribute to the problems of dating and localizing the *sarracenati*? Very little, I am afraid."[15]

DISCUSSION OF EARLIER ANALYTICAL WORK

Without attempting to arrange the pseudo-Islamic series into chronological order in any detail, Ehrenkreutz has published specific gravity calculations of the fineness of 60 Crusader bezants antedating the reform of 1251 in the collections of the American Numismatic Society,[16] and it is interesting to make a distribution-graph from his figures. Although the estimated gold contents range from 50% to over 80%, the results show very pronounced groupings, as may be seen from the diagram (Fig. 1), with the varieties deriving from the dinars of al-Mustansir (including the besants marked B, T) clustering around 56%, and those of al-Āmir around 80%, 75%, and 66%, with a distinct "gap" between 66% and 75%. On a first inspection one might guess that they represent alloys containing 4/5ths, 3/4ths, and 2/3rds gold; the group of bezants with the name of al-Mustansir may be on a lower standard, such as 5/12ths (58%), but more evidence of this would be needed. Even so, it seems clear already from the distribution-pattern that there is no question of technological



Gold Contents of Earlier Bezants (specific gravity figures)

incompetence or ignorance on the part of the Crusaders: although the overall range of gold-contents is wide, the copies with the names of the two caliphs fall into quite separate groups, and those with the name of the earlier ruler are of lower and not as might have been expected of higher alloy. The workmen in the mint, it would appear, were able to produce alloys approximating quite closely to a desired fineness; and if they did not produce gold of the highest fineness, there is no reason to think that it was because they were technically unable to do so.

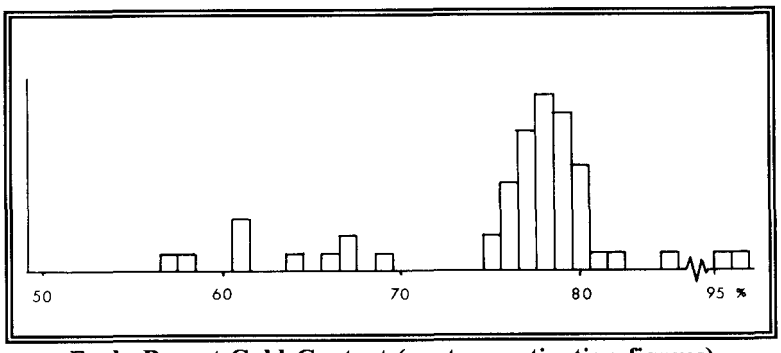
Hoards published by Balog and Yvon[17] and by Miles[18] show that the average weight of the bezants was initially about 3.8 g.; it may have drifted downwards to about 3.7 g. before long. There was thus very little real possibility of confusion, with the genuine coins of al-Āmir, for which the "peak" of the graph of weights lies clearly between 4.1 and 4.3 g. Only a small proportion of the coins of al-Āmir falls below 4.0 g, and conversely the bezants hardly ever exceed that weight. The twelfth-century merchants who bought and sold with gold coinage on the international markets of the Mediterranean world were experienced men of affairs who were far too astute to have been confused by two issues of gold coinage (even though they looked alike) with virtually no overlap of weight, one of which was on average 10% heavier than the other (3.8 g vs. 4.2 g). There can have been no question in the strict sense, therefore, of the bezants competing with the dinars by Gresham's Law, which states that bad coins will drive out good ones of the same face value. Although the designs of the bezant may have been essentially the same as those of the dinar, and although some people may have been deceived with them (since dishonesty and inadvertence are perennial), they plainly did not constitute an attempt by the state at deliberate deception. If they had, the Crusaders would have taken care to make the weight match that of the original quite closely, and would have tampered only with the alloy. The intrinsic value of the best of the bezants containing about 80% gold was about 70% of the best dinars. They cannot have been as much as three-quarters, nor as little as two-thirds of a dinar, and there seems to be no simple correspondence

between the two denominations.

The elements of the problem at this point are instructive, as they are characteristic of analytical studies of the metal contents of a coinage. A group of specimens yields a set of figures which suggests alternative hypotheses — in this case intended standards of 75% or 80% or both. Given that the coins individually will vary somewhat from the intended alloy, the degree of accuracy in the result that would be needed in order to decide between the hypotheses may well be at the limits of what can be attained by non-destructive analysis. Studying a large number of coins will not help much; it should minimize irregularities in the sample, but many more specimens would be needed to increase the resolving power of the evidence significantly. Nor are random checks by destructive analysis an easy way of "calibrating" the set of figures, since the non-destructive results will be subject to margins of statistical variation, (of e.g. ±1-2%), plus undiscoverable sampling errors of the same magnitude (e.g. because of surface enrichment), which in aggregate may be quite large in relation to the alternative answers of standards of fineness only 5% apart. It is therefore particularly important that the answers should make numismatic sense.

Neutron activation analyses of the bezants discussed by Ehrenkreutz show that the proportions of silver to copper in the alloy range from 14:1 to 2:1. Since the conversion of specific gravity figures to gold percentages depends upon assumptions about the proportions of silver and copper, the method may involve uncertainties of 2-3% when applied to coins containing 75-80% gold or less.[19] Also, the specific gravity determinations were made following a weighing procedure which was less elaborate than would normally be recommended. Nevertheless, the agreement between the two sets of final figures was such that for nearly half the coins, the results were within 2% of each other (half a carat) and three-quarters were within 5%. The implications of the divergent results are examined briefly in an Appendix.

If the diagram, Fig. 1, is re-drawn using the neutron activation results in place of the specific gravity figures, there are changes in the pattern. The peaks 75%



Early Bezant Gold Content (neutron activation figures)

If the diagram, Fig. 1, is re-drawn using the neutron activation results in place of the specific gravity figures, there are changes in the pattern. The peaks 75% and 80% merge together into what is apparently a single peak at 77.78%. (But we shall argue that this is not exactly so), and the secondary peak at 66% is minimized. Which pattern is the more to be relied on, and how are the results to be interpreted?

GENERAL RESULTS OF NEUTRON ACTIVATION ANALYSIS

The next step, obviously, is to break down the overall pattern according to the different numismatic varieties of bezant. By doing this one may hope to discover, for example, whether one variety averages about 75% gold while another averages about 80%. The standard classification is that published in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1958 by Balog and Yvon, which lists some 40 varieties. As their system of numbering (cited below as BY) will have to be used throughout the consideration of a rather complex body of evidence, it may be helpful to begin by tabulating it, in order to bring out the point that the classification (which is in principle not chronological) is based on (i) the Islamic prototype from which a particular variety of bezant is copied, and (ii) the legibility and stylistic quality of the copy.

In The Name Of:	**Prototype:**			
al-Mustansir:	**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**
good copies	**BY 1**	**BY 2**	**BY 3-4**	-
poor copies	-	-	**BY 5-12**	-
very poor (with B, T)	-	-	**BY 13-16**	**BY 17**
al-Āmir:		**E**		
legible		**BY 19-25**		
mainly illegible		**BY 26**		
rough style		**BY 27 a, b, c**		
very rough style		**BY 27 d, e, f, 28-34**		
al-Nāsir/Saladin	**BY 52**			
Christian legends:	**BY 40-41**			
(Agnus Dei)	**BY __**			

It should perhaps be explained that these "varieties" bear only a very incomplete relationship to the various successive "issues" of coinage. They are not "varieties" as defined purely for purposes of numismatic identification, and do not necessarily correspond with any logical division into periods in the work of the mints. Thus, some varieties represent only a single known specimen; some, again, such as

BY 14-15 and BY 20, are common; and at the other extreme BY 25, 27, and 30 with their sub-varieties are so numerous that they make up more than half the bezants in existence. They include slight differences of style and detail which are hard to classify, but which might well span the issues of a long period. BY 25 and 27b are no doubt very close to each other in date; Balog and Yvon pointed out that they are linked by a "mule" and by specimens of intermediate style. Also, the distinction between BY 20 and 25/27b appears, in terms of style, to be largely artificial. BY 20 is more legible, but a "mule" or even a die-link occasion no surprise.

The mint attribution and dating of all these varieties is, as has been said, a problem that has largely defied solution. The most recent attempt at a synopsis was made by Grierson in 1954, when he proposed:[20]

BY 5-7	Acre before 1251
BY 13-16	Tripoli, before 1251 (without cross), after 1251 (with cross)
BY 27	Tyre before 1251
BY 40	Acre after 1251 (date and mint in legend)

Since then, new evidence has been made available, and has been discussed by Balog and Yvon[21] and by Miles,[22] who have hesitated to commit themselves to even such modest conclusions as Grierson essayed.

As well as re-measuring the alloy of the specimens studied by Ehrenkreutz,[23] we have been able to analyze many other coins, in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale,[24] the American Numismatic Society, and elsewhere.[25] In all, nearly 200 pieces have been analyzed by neutron activation, using the "streak" method, and one or more repeat analyses have been carried out almost all of them. As a first, overall presentation of the evidence, the averages for each variety were tabulated, and are set out below in the same diagrammatic arrangement as that which has been used to explain the basis of Balog and Yvon's classification. The grouping of the varieties has been subdivided and slightly modified for reasons that will become clear when the results are discussed in detail. But BY 26, for example, is still clearly an intruder in a sequence in which BY 27b links BY 25 to the other varieties of BY 27. For the common groups of varieties, of which sufficient specimens are available, a rough measure dispersion is provided by quartiles on either side of the median. For the common varieties, half the specimens generally fall within ±1-1.5% of the average. This is an impressive degree of accuracy. Further, it is clear that only one intended standard of fineness in the range 75-80% is involved. The average for BY 27 a, c, and d is 2% lower than that for BY 25 and 27b; and similarly the (dated) coins of variety BY 40 are 1½-2% lower in fineness than BY 27e - 32; an BY 13 - 15 are about 2% lower than BY 7 - 12. In each case it looks as if there was a slight decline or downwards drift, with the passage of time, in the standard of fineness actually achieved by the mint. Between BY 27a/d and 27e, on the other hand, there was evidently a planned reduction in the gold content of the bezant, distinguishable by the

use of secret-marks. The debased alloy of varieties BY 27e - 32 is matched by their somewhat lower weights. The 67% standard was continued into the second half of the thirteenth century, for the Agnus Dei bezants. The series BY 7-15 probably represents a separate intended standard of alloy of ca. 62%. These three standards, which appear to have been nominally ca. 80%, 67%, and 62%, account for the great majority of the surviving examples of Crusader gold — nine-tenths of those that have been tabulated. All the others except the three specimens of BY 5-6 and 16 are over 80% fine. The framework for an understanding of the numismatic history of the bezants, therefore, is essentially of an accurately-controlled alloy of ca. 67% in the thirteenth century, replacing an equally exact alloy of ca. 80% which presumably belongs to the twelfth century; and a series of coins of ca. 62%, again accurately controlled, which are of a different design and fairly obviously the product of a different mint. They too are probably of the thirteenth century. The few coins of better than 80% gold are almost certainly early. This is on a first reading of the analytical evidence, and gives us a working hypothesis to examine. The next two things to do, clearly, are to see whether the hypothesis is acceptable in the light of metrology of the coins, and of the hoard-evidence. Thus if the reduction in alloy is matched by a reduction in weight, for example, it will appear more likely that the coinages of different fineness are separate issues. Secondly, one's general experience of medieval hoards would lead one to expect that their structure — the presence or absence of the groups of varieties that have been defined, and the relative proportions of the groups should make sense in both a chronological and geographical framework. Thus, if the 80% standard is earlier, one might hope to find on the one hand hoards composed exclusively of such coins, and on the other hand hoards composed mainly of the 67% standard coins together with a few surviving "older" coins, perhaps, of the 80% standard; and one would like to find the same sort of evidence to show that varieties BY 7-12 were earlier than BY 13-15. Broadly speaking the hoard-evidence must be given priority: if it were found to contradict the hypothesis that has been erected on the basis of the analytical evidence, the latter would almost certainly have to be rejected. If the hoards showed that coins of different alloy circulated indiscriminately together, one would have to accept that it was so, however strongly logic suggested that this was a formula for monetary confusion, fraud, and loss of confidence. What then do the hoards show?

A		B		C	
BY 1.	94.3	BY 2.	92.3	BY 3-4.	86.3
				BY 5-6,16.	72.4
				BY 7-12.	62.1
				BY 13-15.	60.3

Sulayhid prototype: 78.8

E	Lattaqiyah	TPI	Other coins
BY 19-24	80.3	-	79.6
BY 25, 27b	78.7	79.0	79.2
BY 26	-	-	90.0
BY 27a, c	76.0	76.7	75.8
BY 27d	76.5	-	77.6
BY 27e-32	67.0	Marash 68.6 Ras Shamra 65.5	67.7
BY 40	-	-	65.9
Agnus Dei	-	-	66.5

THE HOARD EVIDENCE

The administration of the treasure-trove laws in some of the states in whose territories hoards of bezants come to light has had the effect, unfortunately, of discouraging honesty on the part of the finders. Hoards have immediately been concealed from official notice, and, instead of being studied as an intact group by a national antiquities service or museum, the coins have been secretly sold to jewelers or dealers in antiquities. Such coins may pass through several hands, picked over, and be split up into two or three parcels, before they are seen by someone with the scientific conscience and the necessary knowledge — not to mention the financial resources — to make a record of the hoard's composition, before it is dispersed among private collectors. Further, some of the middlemen, knowing that clients prize hoards above individual coins, will supply details of provenance which may or may not be reliable, and will sometimes throw in genuine stray coins from other sources, as an advantageous way of selling them. Hoards from the Levant must, therefore, be accepted only with much circumspection and reserve; and those who have had the most to do with them are the firmest in saying so.

The ten known hoards which include bezants have recently been summarized, and their reliability discussed, by Miles. Some of them belong to the second half of the thirteenth century, and some of them are incompletely recorded or of suspect integrity. Those which contribute to the problem of twelfth-century chronology are the Lattaqiyah hoard from Syria (1957), Balog and Yvon's "trésor de provenance incertaine" ('TPI,' 1959), the Tyre hoard (December 1965), the Marash hoard (also December 1965), and the Aleppo hoard. We have analyzed the bezants in all of these except the Aleppo hoard, and also those in Bedoukian's hoard "A" and in the Ras Shamra hoard. The Tyre and TPI hoards each consist exclusively of coins on the 80% standard, and the Lattaquiyah hoard contains 25 coins on the 80% standard plus 2 of reduced fineness. The Aleppo hoard is probably similar to

Lattaquiyah, and so is Hoard A. The Marash hoard contains 15 bezants, of which 13 are on the 67% standard, and 2 are on the higher standard. This is of special interest, as it illustrates the continuity of style through the change of alloy: nos. 2-15 are clearly the work of the same hand, and a very compact group. They carry secret-marks beneath the central inscription of obverse or reverse. Their attribution as different BY varieties points to the artificiality of the classification. The Ras Shamra hoard, similarly, consists of 11 coins of the 67%, alloy, together with one earlier coin on the higher standard. The 11 are again stylistically a compact group, and appear to be later than those in Marash. Overall, then, the composition of the hoards is not inconsistent with a chronological scheme which envisages two successive alloy-standards, with the reduction late in the issue of variety BY 27. The sequence of the hoards would then be Tyre and TPI; Lattaqiyah and probably also Aleppo and Hoard A; Marash; and Ras Shamra.

We must look, however, with particular interest at any independent evidence for the dates at which the hoards were concealed. The best help comes from the other coins they contain, and in particular from dated Arabic coins. It is, unfortunately, not as helpful as it might have been. The Aleppo hoard contains one very heavy Ayyūbid dinar of 594 H./A.D. 1197/8; and the bezants found with it were apparently virtually uncirculated. The Lattaqiyah hoard contains five Fatimid dinars dated 508-518 H./A.D. 1114-1124, and eleven Sulayhid dinars of the Yemen, all dated 451 H.(A.D. 1059). The Marash hoard includes some cut fragments of coins that are even more difficult to date than the bezants; and the Ras Shamra bezants were said to have been associated with French, Tripolitan, and Cypriot silver coins of which the latest were considerably worn pieces struck after 1310. Frankly we do not believe that the silver in the Ras Shamra hoard offers useful information: at best it is a "double hoard," that is to say, an old hoard discovered and re-hoarded along with more recent coins, in the fourteenth century. One cannot exclude the possibility that it is a modern conflation.

The Lattaqiyah hoard is the crucial piece of evidence, and at the same time a stumbling-block. None of the 41 coins in it show any signs of wear; and as the dated Fātimid coins are from 1114-24, they tend to imply an early date for the bezants of BY 25 and 27, i.e. not more than a decade or so after 1124. This is, of course, at odds with the Aleppo hoard, where the same varieties are apparently dated after 1197. Balog and Yvon placed the deposit between 1124 and the capture of Lattaqiyah by Saladin in 1188 — a cautious counsel, but one which admits in effect that they had no clear idea about the correct answer. Worse is to follow: the Sulayhid dinars in the Lattaqiyah hoard show no signs of wear, yet are ostensibly at least 65 years old, or (if the Aleppo hoard is to be believed) well over a century old. Again, the circulation of coins in sealed bags, or the idea of a "double hoard" might explain the facts; but they are explanations to be eschewed unless they can be proved. In the whole of medieval numismatics, few such hoards are attested. We propose a more radical approach to the interpretation of the Lattaqiyah hoard: the Sulayhid dinars, as our analyses reveal, are of an accurately-controlled alloy averaging 78.8%.

This, with their unworn condition, is enough to indicate that they are contemporary with the bezants and intended to be of the same standard of fineness. They are, in fact, as Miles has hinted, Crusader coins. We believe that the same must be true of the supposedly Fātimid coins, and for the same reason: they are on the 80% standard, which had not been invented at the dates when they were supposedly struck. In order to interpret them as Islamic coins, Balog and Yvon were compelled to suggest that al-Āmir, being in monetary difficulties because of the Crusaders, lowered the weight and alloy of his gold. We prefer to suggest that, although fully legible and in good style, the coins in the Lattaqiyah hoard are Crusader bezants, analogous to BY 20-21. If they were genuine dinars, it would be puzzling that they should bear incorrect dates. Further, we suspect that if al-Āmir or any later caliph had resorted to monetary counter-measures, he would have undercut the fineness the Crusader bezants at least by a little. (As we have seen, al-Āmir in fact pursued the opposite policy, and tried to ensure that his dinars were of a quality "that could not be surpassed").

We have discussed the Lattaqiyah coins with Dr. Miles, who kindly wrote, in a letter of 12 December 1970, "I have re-examined the five coins carefully, and am convinced that all except one are Crusader imitations, the one exception being the dinar of 518 which is unmistakably a genuine dinar." As the character of the analytical argument is statistical, it cannot be used to prove anything about this one coin; and a single stray is not such a problem in the numismatic interpretation of the Lattaqiyah hoard. It was the excellent quality the Arabic inscriptions which led Balog and Yvon originally to accept the five coins as authentic dinars; and the conclusions they drew from them, which were of some consequence for the wider historical issues, must now be rejected; "ainsi prototypes et imitations circulent ensemble," they wrote, "et ces dernières proviennent certainement du même atelier." Such continuity of issue would encourage the numismatist to think of an early date for the imitations. Once the Fātimid and Sulayhid coins in the Lattaqiyah hoard have been re-interpreted as Crusader imitations, there is no strong reason to think that the hoard was concealed earlier than, say, the middle of the century. Our reading of the hoard-evidence so far as it relates to the twelfth century, then, is that the Aleppo hoard gives us one crumb of information (a *terminus* of 1197/8) and the Lattaqiyah hoard, apparently so informative, one even smaller crumb of information (a stray coin of 1124 in a hoard of later date) which we are not very willing to swallow. In relation to the Latin kingdom's early period of success, from about 1124 to 1187, how little we have so far gleaned from the hoards!

FROM 80% to 67%: THE DATE OF THE REFORM

Having reached a plausible relative chronology for the hoards, but with the question of their absolute chronology still very open, we propose to cut the Gordian knot by asking when the reform occurred, by which the intrinsic value of the bezant

was reduced. Almost certainly it was in the second half of the twelfth century, and one occasion stands out as historically probable: the time of Saladin's conquests. The events of 1187 and 1188 shattered the Latin Kingdom; Guy de Lusignan (1186-92) evidently found it impossible to strike a proper silver coinage; and when deniers were again issued in quantities under Aimery (1197-1205) they were struck on a reduced standard of fineness. The debasement of the gold coinage seems likely to have taken place in the same interval, i.e. at some date between ca. 1186 and 1197. The reform may have been associated with the war-tax which was levied, as William of Tyre tells us, on the approach of Saladin's army in 1187; or it might have been part of the work of recovery and reconstruction at the turn of the century. The Lattaqiyah hoard suggests the earlier date. It is likely (although this cannot be proved) that it represents a sum of money concealed in the face of Saladin's threat, and before the fall of Lattaqiyah in July 1188. The city was destroyed by Saladin and did not resume its importance for two decades, so it is perhaps improbable that a substantial sum of money would have been hoarded there in the 1190's. But the hoard contains, along with 39 coins on the 80% standard, 2 of reduced standard. A date of deposit in the spring or summer of 1188 would just allow for the specimen of variety BY 30 (containing 67% gold) to have been struck in 1187 or the winter of 1187/88. From experience with other medieval hoard-series, numismatists would not be surprised to find quite a group of hoards concealed because of Saladin's campaigns. It is too soon to give more than a provisional assessment of the available hoards, but one may note that Hoard A, like Lattaqiyah, contains only one coin on the reduced standard. For the Aleppo hoard, analyses are not available, but the metrology (discussed below) hints that it, too, might have been hidden *ca.* 1188.

Another possible line of argument by which the reform might be dated more closely is that there are several explicit documentary references in commercial documents drawn up in 1190, 1192 and 1194 to "*new* bezants," e.g. "bicanciis auri saracenatis *novis* de moneta regis Hierusalem,"[26] which may well be intended to distinguish the coins of reduced alloy. The problem is, however, that there are similar references at earlier dates also, all of which need to be considered together, and in connection with a chronological scheme for the bezants of 80% fine and better than 80% fine. A survey of the documentary evidence will be deferred until some further aspects of the coins themselves have been brought into the discussion. If the document of February 1190 which has just been quoted is accepted at its face value, the date of the reform can probably be established within the quite narrow limits of two or three years. We shall suggest that it was in 1187.

THE EVIDENCE OF METROLOGY FOR THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE COINS

It is a paradox that although the weights of gold coins can be determined much more easily than their alloy can be analyzed, and within very much smaller

limits of instrumental and experimental error if the comparison is with non-destructive analysis, the results available for monetary history may be less accurate. This is because the weight of a gold coin may change, or may be tampered with, after it has left the mint, whereas its alloy is virtually unchangeable. Coins inevitably lose weight by the normal processes of wear, which may be as much as 3-4% per decade, and they may suffer from fraudulent clipping or filing of the edges. Even if none of these things has happened, average weights may be misleading, since a hoard may or may not be a random sample as regards the weights of the coins: the owner may deliberately have selected the heaviest specimens available to him. And a collection of coins of one type from different sources, some more worn than others, will in principle exaggerate the range of weights by extending the lower limit that was tolerated when the coins left the mint.

The average weights for the groups of BY varieties, set out below in the same diagrammatic arrangement as has been used for averages of their alloy, are therefore only approximate. They nevertheless show clearly enough the main point, which is that the reduced-alloy coins BY 27e - 32, are lighter than BY, 27a-c, d, which in turn are lighter than BY 25/27b. BY 26 can again be seen to be "out-of-order." As has been said, the classification by BY numbers is to some extent artificial, and the best evidence for the weight-standard of the reduced-alloy coins is given by the Marash and Ras Shamra hoards. The coins the former, averaging 3.38 g., are very close to the date of the reform, while those in Ras Shamra, averaging 3.57 g., are apparently a compact group from some years later. The apparent increase is puzzling, and the problem cannot be resolved without extra hoard-evidence.

	A		B		C	
BY 1.	3.78	BY 2.	3.65	BY 3-4.	3.86
				BY 5-6,16.	3.53
				BY 7-12.	3.59/3.16
				BY 13-15.	3.75/3.55
	BY 19-24	3.83			
	BY 25, 27b	3.78			
	BY 26	3.92			
	BY 27a,c,d	3.72			
	BY 27e-32	3.40			
	BY 40	3.12			
	Agnus Dei	3.55			

MINT-ATTRIBUTIONS

The hoard-evidence, although it is slender, suggests that bezants of varieties BY 40 and BY 13-15 (marked B, T) circulated alongside each other. The fineness

of BY 13-15 was closely controlled at around 60-61%, while that of BY 40 was equally closely controlled at about 65-66%. What then was the relationship between BY 40 and BY 13-15, both of which were evidently substantive issues? Were they, in effect, successive coinages from the same mint, or roughly contemporary coinages from separate mints? They are from different prototypes, and there has always been inclination among numismatists to attribute BY 13-15 to a northerly mint — either Antioch or Tripoli. The slightly lower alloy cannot well be represented as a downwards drift from the standard of BY 40, since BY 13-15, although variable, are clearly heavier than BY 40, with a good proportion of specimens maintaining the full original weight of varieties BY 25, etc. We favor the view, therefore, that BY 13-15, and with them probably also all the other varieties in the name of al-Mustansir, are from a separate mint. As BY 13-15 is heavier but of a lower fineness than BY 40, its intrinsic value is similar, and this poses the question of the exchange-rate between the two varieties, and the possible operation of Gresham's Law. Thus:

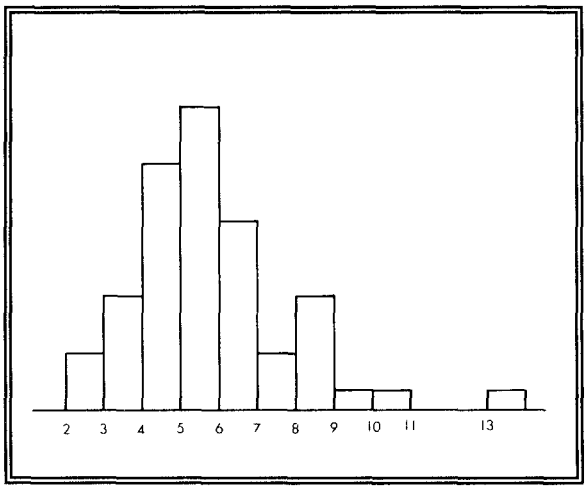
BY 40	3.30g. x 65.5% = 2.16 g. gold
BY 13-15	3.75g. x 60.6% = 2.27 g. gold

the available metrological evidence is really quite inadequate to determine the weight-standard of either variety accurately, but it is entirely possible that the two groups were at some stage intended to be equal in value; and the uneven distribution of values around the mean suggests that in the 1260's they may have both been reduced again officially or by clipping to match each other. BY 15 appears to be earlier than BY 14. Grierson's dating of BY 14 to 1251 is not contradicted by the analytical evidence.

The varieties BY 7-12 are without the letters B,T, but are in very much the same style as BY 13-15. They are characterized by little secret-marks in the otherwise empty border. Analyses show their average fineness as 62.1%, and the straightforward explanation of them is that they preceded BY 13-15, of which the fineness is slightly less. Blancard thought that it might be possible to attribute the coins with B,T to the mint of Tripoli and those without to Antioch, but he added the cautionary postscript that the attribution to Antioch was "probable but hypothetical."[27] The analytical evidence makes this unlikely, although it does not rule it out decisively. Tripoli is the obvious attribution and if some coins have to be given to Antioch,[28] the division of BY 7-16 may need to be more subtle — for example, BY 5, 6, and 16 might be given to Antioch, on the theory that it was a secondary mint with a restricted output of gold, using the same type as Tripoli, and active only after the union of Antioch and Tripoli under Bohemond IV.

If the attribution of coins between Tripoli and Antioch is still difficult, that between the Latin Kingdom and the north seems straightforward. The differences in weight and alloy between the two series, BY 7-16 and BY 27e - 40, are not very great, but there would be many obstacles in trying to combine them into a single series in any way. This conclusion makes it necessary to reconsider both the mint

and date of the very rare and interesting *Agnus Dei* bezant. Grierson argued convincingly that it belonged after 1251, and, as he had already, identified coinages for the mints of Acre and Tripoli for that period, he opted firmly for an attribution to Antioch, and to the young Bohemond VI, who found such favor with St. Louis ("their attribution to Baldwin VI [*lege* Bohemond VI], seems to be virtually certain").[29] He dated them before Louis's departure from the Holy Land in April 1254. The great interest of the *Agnus Dei* bezant is, of course, that it apparently influenced the design of the famous gros tournois of 1266 and the écu d'or of the same date or slightly later. The two specimens in Paris contain 66.3 and 64.4% gold and the analysis of that in New York gives a figure of 68.8%. Grierson's own specimen is reported as being about 16 carats fine (i.e. about 67%). Thus it is clear that the issue was on the standard of fineness of the Acre, and not the Tripoli mint. It might be that, when such radical changes in the design were being made, the alloy too was changed, in favor of the two-thirds standard of the Latin Kingdom. There are nevertheless difficulties in accepting that a minor mint such as Antioch would attempt to initiate such a departure from the traditional bezant, at a date as early as *ca.* 1253, and in the political and economic climate of northern Syria at that time; and we wonder whether the *Agnus Dei* bezant is not rather an echo of the écu d'or introduced either at Acre in 1266 (and of such rarity because the Kingdom of Jerusalem was already on the point of collapse) or, more, probably, at Tripoli after the fall of Antioch in 1268. There seems to be no compelling reason against a date after 1266, and we are inclined to see the *Agnus Dei* bezant as a parallel creation to the silver gros of Bohemond VI. Its issue may have been curtailed by technical difficulties inherent in a bimetallic currency system.



Distribution of Copper-Silver Ratios in BY 25 and 27a-d and f

THE SILVER-COPPER RATIO
and the Attribution of BY 20-21 and 22-24

Variations in the relative proportions in which copper and silver were used to alloy the gold seem to be indicative of changes in mint-practice, and if so they may afford some guidance or corroboration in attributing the coins. The common bezants of varieties BY 25 and 27a-d show a copper-sliver ratio generally between 1:3 and 1:6, as may be seen from Fig. 3. The thirteenth-century varieties BY 7-15, by contrast, show a ratio of about 1:2. It seems that the earlier coins among BY 25 and 27 normally contain relatively little copper, and certainly the later coins contain more. Thus, among the coins of rough style, the ratios show a significant difference from the early pattern:

BY 27e,f	2.7, 2.3, 3.0
BY 28	2.4, 2.5, 2.1
BY 30	2.1, 2.3, 2.2, 2.1
BY 32	2.1, 2.3, 2.4
BY 27-33 (Marash)	2.4, 5.1

It is not straightforward to prove outright an early date for individual coins with a low copper content (because their relative chronology is problematic). The balance of the evidence, however, is plain. The graph (Fig. 3) shows a secondary peak for ratios between 1:8 and 1:9; and the specimens (among BY 25 and 27a-d) with a ratio of 1 to 6.1 or over are almost exclusively of variety BY 25, and are more plentiful in the Tyre and TPI hoards. Many of them are similar in the details of the marginal legend.[30]

There are coins of other varieties with a high ratio. They include the supposedly authentic Fātimid coins in the Lattaqiyah hoard (ratios of 14, 11, 9.3), and also BY 22-24 (ratios of 12, 13, 40, 9.4, 10.6) and certain other specimens analogous with BY 20-21. As far as their gold contents are concerned, these coin might be interpreted as belonging to an early phase in the work of the same mint that struck the main series of BY 25 and 27. Alternatively they may be the product of a second, smaller Crusader mint in the Latin Kingdom — at which a higher silver-copper ratio, a slightly higher fineness, and a better standard Arabic were maintained. This second mint would seem to have used a variety of fictitious dates, whereas on coins of the main mint the date, if legible at all, is normally 506 (compare the Tyre hoard, nos. 1-3 with 10-12).

If there were two mints, how could one distinguish their products? In terms of style, there is (as has been said) no obvious difference between most specimens of BY 20-21 and 25/27b. BY 22-24, however (see the specimens illustrated by Balog and Yvon), are in a less "tightly packed" style. In particular, more of the field is left

plain in the inner circles of inscription. The simplest reading of coins such as these is that either they stand right at the beginning of the sequence of issues of the main mint, or they are from a separate mint. Proof one way or the other is impossible in the present state of our knowledge, but there are two arguments which deserve consideration. First, the high silver-copper ratio was not continued from the better-than 80% bezants of BY 26 - which match BY 25. Secondly, a late date for the issue of at least some of the specimens of BY 22-24 etc. permits a straightforward interpretation of the Lattaqiyah hoard, in which the "Fātimid" coins showed no signs of wear. On this view, L.1 might be one of the latest coins in the hoard, corresponding in its intrinsic value with the reduced-standard coins of BY 27e (see further below on the intended composition of the alloy).

THE SCHEME OF PROPOSED MINT-ATTRIBUTION

To recapitulate, the fineness of the bezants of varieties BY 25 and 27, and also BY 20-21, was controlled with a formidable accuracy to a single standard, which was originally — according to streak analyses — very close to 80%. It declined over a period of years to about 76% and became less reliable. There was then a deliberate reduction, at about the time of Saladin's early victories, to about 67% fine, and thereafter a further drift after 1251 to about 65% fine. The development may have been paralleled — although the evidence is incomplete and limited — at a less active mint, which struck varieties BY 20-21. Dr. Bedoukian's hoard "B," said to have been found in a small village near Tyre, contained 6 specimens of BY 20-21 out of 15.[31] As a working hypothesis, therefore, we suggest that BY 25, 27-30, 32 and 40 are the product of the main mint of the Latin Kingdom (Acre), while BY 20-21 were struck at Tyre. Further north (chiefly at Tripoli but probably also at Antioch) the reduced-standard issue of Jerusalem was matched by a large output of rather heavier coins, initially about 62% fine, and later drifting to 60-61% fine.

This arrangement of the substantive issues takes account of the great majority of the surviving bezants — on a rough count 160 out of 200 published specimens — and provides attributions for the period from about the middle of the twelfth century to the third quarter of the thirteenth. It leaves no obvious place for the imitations of the light-weight Sulayhid dinars in the Lattaqiyah hoard.[32] As a tentative attribution for these, we would suggest Renaud de Châtillon, lord of Montreal and Saint-Abraham, 1177-87, and a mint at Carak de Moab. Renaud's strategic ambitions in the Red Sea would accord with the choice of a Yemeni prototype for an issue of coinage, and his personal history and turbulent character might explain his flouting the regalian rights of the young leper-king Baldwin IV, and daring to strike coins in his distant desert stronghold. (Before his long imprisonment in the dungeons of Aleppo he had in effect enjoyed the right of coinage as prince regent of Antioch.)

THE DOCUMENTARY AND NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLIEST BEZANTS: THE SOUTH

It remains to consider whether there was an earlier phase in the history of the bezant, when its fineness was better than 80%. Also, an attempt must be made to show how the scarce varieties might fit into the arrangement that has been proposed. (One, for example, does not fit: the Paris and New York specimens of the rare "half-bezant," BY 41, matching BY 40, are very irregular both in their gold contents and in the silver-copper ratio, and the general appearance of the coins has aroused numismatists' suspicions.) Paradoxically, the problem is that the obvious gap into which the good gold coins might be fitted is too large. Acre, which was still striking dinars in 495 H. (A.D. 1101) fell into the hands of the Crusaders in 1104; and there is the statement of Ibn-Khallikān that in the three years following the conquest of Tyre (1124) the Franks continued to strike coins in the name of al-Āmir, but at the end of that time ceased to do so. Balog and Yvon suggested that this may mean that the Crusaders were able to use seized dies for three years. If the reduction in the alloy for variety B27e occurred, as seem likely, in 1187 there is a span of sixty to eighty years, which is more than enough to accommodate the issue of varieties B25-27c and 20-21, especially if they are from separate mints. One's feeling is that they need not occupy more than about fifteen years. Yvon has expressed the same conviction, namely that the striking of gold as well as silver began late — indeed, only in the reign of Baldwin III (1143-61);[33] and documentary references, from 1161 onwards, to *bisancios saracenatos de moneta regis Hierusalem* show that the coining of gold was clearly understood to be a royal prerogative.[34] But M. Yvon would now wish to modify his position to take account of an overlooked colleganza of July 1142, which makes it certain that Crusader bezants were already being struck before the accession of Baldwin III.[35] The crucial clauses are: "*debeam dare tibi vel tuo misso infra dies quindecim bizancios saracenatos bonos auri de rege illius terrae de pesa secundum consuetudinem illius terrae octinginta.*"[36] The place where the debt is to be repaid is Acre, and at the date in question, *de rege illius terrae* (of the king of that country) can only refer to the king of Jerusalem. It does not necessarily follow, of course, that the silver coinage was also introduced before 1143: the earliest plentiful issue of denarii bears the name of King Baldwin, and it seems unlikely that they could be as early in date as the reign of Baldwin II (1118-31).

Another document of 1165, offers a clue when it speaks of *bisancios auri saracenatos novos* and *veteres*.[37] The *saracenati novi* are perhaps the coins of 80% gold, while the veteres are better than 80%. *Novi* is, however, a term which, is used over a wide range of dates both before and after 1165, and its interpretation is not without difficulties. The date of the reform which introduced the 80% standard is thus still uncertain: 1148, and the aftermath of the Second Crusade, seems to us to be the earliest possible occasion. A later date, up to shortly before 1165, would still

be reconcilable with the numismatic evidence, and would perhaps fit better with the documentary references to *bisancios ... de moneta regis Hierusalem* recorded from 1161 onwards.[38] Thus, it is also possible that the 80% coins were introduced early in the reign of Amaury (1163-74). The phrase *de regis Hierusalem* may have been associated in popular usage specifically with the reformed coins, and if so the *sarracenicos de sur* (of Tyre) which are mentioned as late as 1156[39] might still be pre-reform bezants. Our leaning towards a date in the early 1160's rests chiefly on the documentary evidence; the numismatic evidence cannot at present really guide one's choice. There is plenty of time between *ca.* 1165 and 1187 for the issue of the 80% coins, which could, on the other hand, equally well have been spread over a rather longer period.

The issue of the earliest bezants (other than those of 1124-27) might, on the evidence of commercial documents, begin as late as *ca.* 1140, but there is one hint, from an Arabic source, that they were possibly a few years earlier. Ibn al-Kalānisī mentions that in the summer of 1136 an attempt was made in Damascus, apparently on private initiative, to promote the striking of dinars which were to be seven-eights fine.[40] Such coins would correspond quite closely in intrinsic value with the best of the pre-reform bezants, and the incident may reflect an attempt to match the Crusaders' issues. If so, the chronicler pushes the origin of the bezants back six or seven years from the colleganza of 1142. He also gives a glimpse of the kind of commercial contacts which would ensure that any new developments in the coinage of the Latin Kingdom would be promptly noted in the interior: in 1132 certain of the merchants of Damascus complained to the ruler that the lord of Beirut had seized from them a number of bales of linen to the value of a considerable sum of money, and diplomatic initiatives failed to secure a settlement.[41] Because of the failure, these bales of linen are mentioned in the historical record: normally, they would have escaped comment.

To judge from the numbers of surviving specimens, the pre-reform bezants of the middle of the twelfth century appear either to have had a relatively low survival-rate, or to have been issued on a much smaller scale than those on the 80% standard. They are the only coins which would have tended to drive the Fātimid dinars out of circulation by the operation of Gresham's Law, or to discredit them as an international currency. Unless a large hoard from the 1140's should one day turn up, there seems to be no way of forming a reliable judgment of the quantities in which they were struck, for the reform would presumably have been accompanied by a recoinage in the course of which most of the old coins were withdrawn and melted down. Thus, the evidence on one of the principal points on which the historian of the Crusades may wish to turn to the numismatist for an opinion, namely the scale on which the earliest bezants were issued, is unfortunately quite indecisive at present.

The variety BY 26 is the only likely candidate for a large scale coinage of better than 80% gold contents. The rubric amalgamates two very different styles of coinage, one small and compact, the other on larger flans, with stiff, thin lettering,

and a wide, empty border between the two circles of the legend. The available analyses are:

	Weight	Gold %	Ratio
large flan	4.08	97.4	5.5
_.	3.94	93.4	6.3
_.	3.92	93.2	6.3
_.	3.70	91.0	15.0
small flan	3.81	88.1	15.9
_.	3.55	84.5	5.7
_.	3.95	82.5	4.2

It will be noticed that the weights are high, and that the large-flan specimens compare in this respect with the coins of variety BY 20-21, but that the copper-silver ratios are closely in line with those for BY 25/27b, and are clearly different from those for BY 20-21. The small specimens show a decline in weight and fineness.

Hoard "A" is the only published hoard in which a specimen of BY 26 (on a small flan) occurs. This is ostensibly an early hoard, containing heavy coins, and bridging the reform by which the 80% standard was introduced. We doubt its integrity, however, and are not prepared to rest any very firm conclusions on its structure. It includes four identical coins, struck from a pair of dies that is know from other specimens, all of which are highly problematic.[42] The specimen of BY 29 in the hoard also looks out of place, even though its authenticity is not question. The negative evidence of the absence of BY 26 from several quite hoards of later date, e.g. both of those in the holdings of the American Numismatic Society, deserves due consideration. There need be little doubt that the variety antedates the reform which introduced an 80% fineness.

More specimens are needed for any confident interpretation of BY 22-24. Our analyses of the three Paris specimens of these varieties, which remain very rare, suggest that they are on the 80% standard, and of a rather variable weight for their fineness. They are characterized by a high silver-copper ratio:

	Weight	Gold %	Ratio
BY 22	3.90	78.6	12
BY 23	3.62	78.7	13
BY 24	3.77	81.6	40

The only provenanced specimens are one in hoard A (3.74 g) and one in hoard C (3.88 g.).

EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLIEST BEZANTS: THE NORTH

We turn next to those bezants derived from the prototypes of al-Mustansir which are of better alloy than the 62-60% standard of BY 7-15. The varieties BY 3-4, although they are of exceptionally careful workmanship, are related by style to BY 7, etc., and probably stand at the beginning of the sequence. On the evidence of two specimens only, they are rather better than 80% fine. BY 5-6, which have little secret-marks like BY 7-11, are between 70 and 75% fine. BY 16, with B,T, and similar little secret-marks, is 66.8% fine. It is difficult to see how a variety with B,T could bridge the transition from the higher gold standard to the reformed figure of 62%, since BY 7-11 still lack the letters. But the alloy of the one available specimen may be accidentally a little higher than the intended standard. On BY 6, incidentally, one can see how the letters B,T may have originated by a corruption of parts of the Arabic inscription.

The only al-Mustansir bezants with gold contents of around 90% or better are BY 1 and 2. They are very scarce coins which occupy an isolated position within the series, both because they are from otherwise unused prototypes and because of their rather makeshift style. BY 1 is 94% fine and the two specimens of BY 2 are 93% and 87% fine. There need be little doubt that they are among the earliest of the bezants; and they may be from Tripoli or even from Antioch, but there is no evidence except the name of al-Mustansir to link them with BY 3-16. Their exact date is conjectural. The north perhaps followed the south in adopting the 80% standard, but found it difficult to maintain, or unsuitable for some other reason. BY 1 and 2 are unlikely to have been struck after the reform. They could, nevertheless, be so late as to be contemporary with the billon of Raymond de Poitiers.[43] In any case, it appears that, if any gold coinage was struck outside the Latin Kingdom before about the middle of the twelfth century, it was only on a very limited scale. The importance of Tripolis as a mint for gold came after the fall of Jerusalem.

The chronological scheme which has been proposed arranges the issue of bezants into four phases, as follows:

FIRST PHASE: before 1148/59. *ca.* 90% fine.

a) Acre mint? BY 26.
b) Tripoli or Antioch mints? BY 1 and 2.

SECOND PHASE: from 1148/1159 to probably 1187. 80% fine.

a) Acre. BY 25-27d.
b) Tyre? BY 20-21; uncertain mint, BY 22-24
c) Tripoli and possibly Antioch, BY 3-6.
d) Oultre-Jourdain? Imitations of Sulayhid dinars of the Yemen.

THIRD PHASE: prob. from 1187 to 1260 or later. 68% or 62% fine.

a) Acre. BY 27e-40. 68% fine.
b) Tyre? Cf. BY 20-21. 58% fine.
c) Tripoli and probably also Antioch. BY 7-16. 62% fine.

FOURTH PHASE: after 1268. *ca.* 65% fine.

a) Tripoli. *Agnus Dei* bezant.

INTENDED STANDARDS OF ALLOY

From the middle of the twelfth century, if not before, the fineness of the bezant was narrowly controlled, and we must look, finally, at the question of the intended composition of the coins. This is a topic where attractive hypotheses are not always likely to be correct. Surviving medieval mint-prescriptions show that the weight and alloy of a coinage was not necessarily fixed in round figures. When the English gold noble was first issued, for example, it was laid down that the coins were to be struck at 39½ to the pound. One would be unlikely to have guessed this correctly from a metrological study of the surviving specimens. There would have been a temptation to minimize the loss of weight by wear, in order to arrive at the answer 40! The small variations that the streak analyses reveal may be the outcome of differences in mint-practice rather than intent (e.g. 79% at Acre, 80% at Tyre). The downward drift which is a repeated feature of the evidence (from 79% to 77%, and then from 67.5% to 65.5% at Acre, and from 62.1% to 60.6% at Tripoli) is more difficult to explain in terms of fractions. The most likely reason is that the preliminary purification of the gold was less strictly carried out, so that, for example, the coinage was intended to be 80% fine, but the alloy was made up using "fine" gold that was only 79/80ths fine, and at a later date only 77/80ths fine. It is, indeed, highly likely that there would small traces of silver remaining in the gold, and the observed silver percentages are therefore liable to be a little on the high side of the intended amounts, and the gold percentages fractionally on the low side. Silver and gold were very valuable commodities, and, human nature being what it is, strict control and definition of the processes in the mint were inevitable; incomplete refining of the gold has the advantage as an explanation that it does not imply any fraud within the mint.

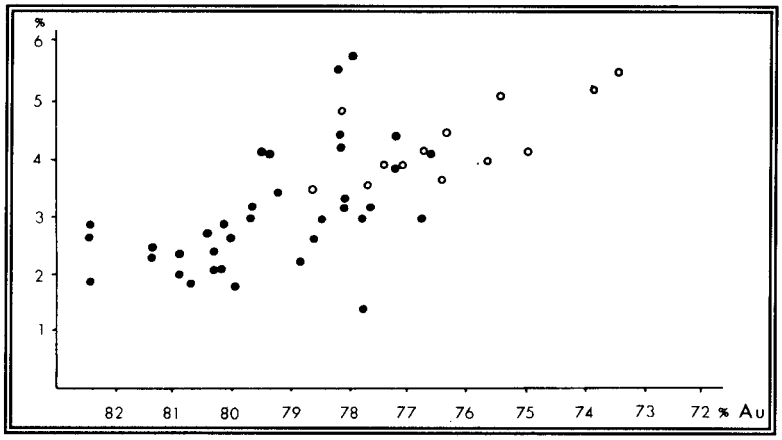
The point at which the evidence seems least open to doubt is the silver-copper ratio of BY 40. The figures are evenly ranged around a modal value of 2:1. It is likely that the coins were intended to contain two parts of silver, one of copper, and six of gold. They may on that basis have had a theoretical weight of 18 carats (12:4:2), that is, about 3.37 g, and their expected metal contents would then be 66.7%

Au, 22.2% Ag, 11.1% Cu. However, the few available analyses for the earlier varieties on the two-thirds gold standard, BY 27e-29 (the coins with which the standard was initiated, and struck before there had been a downward drift) generally show copper contents of less than 10%, and gold in the range 67.6-69.6%. Imperfect refining could explain too little gold, and perhaps also too much copper, but discrepancies in the opposite direction pose more awkward problems. It may be that there was some loss of the baser metals by oxidation. It may be that the mint-workers erred slightly on the generous side to avoid any charge of peculation, and made up the loss by buying gold at slightly less than a fair price. It may be that the alloy prescription was an unguessable irregular figure. It may be, finally, that the streak analyses for copper-rich gold alloys of 60-70% tend to run a little on the high side because of surface enrichment. This is borne out by the observation that the second streak, taken from the same place on the coin, often gave a slightly lower figure for gold, and a higher for copper, than the first. The data quoted are averages from the two streaks. In any case, one should be prepared to make an analogous allowance in judging the intended contents of the rather heavier bezants of Tripoli (BY 7-15). Their silver-copper ratio is around 1.8, and the relative difference between this figure and the 2.1 of BY 40 certainly constitutes reliable evidence, which any hypothesis about the intended composition of the alloys must successfully explain. One might venture the guess that the bezants of Tripoli also contained 12 carats of pure gold, but were of a nominal weight of 19 carats (12:4½:2½). The silver-copper ratio would then be 1.8, the expected gold contents 63.2%, and the weight about 3.55 g. Again, the gold contents are occasionally slightly too high to fit this expectation, and the copper contents occasionally too low. We know, at least, that this way of thinking about the alloy would have seemed normal in the middle ages, for Pegolotti describes the base gold bezants of Cyprus as being of 22 carats weight, "of which 3¾ carats are fine gold, 4¼ carats are copper, and 14 carats are silver."

If we attempt to extend the hypothesis to include the bezants of *ca.* 80% gold — of which the contents are at first sight the easiest to explain — it will appear that they are coins weighing 20 carets. The intended average weights of the thirteenth-century varieties cannot be judged very precisely from the evidence; the best estimates one can make, assuming a Byzantine carat of about 0.188 g., are:

	Average weight	**Carats**	**Theoretical weight**
BY 28-29, etc.	3.38	18	3.37
BY 7-15	3.5	19	3.55
BY 25,27	3.7	20	3.74

The bezants of 80% would then be intended to contain carats of gold and 4 of alloy. The anomalous coin L.1 (Au 58%, Ag 36%, Cu 6%) may have intended to contain 12 carats of gold like BY 28-29, in a 20-carat coin. The figures suggest that in the issue of BY 25/27 there may initially have been 3½ carats silver and ½ of copper. The copper contents would then work out at 2½%. A graph setting copper contents against gold contents (Fig. 4) shows a good inverse correlation between gold and copper contents. The best specimens of BY 25/27 match the suggested theoretical proportions, and it is likely that these coins correspond essentially with the earlier issues.



7 Gold against Copper contents
(● = BY 25, 27b, O = BY 27a, c, d)

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RESULTS
of Specific Gravity and Neutron Activation Analyses

A direct comparison of the gold contents as estimated by specific gravity, with the results for the same coins as determined by streak analysis, is unnecessarily inexact because the SG figures are based upon assumptions about the silver-copper ratio which can now be modified. It will be better, therefore, to compare the observed density with the expected density as calculated from the NAA figures for gold plus silver plus copper contents. With the kind help of Professor Ehrenkreutz, the observed densities have been recalculated from the original weighings, and certain computational errors have been corrected; the SG values given in the List of Analyses are based on these corrected values and on Oddy's data for the conversion of densities to gold/silver contents. They agree with the NAA results remarkably closely, and the computational corrections remove most of the larger discrepancies from Ehrenkreutz's published results. The weighings of the coins were under taken

on two separate occasions, on the first of which the Lattaqiyah coins were studied, and on the other the rest. The original notes of the weighings are missing for a few of the coins, and here the gold contents reproduced in the catalogue as published by Ehrenkreutz. On both occasions the densities were calculated from the weight of the coin plus the wire on which it was suspended, i.e. all the weights in air are higher than the weights of the actual coins by about 0.2 or 0.24 g. The effects of this procedure on the final result can be judged by assuming that the wire was copper and that half or two-thirds of its mass was submerged during the weighing in water. The wire, making up 6 or 7% of the total weight, would then have an "apparent specific gravity" of 17.8 (wire half submerged) or 13.3 (wire two-thirds submerged). With luck the consequent error in measuring coins of 60-80% gold contents might be very small indeed.

The differences between the experimental and the NAA theoretical densities center around zero quite well, especially for the Lattaqiyah hoard. For the other coins the experimental data are rather higher. In view of what has been said about the method of weighing, a rigorous comparison would be out of place. The data from these analyses is presented in a table in the Notes section.[44] Those individual specimens referred to in the table are cited in the Catalogue as "GM" references.

GOLD DINARS MINTED AT ACRE IN IMITATION OF THOSE CALIPH AL-AMIR

First Phase: before 1148/59

perhaps beginning with Baldwin II (1118-36) and continuing through the reign of Baldwin III (1143-63)

1

2

Good style coins, with mostly illegible legends

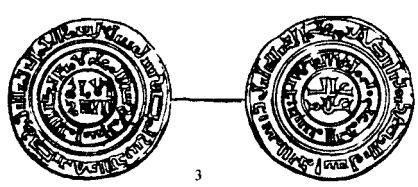
1. AV dinar. 3.70-4.09 g. GM 1-4; BY 26a,b (large flan) Lavoix, 5; Vogüé, *Melanges de num.*, II (1877), pp. 191-92.
   Large flan: 23 mm.

   The type bears illegible inscriptions, neatly inscribed. The blank space, or band, between the two circular legends is fairly wide.

2. AV dinar. 3.55-3.81 g. GM 5-7; BY 26.
This type also bears illegible inscriptions. It is struck on distinctly smaller fans, and the band between the two circular inscriptions is reduced compared to that of Type 1.

Second Phase: 1148/59 - 1187

Baldwin III until the battle of the Horns of Hattin (1187) and the fall of Jerusalem, during the reign of Guy de Lusignan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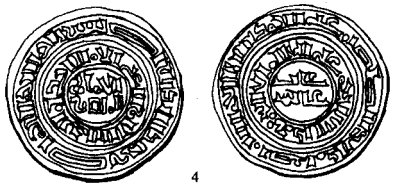

4

Legible, though slightly erratic types

3. AV dinar. 3.43-3.88 g. GM 12-44; BY 25, 25 var.; Schl.V,19; cf. Lavoix 2.

Obverse central field:
الامـــام — *al-Imām*
المنصور — *al Mansūr*
the Imām al Mansūr

Interior margin: ابو علي الامر باحكام الله امير المومنين
Abū 'Alī al-Āmir bi-Ahkām Allāh Amir al-Mu'minīn
Abū 'Alī, the one who commands the fulfillment of God's Decrees, Commander of the Believers.

Exterior margin: .... بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة
bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm duriba hādhā al-dīnār bi-Misr sana ...
In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, this dinar was struck in Egypt, year ...

Reverse central field:
عال — *'āl*
غايه — *ghāya*
extremely high [fineness?]

Interior margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله
lā ilāh illā Allāh Muhammad rasūl Allāh 'Alī wali Allāh
There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Messenger of God; Alī is the friend of God.

Exterior margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

Muhammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi'l-hudā wa-dīn al-haqq li-yuzhirahu 'alā al-dīn kullihi walaw kariha al-mushrikūn

Muhammad is the Messenger of God who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail [or, to proclaim it] over every religion, even though the idolaters may object.

—*Qur'an* ix, 33.

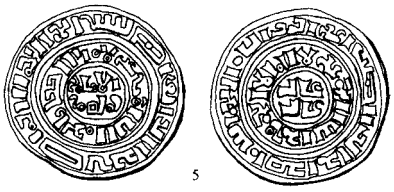
The varieties of this type have dates, usually 506, 508, 509, or 516, partial dates, or no dates at all, and the mint named is Misr.

Crude imitations, still legible

4. AV dinar. 3.58-3.78 g. GM 45-69; BY 27a-d,f, 27var.; Schl. V,20 (BY27d).

The legends of these coins are inscribed in blundered Kufic, and undergo a gradual reduction in style, from 27a through d and f. The varieties are distinguished by style and by small annulets, or points decorating the central field of the obverse and reverse.

Third Phase: 1187(?) - 1260 or later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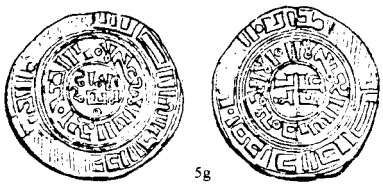

5g

5. AV dinar. 3.13-3.85g. GM 111-41; BY 27e-33; Schl. V, 21 (BY 33).

a. Rev. central field: GM 112 bis.

b. Obv. central field: BY 28; GM 113-122.

c. Obv. central field: BY 29; GM 123-127.

d. Obv. central field: BY 30; GM 133-136.

Rev. central field:

e. Rev. central field: BY 31.

f. Rev. central field: BY 32; GM 137-141.

g. Obv. central field: BY 33; Schl. V, 21.

Rev. central field:

h. Rev. central field: BY 34.

CHRISTIAN ARABIC DINARS AND HALF DINARS

6

7

6. AV dinar. 2.83-3.3 g. GM 142-155; BY40; Schl. V, 27.

Obverse central field:

الاه
واحد

One God

Interior margin: ✠: الاب والابن والروح القدس
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
Exterior margin: ✠: ضرب بعكا سنه الف ومايتين احد وخمسين لتجسد
Struck at Acre in the year one thousand and two hundred, one and fifty of the incarnation of the messiah.

Reverse central field: ✠

Exterior margin: ✠: نفتخر بصليب ربنا يسوع المسيح الذى به سلا متنا وتحيتنا
We are glorified by the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah from whom we receive our salvation and life,
Interior margin: ✠: وقيا متنا وبه تخلصنا وعفينا
and resurrection, and through whom we are delivered and pardoned.

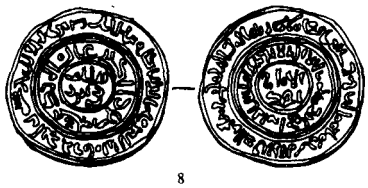
Note that the catalogue here has presented the exterior legend before the interior, as taken in that order they form one continuous sentence. The reverse cross sometimes bears pellets in the first, or the first and fourth quarters.

There are several specimens of this type of which the dates are missing or doubtful, but several coins bear the dates 1251 and 1253. Though the year 1252 evidently saw no production of these coins, the years 1254 through 1258 are also represented.

7. AV half dinar? 3.01-3.12 g., GM 156-157; BY 41; 19 mm. (ANS specimen).

Central and interior circular legends only, similar dinar above, on obverse and reverse. No mint, no date. *There is some question about this half dinar. According to Gordus and Metcalf, the gold content is substantially higher than its supposed contemporary dinar with similar legends.*

UNCERTAIN TYPE IN IMITATION OF AN AYYUBID DINAR OF SALADIN



8

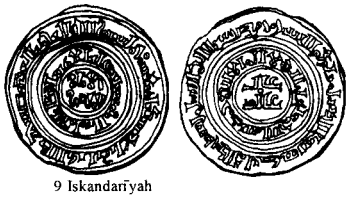
8. AV dinar. 3.31 g. BY 52 (22 mm.)

Though the name of Saladin and the Imām Ahmed are legible, the circular inscriptions are not only written in an anachronistically cursive script but are incomprehensible. Thus, Balog and Yvon classified it as a Crusader imitation of an Ayyūbid dinar. The coin bears no mint and no date.

DINARS MINTED AT AN UNCERTAIN MINT OF THE LATIN KINGDOM, PERHAPS TYRE

Second Phase: 1148/59 - 1187

or perhaps slightly later on a lesser scale



9 Iskandarīyah

9 Misr

9a. AV dinar. 3.62-3.93 g. GM 73-90 (22-23 mm); BY 20-21.

The coins of this type are legible, but have a characteristically angular script. Balog and Yvon classified these among the coins with legible inscriptions of al-Āmir type. Gordus and Metcalf distinguished them from the coins of the Acre mint by their high silver-copper ratios, high gold content, and generally better standard of Arabic (see *supra*). There are, however, certain omissions, such as the century of the date, and certain letters of words; the religious legends of the reverse are sometimes incomplete.

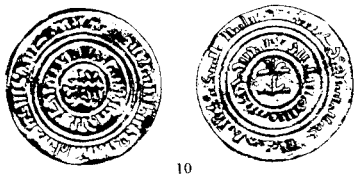
These usually bear the mint name Misr, though al-Iskandariyah and Cairo also occur, and dates 506 (most often), 508, 510, 514, 515, 516, and 518.

b. Date: [4]82 H. 22 mm. BY 19.

Good style, letters missing, but generally correct and legible, Misr.

c. Date: 534 H. 3.90 g., 23 mm. BY 22; GM 91.

Legible, fairly elegant in style. Misr is usually the mint.



10

10. AV dinar. 3.62 g. GM 92; Lavoix, 436; BY· 23.
Obverse central field:

Interior margin:
Exterior margin:

Reverse central field:

Interior margin:
Exterior margin:

The legends, which Balog and Yvon reproduced, as they say, quite faithfully, are shown here as slightly jumbled and erratic, and bearing a fictitious mint and posthumous date of 540.

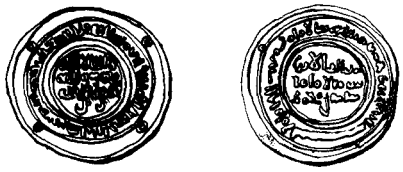
11. AV dinar. 3.77 g. GM 93; Lavoix 437; BY 23.
Obverse central field:

Interior margin:
Exterior margin:

Reverse central field:

Interior margin:
Exterior margin: (sic)

Third Phase: after 1187 until 1260?



13

12. AV dinar 3.85 g. GM 158; similar to BY 20-21.
This type may belong to the period after 1187, because upon analysis, the coin revealed that it contained only 58% gold, 36% silver and 6% copper, unlike the earlier coins which contain at least 75% gold, etc. See discussion above by Gordus and Metcalf.

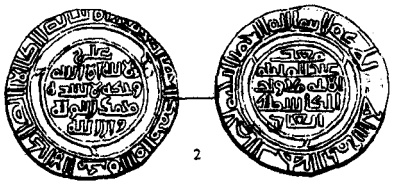
ANOTHER UNCERTAIN MINT
Crusader Imitations of Sulayhid dinars, possibly minted at Krak de Moab (?)

13. AV dinar. 2.44-2.48 g. GM 100-10. BY, "Deux trésors," *MN* (1964), pp. 295-302; Miles, "Some Hoards," *MN* (1967), p.190, n.3; Casanova, "Dinars inédites du Yemen" *RN*, (1894), pl.V,5.
This Yemenite, or Sulayhid, type is struck in the name of 'Alī ibn Muhammad and bears the mint Zebīd and the year 451 H./1059 A.D. Eleven of these coins were found unworn in the Lattaqiyah hoard, along with Crusader imitations of Fātimid coins.

DINARS MINTED AT TRIPOLI IN IMITATION OF THOSE OF CALIPH AL-MUSTANSIR

First Phase: before 1148/59
Pons (1112-36), Raymond II (1136-52), or Raymond III (1152-87)

1


2

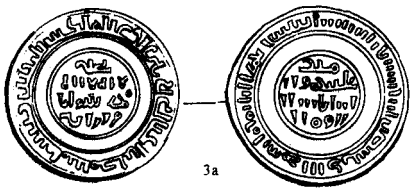
Illegible types
1. AV dinar. 3.78 g. GM 8; BY 1.
O: The pseudo-Arabic inscription is rendered in good style, but is illegible. Three concentric circular legends surround a central pellet.
R: The reverse is similar to the obverse.

2. AV dinar. 3.37-3.93 g. GM 9-11; BY 2; Schl. V,26; cf. BY al-Mustansir prototype B.

The legends are written in pseudo-Arabic of elegant style. Some words are recognizable but the meaning is nonsensical. Five lines of inscription occupy the central field, surrounded by a circular legend, and little bars are placed obliquely in the open, circular border between the circular and linear legends appearing on both the obverse and the reverse.

Second Phase: after 1148/59 until 1187?

Raymond II (1136-52) or Raymond III (1152-87)



3a

4

Crude imitations

3a. AV dinar. 3.70-4.02 g. GM 96-97; BY 3; Schl. V,16; cf. BY prototype C.

The pseudo-Arabic inscription is cruder in style than that of the earlier types, with four lines of inscription in the central field of both obverse and reverse. There is a scarcely recognizable *shahada* on the reverse, and the marginal legends are composed of small annulets and bars.

3b. Similar to 3a, but in slightly different style. BY 4.

Third Phase: after 1187 until 1260 or later

Bohemond IV (1187-1233), Bohemond V (1233-52), Bohemond VI (1252-72), and Bohemond VII (1275-1287)

Crude imitations

4a. AV dinar. 3.13-3.57 g. GM 159-162; BY7; Schl. V,18; cf. Lavoix, *Monnaies*, p.39, 8; Blancard, pl. I, 3, (as Antioch).

Similar arrangement of legends to that of 3a. Small crescent flanked by a bezant appears in the upper part of the band on both obverse and reverse.

4b. 3.30 g. BY 8.
Similar, but annulet in the upper part of the band only on the reverse.
4c. Similar, but with three bezants in the band on obverse and reverse. BY 9.
4d. 3.85 g. BY 10.
Similar, but with three **X**s in the band on the obverse and the reverse.

5a. AV dinar. 3.30-3.63 g. GM 16; BY 11.
Similar to 4, but with four annulets in the band on the obverse and reverse.
5b. Similar, but with annulets in the band only on the reverse. BY 12.
Blancard, pl. no. 5, attributed the piece to Antioch.

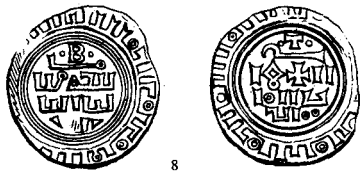
6

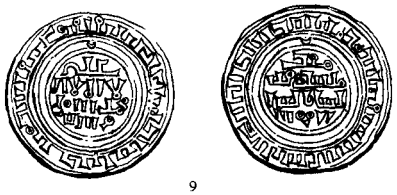
7

Crude imitations with Latin letters and small crosses, perhaps issued during the 1240s or 1250s

6. AV dinar. 3.40 g. GM 165; BY13; Schl. V,23.
O: Similar arrangement of legends at last (cf. al-Mustansir prototype C). Large **B**, flanked by pellets, appears above the legend in the field, with a cross below in the center of the second line.
R: Large **T**, flanked by pellets, appears above the legend in the reverse field.
It has been suggested by Seltman that the letters B and T on this issue stand for Bohemond and Tripoli.

7. AV dinar. 3.09-3.75 g. GM 166-172; BY 15; Schl. V,22; Blancard, pl. I, 1.
O: Similar to 6, but without cross.
R: Similar to 6.


8


9

8. AV dinar. 3.29-3.81 g. GM 172-180; BY 14; Schl. V,24.
O: Similar to obverse of 6.
R: Similar to reverse of 6, but with a cross in the center of second line of inscription.

UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION TO ANTIOCH*

Second Phase: 1148/59-1187

9. AV dinar. 3.62 g. GM 98; BY 5; Schl. V,17.
This type bears a crescent above in the band on the obverse and the reverse. It is tentatively assigned to Antioch because of its relatively low gold content.

10. AV dinar. 3.71 g. GM 99; BY 6; Blancard, I, 4.
The type is similar to no. 1, but bears no crescent. On the obverse above in the band appears the ornament ·V·.

Third Phase: after 1187 until 1260 or later?

11. AV dinar. 3.25 g. GM 164; BY 16; Blancard, I, 2.
This type seems to be similar to the coins with Latin letters B and T of the coinage of Tripoli, and its attribution to Antioch is purely speculative. The type is rare, and is distinguished by a small crescent between two annulets o ◡ o in the band of the reverse. This type actually has a higher percentage of gold than the other similar types minted at Tripoli.

**The gold coinage of Antioch existed according to documentary evidence, but the actual pieces can only by speculation be attributed to Antioch.*

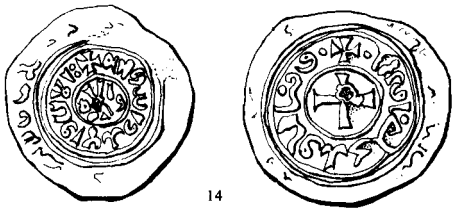
UNCERTAIN TYPES

Dinars Imitative of the Coins of al-Mustansir

130

12. AV dinar. 23 mm. BY 17.
The type is illegible, has four lines of inscription on both the obverse and the reverse, and the protocol begins with the word *al-Imām.* It also bears a linear, irregular cross on the band. As Balog and Yvon suggest, it may be an isolated product.

13. AV dinar. 4.34 g., 27 mm. Unpublished.
The type is crude in style and illegible. What appears to be the obverse of this imitation of the coinage of al-Mustansir (prototype B) has only one bar separating a single circular legend from the field. The reverse is more typical with a double bar and empty band separating the circular and linear inscriptions. It appears to bear some relation to BY 17, also a unique specimen, in style and module.



14

14. AE Piefort? 15.8 g., 33 mm. BY18; Vogüé, *Mélanges,* II, (1877), p.193, pl.X, 33.
An imitation of the coins of al-Mustansir, the type may be an imitation of Fātimid jetons.

Crusader Imitations of Ayyūbid Dirhams

IMITATIONS OF DIRHAMS OF AL-ZĀHIR GHĀZĪ OF ALEPPO

A series of coins which surely was struck by the Crusaders[1] consists of close imitations of the dirhams struck at Aleppo by Saladin's son, al-Zāhir Ghāzī, from 598 to 613 H. (A.D. 1201-16). The prototype is of the hexagram design standard at Aleppo in the Ayyūbid period, with the inscriptions framed by a six-pointed star within a circle. The names of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-'Ādil and the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Nāsir are in the central field of the reverse, and al-Zāhir's name and titles on the obverse. The *shahāda* (the Muslim declaration of faith) is written in the marginal segments between the points of the star and the circle on the reverse, and the place of issue and date occupy the obverse margin.

The posthumous imitations of this coinage have not yet been classified in detail, but they seem to be uniform except for their dates and have no overt distinguishing features, such as illiteracies or Latin symbols. The design and the legends are exactly the same as those of the prototypes, except that they bear dates after al-Zāhir's death in 613/1216, an anachronism which is not likely to have occurred at a Muslim mint. Indeed, imitations are recorded from every year from 613 to 630 H., that is, even after the deaths of al-Ādil (615/1218) and the Caliph al-Nāsir (622/1225). There is a last issue of this type in 638/1240-41. Since al-Zāhir's descendants, al-Azīz Muhammad (613-34/1216-37) and al-Nāsir Yūsuf (634-58/1237-60), issued coins in their own names at Aleppo, the posthumous coins with al-Zāhir's name must be regarded as issues of a different mint. In the light of the well-known and securely attributed later Crusader imitations of the coinage of Damascus, it seems reasonable to attribute these posthumous Aleppan imitations to the Crusaders also.

Unpublished metrological and analytical research by Bates has shown that the imitations are on the average somewhat lower in weight standard and silver fineness than contemporary Ayyūbid dirhams, but the range of weights and fineness

overlap to such an extent that neither measurement is a reliable guide for attributing single coins. The imitations can be distinguished from genuine coins of al-Zāhir only when the date can be read. Another result of the metal content analysis of a fairly large number of these coins is somewhat surprising. In his original article, Bates suggested that the imitations were not likely to have begun in the very year in which al-Zāhir died, but probably started before his death, when his coinage was still the current issue of Aleppo. However, the analysis data shows that the distinctively lower silver fineness of the imitations appears first in the year 613 itself, suggesting that the imitations were very probably begun only upon al-Zāhir's death.

A hoard published by Leuthold[2] shows that the posthumous issues of both dirhams and half dirhams circulated along with regular Ayyūbid issues. Indeed, that hoard contains no Aleppan dirhams of al-'Azīz Muhammad, and those of al-Nisir Yūsuf are only from the years 643-49 (1245-52), after the imitations of al-Zāhir had ceased to be issued. In other unpublished hoards as well, the posthumous imitations far outnumber the regular Aleppan issues. As we shall see, the later Crusader imitations of Damascus type also seem to have been more numerous than their prototypes. The predominance of Crusader issues in the silver circulation of thirteenth century Syria is striking evidence of the importance of the Crusaders in the region's monetary economy.

Where were these imitations of al-Zāhir's coinage struck? The mint may have been Acre, which is specifically named as the mint of some of the later Damascus type imitations; but it is not impossible that a mint closer to Aleppo and directly involved in trade with that city struck coins particularly for that commerce. It seems that al-Zāhir as well as the Sultan al-Ādil, made a point of granting the Italian mercantile cities commercial privileges during this period. This policy increased their own revenues and military potential, and discouraged the Crusaders' merchant population from supporting new Crusades,[3] although the ties between the Italians and the Ayyūbids were not always viewed sympathetically by other Franks or Muslims.

Al-Zāhir permitted the Venetians of Lattaqiyah to maintain a colony at Aleppo;[4] and Schlumberger cites a treaty concluded in 604/1207-08 between al-Zāhir and the Venetian ambassador Marignony alluding to, in his words, "the issue of money by the Venetians in the Levant."[5] There has been a controversy since Schlumberger's time on the question whether the Venetians initiated the issue of these coins independently or were obliged to obtain permission from the Frankish authorities, but it seems most unlikely that any of the merchant groups could have struck a large issue of coins without at least the tacit sanction of one of the Frankish rulers. One might go even further, in the context of relations between the Italians and the Muslims, to suggest that the Italians may have acted with the knowledge and perhaps the permission of the Ayyūbid rulers.

CRUSADER IMITATIONS OF DAMASCUS DIRHAMS

The earliest date on the imitations of the coinage of Damascus is 641 H./A.D. 1243. Like their prototypes, they, have central field inscriptions (three lines on dirhams, two lines on half dirhams) in a square inscribed within a circle; the marginal inscriptions are in the segments between the square and the circle. The central inscriptions are always the same: on the obverse, the name and titles of the Ayyūbid of Damascus, al-Sālih Isma'il, who ruled there in 635/1237 and 637-43/1239-45 (the prototypes were struck only from 637 or 638 to 640), and on the name of the 'Abbisid Caliph al-Mustansir. Since this caliph died in 640/1242, the Damascene imitations, like the Aleppan-type imitations, are distinguished from the prototype by an anachronism, but some of them have also small crosses, a Christian date, or a non-sectarian version of the reverse religious legend, which serve to confirm the attribution of these imitations to the Crusaders. Judging by available hoard evidence,[6] these imitations greatly outnumbered their prototypes.

By far the largest number of these imitations to the group designated Type I[7] which are dated 641, 644, and possibly 647.[8] These dates may be fictitious to some extent — the close association of these dates by extensive die-linking suggests that minting was continuous throughout those years (A.D. 1243-50) — but it is improbable that these coins were struck after 647/1249-50, for in the spring of 1250 (late 647) the Bishop Eudes de Châteauroux arrived in Syria and put a temporary stop to the striking of imitations. Type I coins are very similar to the prototype coinage of Damascus and can only be distinguished with certainty by their dates. One anomaly in the dates is notable: Ordinarily in Arabic, dates are written out in words digit-decade-century, thus (in translation): one and forty and six hundred. As far as is known, the dates on the prototypes are always written in this order, but on the Crusader imitations the decade is often written first. Since the weight range of the Type I coins is 2.05-3.20 grams, with the largest concentration in the range 2.82-2.87 grams, while the weight range of the Damascus prototypes is 2.72-3.00 grams, it is impossible to identify single coins as Crusader or Ayyūbid on the evidence of weight alone, but the average weight of the imitations, at 2.82 grams, is significantly lower than that of the prototypes or of the coinage of Damascus in the 640's, 2.87 grams. There are also half dirhams corresponding to dirham Type I.

Another group, Type II, is much like Type I, but bears the date 643 and has the date-mint legend beginning at the right instead of in the top segment of the margin. Type III is also dated 643, but is distinctive in having small crosses in the center of the marginal segments at the top of the obverse and the bottom of the reverse. Also, the Type III dirhams have in the *shahāda* the name Mikhā'il (the Archangel Michael?) in place of Muhammed; it is not certain whether the substitution indicates deliberate Christian suppression of the Prophet's name or is an error of carelessness or ignorance. One variety with Mikha'il, but without marginal crosses, is also classified with this type. There are half dirhams as well with marginal

crosses. Type IV dirhams, known from only two specimens dated 644, differ from the usual imitations in abbreviating the ruler's title in the obverse central field by the omission of "al-Dunyā." Although the dates on Types I-IV fall into the same span of years, none of these types is die-linked to any other, suggesting the possibility that the imitations were struck by more than one Frankish workshop (but not necessarily in more than one city). Alternatively, the dates on some types may be completely fictitious.

Two last groups, Types V and VI, are associated in that both bear a shorter non-sectarian religious legend in the margin, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." These types are dated, respectively, A.D. 1253 and 641 H. The latter date is almost certainly fictitious; the type can be assigned to the same period as Type V not only because of the identical religious legend but also on the evidence of the similar distinctive style of the epigraphy of the marginal legends of the two types. However, although the reverses of the two types are identical, no instance of the use of the same reverse die with the two different obverses has yet been found. Again, the possible existence of separate workshops is suggested. Half-dirhams exist corresponding to both types.

It should be mentioned that a group of very crude and anomalous dirhams were also struck in imitation of the dirhams of Damascus. Because they are extremely crude in epigraphic style and of a base metal with silver plate, they do not seem to belong to the regular series of Crusader imitative dirhams, and may be counterfeits. Whether the private individuals who evidently produced them were Frankish or Muslim is not determinable. The coins bear no Christian symbols and the specimen published by Bates bears the incredible date 619/1222-3 and weighs 2.85 grams.[9]

CHRISTIAN ARABIC DIRHAMS

In the spring of 1250 (late 647 H.) the Bishop Eudes de Châteauroux arrived in Syria. He was scandalized to learn that the Franks were striking coins with the name of the Muslim Prophet and with Islamic legends and ordered an end to the practice. No coins are known from the year 1250, but in 1251 new gold and silver coins appeared with purely Christian legends written in Arabic. The general aspect of the coins was not altered: The gold dinars are similar in arrangement to the close imitations of Fātimid dinars which were issued earlier, while the dirhams resemble the issues of Damascus which had previously been imitated, with horizontally arranged inscriptions within a square and marginal legends in the segments between the square and an outer circle. Obviously the intention was to produce a coinage which complied with Eudes' restrictions while retaining superficially the design familiar and acceptable to the Muslims, but the prominent crosses on dinars and dirhams must have made the new issues easily distinguishable.

The dirhams may be divided into three groups: those with a central cross surrounded by a circle, those with a cross but no circle, and those without the cross.

Although all the coins bear the date 1251,[12] it seems possible that the three groups can be placed in chronological order on the assumption that the cross was gradually de-emphasized and then eliminated in an effort to satisfy Muslim objections to the g coinage. For each group dirhams and corresponding half-dirhams are recorded. The dirhams range in weight from 1.98 to 2.96 grams, with the bulk of specimens between 2.60 and 2.80 grams (no rigorous metrological study has been made). Half-dirhams weigh about 1.40 grams. The mint on all these coins is *'Akkā,* Acre.

Dirhams of the first group[13] have been divided into two varieties, those on which the cross is surrounded by a linear circle and those with a dotted circle. Only half dirhams of the first variety have been recorded; they have, in addition to the cross, fleurs-de-lis, crescents, and other small ornaments scattered in the central field. In the second group,[14] seven dirham varieties have been distinguished, based on the varying ornamentation of the central fields. One variety includes two small ornamental crosses on the reverse in addition to the large obverse cross. Corresponding to these dirhams there are not only half-dirhams struck with special half-dirham dies, but also half-dirhams struck with full dirham dies. Among dirhams of the third group, with no cross, four ornamental varieties are recorded.[15] This last group seems to be less common than the first two, and only two examples of the corresponding half-dirham are known. It is doubtful whether the ornamental varieties of the three groups represent distinctive issues; more probably, the die-cutters merely decorated each die according to whim.

The fact that these dirhams are known only from 1251, and that no Crusader issues in gold or silver are reliably recorded for 1252, suggests that these Christian Arabic issues were not a completely successful solution to the conflict between a restrictions and the need for a precious metal coinage which would be accepted without question by the Muslims. The Christian dirhams are found in some hoards of the period mixed with genuine Muslim and imitative Crusader issues, but not in others. Even if only some Muslims objected to the Christian coinage, this still would have resulted in a discount of the market value of these coins as compared to the issues of Muslim mints, or to acceptable imitations.

One may at present suggest the following chronology of the Crusader Arabic silver issues, subject to revision as a result of additional metrological, metallurgical, die-study, and hoard evidence. As far as we can now see, the Crusaders apparently began imitating Muslim silver coinage in 613/1216, the very year of al-Zāhir Ghāzī's death, with imitations of that ruler's issues of Aleppo. These continued until 630/1232-33, after which date no specimens are recorded until 638/1240-41, the last year in which this posthumous coinage appeared. This final issue may well be connected with a treaty between the Crusaders and al-Sālih Ismā'īl of Damascus concluded in late 637/mid-1240 which continued in force through 638.[16] In that year, the Crusaders, under the terms of the treaty, came to Damascus to purchase arms and supplies. The genuine dirhams of Damascus and the posthumous al-Zāhir coins of 638 are remarkably similar in metal composition, particularly in that both have gold

impurity levels within a very narrow range of .26-.36% of silver content.[17] It is not far fetched to conclude that the posthumous dirhams of 638 were struck by the Franks specifically to finance their purchases in Damascus and that the silver which they brought was the main source of supply for the Damascus mint in that year.

It would seem reasonable to believe *a priori*, given the existence of Crusader issues dated 641 bearing the name of al-Mustansir posthumously, that similar imitations had been issued earlier in the period 638-40/1240-43. Such imitations would have dates consistent with their legends and would be superficially indistinguishable from genuine Damascus issues. However, the search for evidence of such imitations has proved fruitless: neither die-study, metallurgical analysis, or metrology shows the least indication that any dirhams with the mint name Damascus and dates 638-40 were struck elsewhere than in that city. In the absence of such evidence, one has to presume that the Crusaders did not begin striking Damascus-type imitations until 641, when the specific coinage it imitated was already obsolete.

If the Damascus imitations began only in 641, it may be more than coincidental that late in that year (spring 1244) the alliance of al-Sālih Ismā'īl and the Crusaders was renewed.[18] Whether or not there was a connection, the issue of Damascus imitations continued after the alliance had broken up and Isma'il had been evicted from Damascus by his nephew al-Sālih Ayyūb in 643/1245. Coins of this phase bear the date 644, and some may be dated 645 and 647; the ambiguous writing of the date inscriptions precludes certainty. To this period the Damascus imitative types I, II, III, and IV are to be assigned. The arrival of Eudes de Châteauroux in Syria in late 647/spring 1250 and his prohibition of issues with Muslim inscriptions apparently put a temporary end to these imitations, for no coins are known dated 648 or 1250. In 1251, however, came the issues with Christian Arabic inscriptions; but the fact that these are recorded with certainty only in that year suggests that they were unsuccessful in meeting the need for a coinage which would be completely acceptable to the Muslims. No coins appear to have been issued in 1252, but the arrival in 1253 of the Pope's response to Eudes' letter apparently permitted the resumption of imitations with some modifications: for the language of the papal decree explicitly forbade only the use of the name of Muhammad and his "birthdate" (*i.e.*, the Hijra year).[19] Apparently in compliance with the literal language of the letter, the Franks issued dirhams with the names of Muslim rulers and the mint name Damascus, but with non-sectarian religious legends omitting the Prophet's name and with Christian or fictitious Muslim dates (Damascus imitative Types V and VI). Although A.D. 1253 is the latest date found on Crusader Arabic dirhams, Type VI, with the fictitious date 641, may have been struck after 1253. It is therefore impossible to say when these Crusader imitations came to an end; it may be relevant that the gold coinage with Christian legends was struck from 1253 to 1258.[20]

Acre is named as the mint on the Christian Arabic dirhams of 1251 and on the gold of 1251 and 1253-58. It seems likely that most, if not all, of the imitation dirhams with the mint names Aleppo and Damascus were also struck at Acre, but the

Pope's letter of 1253 refers also to production of imitations at Tripoli, which may therefore have struck some dirhams.

IMITATIONS OF DIRHAMS OF AL-ZĀHIR GHĀZĪ OF ALEPPO

1

1. AR dirham. 2.55-3.10, *ca.* 2.85 g. Bates, pl. I, 22.

Obverse field, within hexagram:

الملك	*al-Malik*
الظاهر غازى	*al-Zāhir Ghāzī*
ابن يوسف ابن	*ibn Yūsuf ibn*
ايوب	*Ayyūb*

Obverse margin, within the segments between the hexagram and circle:

ضرب | بحلب | سنة

duriba bi-Halab sana ...

struck in Aleppo year ...

Recorded dated are 613 to 630/126-33 and 638/1240-41.

Reverse field: الامام

	al-Imām
الناصر احمد	al-Nāsir Aḥmad
الملك العادل	al-Malik al-'Ādil
ابو بكر	Abū Bakr

Reverse Margin, within segments:

لا اله | الا ا | لله | محمد | رسول | الله.

lā ilāh illā Allāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh

There is no god but God; Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.

2. AR half-dirham. *ca.* 1.40-1.45 g. Leuthold, *RIN* (1970), no. 7.
Obverse field, in frame like dirhams:

الملك — al-Malik
الظاهر — al-Zāhir

Obverse margin: like dirhams.

Reverse field:

الامام — al-Imām
الناصر — al-Nāsir

Reverse margin: like dirhams.

Half-dirhams also exist struck with dirham dies, or with one dirham die and one half-dirham die.

CRUSADER IMITATIONS OF THE DIRHAMS OF DAMASCUS with the Ayyūbid al-Sālih Ismā'il and the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mustansir

3

3. AR dirham. 2.05-3.20 g., avg. 2.82 g. Bates Type I, varieties A-D, pl. I, 2-8; BY 36-37.

Obverse field.:[10]

الملك الصالح — *al-Malik al-Sālih*
عماد الدنيا والدين — *Imād al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn*
اسمٰعيل بن ابى بكر — *Ismā'īl b. Abī Bakr*

Obverse margin: بسم الله | ضرب بدمشق | سنة
bism Allāh duriba bi-Dimashq sana ...
In the name of God, struck in Damascus year ...
Dates 641, 644, 645?, and 647? are known.

Reverse field: الامام

المستنصر — *al-Imām al-Mustansir*
بالله ابو جعفر — *billāh Abū Ja'far*
المنصور امير المومنين — *al-Mansur Amīr al-Mu'minīn*

Reverse margin: لا اله الا ا | لله وحده | لا شريك له | محمد رسول الله
lā ilāh illā Allāh wahdah lā sharīk lahu Muhammad rasūl Allāh
There is no god but God alone; none is associated with him; Muhammad is the Messenger of God).

4. AR half-dirham.[11] Bates ½-dirham Type I, pl.I, 21.
Obverse field: الملك
al-Malik
الصالح
al-Salih
Obverse Margin: As dirham preceding, but "*bism Allāh*" usually omitted.

Reverse field:
الامام al-Imām
المستنصر al-Mustansir
Reverse Margin: As dirham above, but words or phrases are often omitted on the different varieties of this type.

5

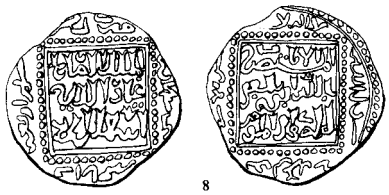
6

5. AR dirham. 2.61-3.24 g., *c.* 2.88 g. Bates Type II, pl.I, 9-11.
Obverse field: As no. 3 above.
Obverse margin: As no. 3, but the words *bism Allāh* are in the fourth segment, at the right.
Reverse field: As no. 3
Reverse margin: Garbled version of that of no. 3; the word *wahdah* is omitted, and the phrases *Muhammad rasūl Allāh* and *lā sharīk lahu* are transposed in order.

6. AR dirham. 2.27-3.05 g., avg. 2.56. Bates Type III, pl.I, 12-14; BY 39.
Obverse field: As no. 3.
Obverse margin: As no. 3, but in top segment:

Reverse field: As no. 3.
Reverse margin: لا اله | الا الله | صخا ✠ يل | رسول الله
There is no god but God, Michael is the Messenger of God.

7



8

7. AR half-dirham. Bates half-dirham Type II.
Obverse field: As half-dirham above, no. 4.
Obverse margin: Mint-date, as no. 3, but *bism Allāh* omitted, and ضرب at top.
Reverse field: As half-dirham above, no. 4.
Reverse margin: As Type III dirham, above, no. 6.

8. AR dirham. Two examples known, 2.71 and 2.77 g. Bates Type IV, pl. I, 15.
Obverse field: As no., 3 above, except second line is عماد الدين *'Imād al-Dīn.*
Obverse margin: As no. 3, but without *bism Allāh.*

Reverse field: As no. 3.
Reverse margin: Garbled version of *shahāda*, as no. 3.

9

9. AR dirham. 1.90-3.32 g., avg. 2.73 g. Bates Type V. pl. I, 17-18; BY 38.
Obverse field: As no. 3 above.
Obverse margin: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm
In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Reverse field: As no. 3 above.
Reverse margin: ضرب دمشق سنة الف ومائتين وثلثم (*sic*) وخمسين

duriba bi-Dimashq sana alf wa-mi'atayn wa-thalatha wa-khamsīn
Struck in Damascus year one thousand and two hundred and three and fifty.

10. AR half-dirham. Bates half-dirham Type III.
Obverse and reverse fields: As no. 4 above.
Obverse margin: بسم الله الر حمن
bism Allāh al-rahmān
In the name of God the Merciful.

Reverse margin: As dirham Type V, no. 9 above, but without *duriba bi-Dimishq.*

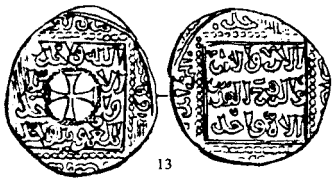
11

11. AR dirham. 2.21-3.21 g., avg. 2.75 g. Bates Type VI, pl. I, 19-20; BY 35.
Obverse field: As no. 3 above.
Obverse margin: As no. 9 above.
Reverse field: As no. 3 above.
Reverse margin: As no. 3 above, but without *bism Allāh*; date 641 only.

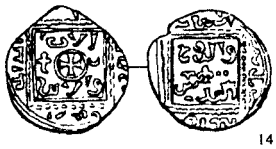
12. AR half-dirham. Bates half-dirham Type IV.
Obverse and reverse fields and obverse margin: As no. 10 above.

Reverse margin: Too few specimens are known to reconstruct the entire margin, but apparently the inscription is as on the corresponding dirhams, no. 11 above, with the word *sittumi'a* omitted.

CHRISTIAN ARABIC DIRHAMS



13



14

13. AR dirham. 2.33-2.90 g., avg. 2.65 g. BY 42-43;[21] Schl. V, 28 (43).

Obverse field:

الله واحد هو
الا ⊕ يمان
وا حد
المعمودیه واحده

Allāh wāhid huwa
al-īmān
wāhid
al-ma'mūdiyya wāhid

"One God, one Faith, one Baptism." Cross surrounded by a linear circle (Balog/Yvon 42) or a dotted circle (BY 43).

Obverse Margin: ضرب بعكا سنه الف و مايتين احد و خمسين لتجسد

duriba bi-'Akkā / sana alf wa- / mi'atayn wa-ahad / wa-khamsīn li-tajassud

Struck in Acre year one thousand and two hundred and one and fifty of the Incarnation.

Reverse field: الاب و الابن
و الروح القدس
الاه واحد

al-āb wa'l-ibn
wa'l-rīh al-qudus
ilāh wāhid

"The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: One Divinity."

Reverse Margin: له المجد الى ابد الابدين امين امين

lahu al-majd / ilā abad / al-abadīn / amīn amīn

His is the glory forever and ever, amen, amen.

14. AR half-dirham. 1.35-1.46 g., avg. 1.40 g. BY 44; Schl. V, 29-30.

Obverse field: الاب و الابن

al-āb
wa'l-ibn

"The Father and the Son."

Obverse Margin: As dirham, no. 13 above, but second *amīn* omitted.

Reverse field: وروح القدس

wa'l-rūh
al-qudus

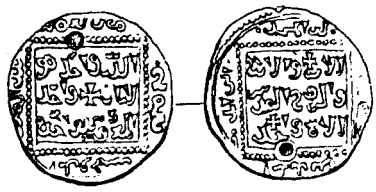
"and the Holy Spirit."

Reverse Margin: الاه واحد له المجد الى ابد الابدين امين

ilāh wihid / lahu al-majd / ilā abad / al-abadīn amīn

One Divinity, His is the glory forever and ever, amen.

The legend begins in the obverse field, continues to the reverse field and then to the reverse margin. The obverse margin is redundant.



15

15. AR dirham. 1.98-2.96 g., avg. 2.67 g. BY 45, a-g; Schl. V, 31 (45*f.*)

The obverse and reverse fields and the reverse margin are as no. 13, except that the cross is not surrounded by a circle. The mint-date legend in the obverse margin is as no. 13, except in ending: *li-tajassud al-masīh* (of the incarnation of the Messiah.)

16. AR half-dirham. 1.36-1.40 g., avg. 1.39 g. BY 46a.

The obverse and reverse fields are as the previous half-dirham, no. 14, except that there is no circle around the cross and no fleur-de-lis on the reverse.

Obverse margin: Mint and date, as on dirhams, but without indication of the Christian era.

Reverse margin: As half-dirham no. 14, but without *amīn*.

One half-dirham has been recorded struck from dirham dies (BY 46b).

17

17. AR dirham. 2.05-2.65 g., avg. 2.40 g. BY 47a-d.

As the last dirham, no. 15, but with no central cross on obverse.

18. AR half-dirham. 1.32-1.40 g. (two examples). BY 48.

As half-dirham no. 16, but no central cross.

Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom

LORDSHIP OF TYRE

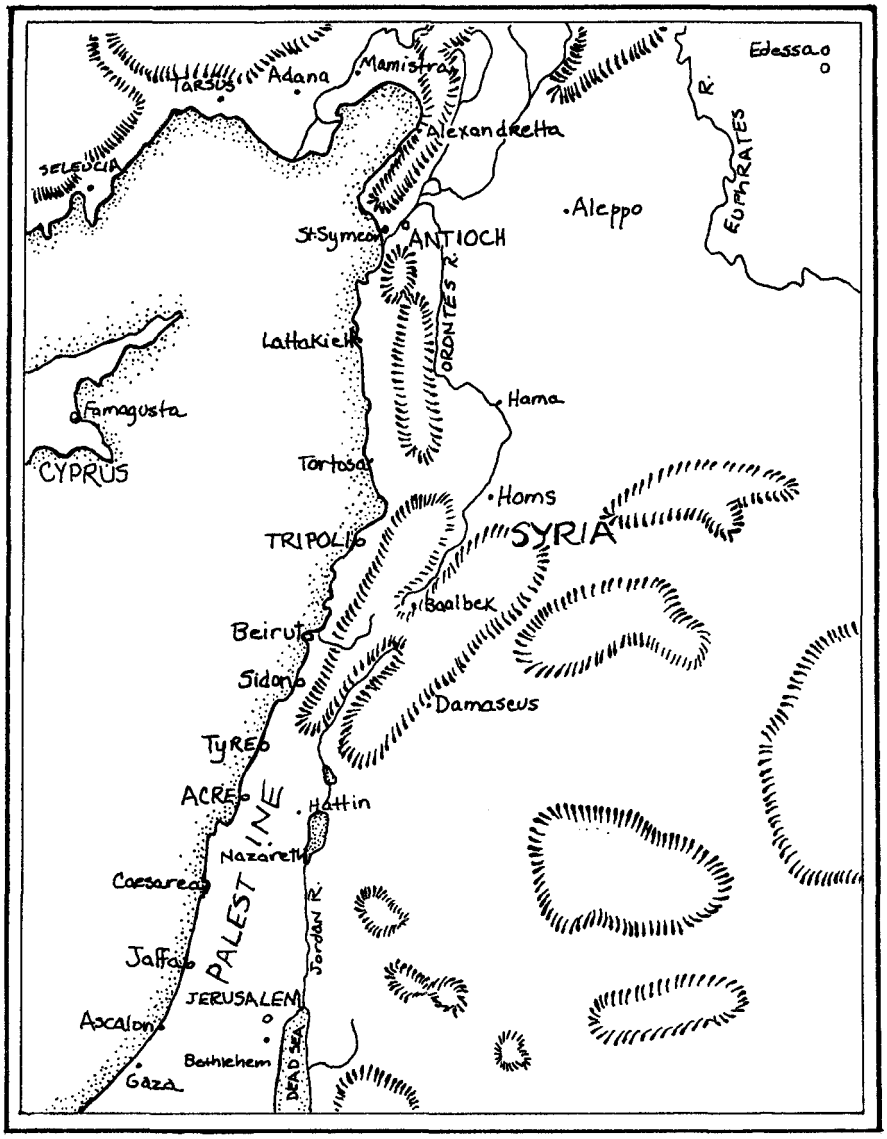
Tyre, known as Sur, its Arabic name, in medieval and modern times, was captured in 1124, after a long siege, through the combined efforts of the Crusaders and a Venetian fleet. One third of the city was given to the Venetians, who also received extensive trading privileges in the kingdom, and the rest was retained as part of the royal domains. As a cosmopolitan port, of which the population was mainly Arabic-speaking, Tyre flourished throughout the period of Frankish domination of the coastal areas of central Syria and Palestine.

When, after the battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187, the Franks lost almost all their possessions, Conrad of Montferrat was able, with the aid of some Normans from Sicily, to defend the port of Tyre from Saladin's attack. Conrad continued to reside there until he was killed by Assassins in 1192, just before his coronation as king of Jerusalem. It thereafter became traditional, while Jerusalem was in Muslim hands, for the kings and queens of Jerusalem to be crowned in the cathedral at Tyre.

Between 1230 and 1243 Ricardo Filangieri of Naples, having been sent by Frederick II in 1229 to subdue the local barons to imperial authority, made his headquarters at Tyre. Not until 1243 was Philip of Montfort, a nephew of Simon of Montfort and opponent of the imperialist forces, able to secure control of the city. Philip was furthermore entrusted with the rule of the lordship by order of the High Court over the heads of the baronial bailies. Philip thereafter became one of the most prosperous barons of the kingdom, profiting from the local manufacture of sugar. He continued to rule the city until his death in 1270, when he was succeeded by his son John (1270-83). Tyre was subsequently ruled by John's widow, Marguerite, until it surrendered to the Mamlūks on May 19, 1291.

COINAGE OF TYRE

During the twelfth century, Tyre was second only to Acre in importance as a royal mint of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Its mint issued imitative gold dinars, beginning perhaps around 1124 and ceasing shortly after 1187.[1] Apparently, however, its former importance as a royal mint was eclipsed by the mint of Acre after 1187, and the only other coins known to have been issued at Tyre were the copper coins of the Montfort lords who were granted control of the city in 1243. It is tempting to speculate that this city, which so stoutly withstood Saladin's armies and

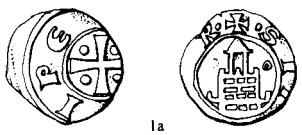

Tarsus
Adana
Mamistra
Edessa
R. EUPHRATES
Alexandretta
SELEUCIA
Aleppo
St Symeon
ANTIOCH
ORONTES R.
Lattakieh
Famagusta
Hama
CYPRUS
Tortosa
Homs
TRIPOLI
SYRIA
Baalbek
Beirut
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
ACRE
Hattin
Nazareth
Caesarea
PALESTINE
Jordan R.
Jaffa
JERUSALEM
Ascalon
Bethlehem
DEAD SEA
Gaza

which was the location for the coronation of the kings of Jerusalem after 1187, may have issued some other coins as well, retaining some of its former prestige as a mint. It has been suggested that the debased coins attributed to King Aimery de Lusignan (1197-1205) were issued at Tyre, though whether they were issued at Tyre, Acre, or elsewhere is speculation.[2] Though hoard evidence seems to indicate that these coins were issued during the early years of the thirteenth century, it is insufficient to determine where they were minted.[3]

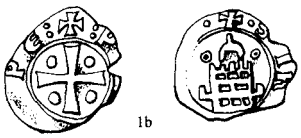
When the Montfort family gained control of Tyre in 1243, they began minting a series of copper coins of crude manufacture. The first of the Montfort lords, Philip, struck a type, which Schlumberger did not know, bearing a cross and a castle, and the legends +:PhELIPE:/+SIRE D' SVR. Philip also struck a similar type with a cross and a temple-like structure with four columns, and the legends +:PhELIPE:/+SIRE DE SVR. The change in types from a medieval edifice to a classical temple is striking. These architectural types have been analyzed by Canon Wilkinson.[4] Two very historical buildings are identified. The classic temple type is in fact the Grand Cathedral of Tyre. The church, of which Eusebius wrote, was erected in the fourth century by the bishop of Tyre, Paulins. Eusebius alludes to this as the most magnificent temple in all of Phoenicia. The early Christian writer, Origen and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa were both buried there. This cathedral, St. Mary of the Sepulchre of Our Lady of Tyre by name, was 244 ft. long by 82 ft. wide. Four pillars of great size were attested to by Burchardt and other medieval pilgrims.[5] The "castle" on the other coin is a particularly Gothic edifice with a tall, pedimented tower. This tower is identified as the Great Tower at Tyre revealed on the seal of John of Montfort.[6] Both of these types are quite rare.

Philip's son, John of Montfort, of Toron, also minted rare copper coins bearing similar types to those of the last, and the legends +IOh SIRE/+DE SVR. Though, as *Figure 3* shows, Schlumberger read the inscription of the coin, IOhS TRO, for *John de Toron, de Sur,* the actual reading from the evidence of a few more recently discovered examples in IOh SIRE, for *John, lord of Tyre.* On one variety, the temple-like building is further reduced, with two columns instead of four. Both of these types are extremely rare.

Philip of Montfort (1243-70)

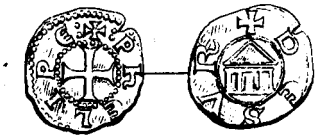


1a



1b

1. AE Pougeoise. 0.83-0.92 g. Seltman, *NCirc.* (1966), pp.61-63, #4.
   a. O: +:PhELIPE:
      Cross pattée, pellets in four quarters.
      R: +·SIRЄ·D'·SVR·
      Tower set on wall (the Great Tower at Tyre), annulet on each side.
   b. Similar, but slightly different style. Seltman, #5.

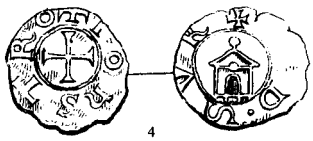


2

2. AE pougeoise. 0.77-1.32 g. Schl. V, 14.
   O: +PhЄLIPЄ:
      Cross pattée.
   R: +DE SVR
      Temple with four columns and rounded doorway, pellets in and at top of pediment (Cathedral of Tyre).
      Variety: :+:PhЄLIPЄ

John of Montfort (1270-83)

3



4

3. AE pougeoise. 1.14 g. Seltman, #6.
   O: +IOh SIRE
      Cross pattée.
   R: +DE SVR
      Temple with four columns (Cathedral of Tyre).

4. AE pougeoise. 1.10-1.46 g. Schl. V,15var.; Seltman, *NCirc.* (1965), p. 62.
   O: +IOh SIRE
      Cross pattée.
   R: +DE·SVR
      Temple with two columns.

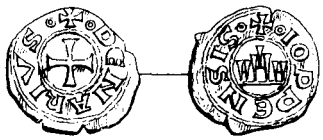
COUNTY OF JAFFA

Jaffa, located about forty miles to the west of Jerusalem, was the city's nearest port. Captured by Genoese Crusaders in 1099, Jaffa was subsequently established as the capital of a county, to which the district of Ascalon, lying on the coast to the south, was later added. The county, which was one of the four chief baronies in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was usually granted as a fief by the king to a relative and reverted on his death to the crown. Jaffa remained in the hands of the Crusaders until 1268, except for two short periods: after the battle of the Horns of Hattin, between 1187 and 1191, and after its capture by Saif-ad-din, between 1197 and 1204. Geoffroy of Lusignan controlled the county for two years between 1191 and 1193, and Aimery of Lusignan for one year (1193-4), before becoming king of Cyprus. Gautier of Brienne became count of Jaffa between *ca.* 1221 and 1250 and was succeeded in turn by John of Ibelin (1250-66), the lawyer, and by John's son Guy, who ruled there between 1266 and the time of its fall to the Mamlūks in 1268.

COINAGE OF JAFFA

Anonymous billon or copper deniers were struck for Jaffa, bearing a cross and a gateway as types, and the legends + o DENARIVS o /+ o IOPPENSIS o . Precisely when these anonymous coins were minted is a matter of speculation, for only one type is known from few specimens. They may possibly be roughly contemporary with the billon and copper deniers of Beirut and Tyre, therefore more likely belonging to the thirteenth century than to the twelfth. Prawer goes so far as to suggest that Gautier of Brienne (1221-50) had them struck for his county.[7]

Anonymous (mid-Thirteenth Century)



1

1. Billion or AE denier. 0.67-0.73 g. Schl. IV, 29.
   O: + o DENARIVS o
   Cross
   R: + o IOPPENSIS o
   Gateway.

LORDSHIP OF BEIRUT

With the help of count Bertrand of Tripoli and a Pisan fleet, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem captured the port city of Beirut in 1110 and granted it as a lordship to Foulques de Guines. During the twelfth century, the city was also ruled by a certain Gautier and a Guy, both surnamed Brisebarre.[8] Throughout the period of Frankish rule there, Beirut remained a thriving place of export of wood from the Lebanese forest and of silks and cloths; its iron mines also continued to be an important local industry.

Beirut was captured by the Ayyūbids after the battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187. When it was reconquered by the Crusaders in 1197, King Aimery granted Beirut as a fief to his brother-in-law, John I of Ibelin (*ca.* 1198(?)-1236),[9] who was already acting constable of Jerusalem (1194-1205). John became regent of Jerusalem (1205-10), bailie for his nephew King Henry of Cyprus during his minority (1227-28, 1230-36), and mayor of Acre (1232-36); and, during the so-called War of the Lombards, he led the baronial forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem against Emperor Frederick II. When the "Old Lord of Beirut," as John was respectfully called, died in 1236 he was succeeded as lord of Beirut in turn by his son Balian (1236-47) and his grandson John II (1247-64), followed by the latter's daughters Isabelle (1264-82) and Eschiva (1282-91). The city of Beirut finally surrendered to the Mamlūks on July 31, 1291.

COINAGE OF BEIRUT

Though bits of numismatic evidence have emerged since the nineteenth century, the total picture of the coinage issued at Beirut during the early thirteenth century is far from complete. The few billon deniers that Schlumberger knew, inscribed +I0hAnNES/+DE BERITI, obviously indicate that a John of Beirut issued them. During the first half of the twentieth century, the appearance of both the Tripoli and Kessab hoards, concealed between 1221 and 1225, revealed a total of fifteen examples of the latter type, as well as ten coins inscribed +I0h'S DE IBELInO/+CIVITAS BERITI, thus not only confirming beyond any doubt that John I of Ibelin (*ca.* 1198/1205-1236) was responsible for the issue, but also indicating that they belonged to the early part of his reign, before *ca.* 1225. These billon deniers weigh between 0.55 and 0.99 grams, and bear as types a cross pattée, usually with annulets or crescents in two quarters, and a crenelated tower with archway. The first type listed in the Catalogue bears the simpler legend +I0hAnNES, and the simpler form of tower, similar to the edifices appearing on some coins of Sidon and Tripoli, which in turn were generically derived from the Tower of David type of Baldwin III of Jerusalem. The second type (*Figure 2* in the Catalogue) usually bears

a gateway with two flanking towers and a more explicit inscription, +I0h'S DE IBELInO/+CIVITAS BERITI. The form of the obverse legend varies slightly: DE BELInO, DE IBELINO, and the like, with both square and lunate E's and both Roman and Gothic N's. From hoard evidence and stray finds, *Figures 1* and *2* seem to appear in moderate numbers compared to the royal coinages which far outnumber them.[10] The frequent changes in the position of the annulets and crescents in the quarters of the obverse cross, which occur on Type 1, and the changes in the letter forms and the varieties of stop that occur on both types, also suggest that they were the products of several workshops or from several issues.

A third billon type is extremely rare, and bears the simple gateway of the first type and the inscription +IOh'S D YBELInO/+DnS BERITENS.[11] It has not thus far been found in hoards, but is closely related to the other types in letter form and gateway type. It is probably an early experimental issue, since it bears the simpler form of gateway, John's title *Dominus,* and letter forms, such as the closed E and decorative n, similar to those appearing on the coins inscribed IOhAnES.[12]

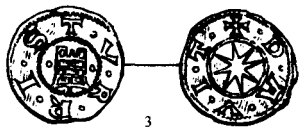
As for the copper coinage of Beirut, more evidence has come to light that there was a direct connection between the *royal* coinage of the kingdom and the copper coinage issued by the lords of Beirut. Several specimens of the TVRRIS/+DAVIT coins, previously attributed to the mint of Jerusalem while it lay under Saladin's siege of 1187, were overstruck by coins of Beirut,[13] inscribed +DE BERITO IOhE and bearing a fortress with city gate on the obverse and an interlaced pattern covering the entire surface of the reverse. Since the phenomenon of overstriking is so unusual among Frankish coins, its occurrence strongly implies not only that rapid changes were taking place in the political structure of the Latin Kingdom, but also that the two types involved should be considered comparatively close together in place. In terms of style, both types are neatly executed and struck. It is even possible that the same mint employees were involved. The TVRRIS coin, traditionally considered a royal issue minted at Jerusalem in the absence of the king, has now correctly been assigned to the mint of Beirut.[14] The coin dates from the regency of Raymond III of Tripoli, while Guy of Lusignan was in minority at Jerusalem and Raymond was lord of Beirut. Raymond was in command of Jerusalem and Beirut from 1184 until the late summer of 1186 when Baldwin IV received control of the regency. The types of the Tower of David, relating to Jerusalem, and the star of Tripoli also link these coins to Raymond at this time. The attribution of the TVRRIS coins to Jerusalem in 1187 is therefore highly unlikely.

Another point which should be clarified at this juncture is the relationship between the copper coins clearly attributable to Beirut and those that Schlumberger assigned to the lordship of Toron.[15] Probably the coin of similar type described and illustrated by Schlumberger (p.124 f., pl.V,13), which was said to have the legend ... RITORONE, was in fact a misread coin of John I. No other example of such a coin attributable to Toron has ever been observed.

Some anonymous copper coins were also struck at Beirut. They seem to be found only among stray finds in the vicinity of Beirut and have not appeared in the major hoards. It is not possible to assign them to a particular reign. They may perhaps have been struck during one of John's many absences from his lordship, or they may have been issued after his death in 1236, during the reigns of his son Balian or his grandson John II. There is, however, no literary evidence to support either conjecture. These coins bear an interlaced pattern and towered gateway quite similar to those on John's copper coins, though one of the anonymous types bears a fortress of which the doorway is placed asymmetrically. The legends are of two types: +DE BERITENSIS which incorrectly associates the genitive case of the proper noun with a preposition, and +DE BARVTh, the French form for "of Beirut." The Latin of the first type might be intended to stand for DENARIUS BERITENSIS, but all these copper coins of Beirut would appear to have been fractions of the billon denier, perhaps pougeoises, as Schlumberger thought, rather than debased deniers.[16] If, however, they are to be dated much later than Beirut's billon coinage, then the legend might perhaps be correct, rather than an illiterate, careless, or purely formal inscription. The second type is more debased, struck of reddish-colored copper, and irregular in weight, ranging between 0.70 and 1.25 grams. Coins inscribed DE BARVTh, like those with DE SVR (issued after 1243) or DE SEETE (after 1227), bear the French form commonly used among the baronial coins during the reigns of Conrad and Conradin (1228-68). Possibly, therefore, these coins might be assigned to the second-third of the thirteenth century.

Raymond of Tripoli (1184-86)

2



3

1. AE pougeoise. 0.48-0.95 g. Seltman, *NC* (1966), pp. 62-63; Sabine, *NC* (1978), 1-7A, Type 1.
   O: T·V·R·R·I·S·
   Tower of David.
   R: +·D·A·V·I·T·
   Eight pointed star.

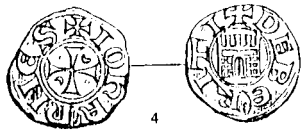
2. AE pougeoise. 0.61-0.92 g. Sabine, *NC* (1978), 8-25, Type 2.
   O: T·V·R·R·I·S·
   Tower of David, annulet each side of tower.

R: +·D·A·V·I·T·
Eight pointed star.

The above types have been found overstruck by the earliest copper issues of Beirut of John I of Ibelin.

3. AE pougeoise. 0.75 g. Schl. III,26; Sabine, *NC* (1978), Type 2.
O: T·V·R·R·I·S·
Tower of David, pellet each side of tower.
R: +·D·A·V·I·T·
Eight pointed star.

John I of Ibelin (ca. 1198/1205-36)



4

4. Billon denier. 0.59 g. Schl. V,10.
O: +IOhAnNES
Cross pattée.
R: +DE BERITI
Crenelated tower with gateway.

5. Billon denier. 0.76 g.
Similar, annulet in fourth quarter of cross.

6. Billon denier. 0.55-0.95 g. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 53, 3.
Similar, annulets or crescents in first and fourth quarters of cross.

7. Billon denier. 0.59-0.87 g. Cox, p. 53, 1-2.
Similar, crescents in second and third quarters of cross, rev. stops vary.

8. Billon denier. 0.65 g.
Similar, pellets in first and fourth quarters of cross.

9. Billon denier.

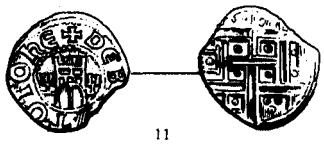
a. O: +IOh'S DE IBELInO
Cross, crescents in second and third quarters.
R: +CIVITAS BERITI
Fortified gateway with two flanking towers.
0.65-0.99 g. Yvon, *RN* (1966), p. 97, pl. II, 9; Cox, nos. 4-5.

b. O: Similar, +IOh'S DE BELInO
R: Similar, +CIVITAS BERITI
Cox, 6var.; Yvon, pl. III,10.

c. O: Similar, IOh'S DE BELInO
R: Similar.
Longuet, *RN* (1935), pl.VI, 8.

d. O: Similar, +IOh'S DE IBELINO
R: Similar.
Cox,no.7; Longuet, p.175.

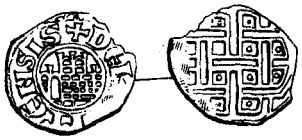
10


11

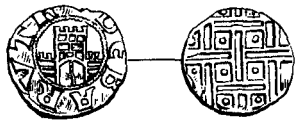
10. Billon denier. 0.85-0.86 g. Yvon, p.97, pl. III,11.
O: +IOh'S D YBELInO
Cross pattée, annulets in first and fourth quarters, all within circle.
R: +DnS BERITENS
Crenelated tower with gateway, annulet below.

11. AE pougeoise. ca. 0.97 g. Schl. XX,11.
O: +DE BERITO IOhE
Fortified gateway and city wells.
R: Interlaced pattern.
At least three examples of this type were found overstruck onto coins inscribed TVRRIS / DAVIT, *described above, nos. 1-3. Also see Seltman,* Num. Circ. *(1966), pp. 61-63.*

Anonymous Copper Coins
ca. 1225-1265



8



9

12. AE pougeoise. 0.70 g. Schl. V,12.
O: +DE BERITENSIS
Fortress with tower. Asymmetrical placement of archway.
R: Interlaced pattern.

13. AE pougeoise. 0.75-1.14 g. Schl. V,11.
O: +DE BARVTh
Fortress with towered gateway in center.
R: Interlaced pattern.
Known to have been overstruck on Turris Davit type.

LORDSHIP OF SIDON

Sidon, which the Crusaders called Sidonia, Saiète, Sagitta, or Seete, was captured in 1110 by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem, who established the city and the surrounding territory as a barony which he granted to Eustache Grenier. Though different contemporary documents are in conflict concerning the names of Eustache's sons, there seems to have been an Eustache II, who died before 1131 and who was succeeded in turn by his son Girard (*ca.* 1130-70) and his grandson Renaldus or Renaud (*ca.* 1170-87).[17] Girard became one of the leading vassals of the kingdom; and his quarrels with King Amaury after 1163, over the definition of baronial powers, led to a series of laws, the *Assise sur la ligece* (1166), which ultimately strengthened the power of the High Court. Girard's son Renaud succeeded him around 1170 and held the city until it was captured by Saladin in 1187.[18]

The lords Grenier continued to rule Sidon until 1260, except for the period after the battle of the Horns of Hattin, when the port of Sidon was first completely in the hands of the Muslims (1187-97) and later divided between the Ayyūbids and the Franks (1197-1227). Bailan I Grenier (*ca.* 1204-40) ruled the lordship, except for a brief period when Ricardo Filangieri, imperial bailie at Tyre for Frederick II, captured the port (*ca.* 1230-32).[19] During his sojourn in the East, St. Louis helped rebuild the

fortress at Sidon, and Julian (1247-60) mortgaged Sidon to the Templars, who took possession of it in 1260, although he and later his son, Balian II, retained the title. The Templars evacuated Sidon in June 1291, when it was occupied by Mamlūks.

COINAGE OF SIDON

It is possible that the correct dating and attribution of the coins of the lordship of Sidon may provide clues to the character of the billon and copper coinages of all Frankish Syria and Palestine. The first reason for making such a statement about this particular baronial coinage is that certain historians have doubted that any petty lord of the Kingdom of Jerusalem would have dared mint coins in his own name as early as the third-quarter of the twelfth century.[20] The existence of coins inscribed +RENALDVS/+SYDONIA, for Raynald (*ca.* 1170-87) of Sidon proves, however, that one particular barony of the Kingdom of Jerusalem began to do so, perhaps during Amaury's reign (1163-74).

During the twelfth century, according to one theory, Girard of Sidon struck copper coins bearing an arrow surrounded by pellets, and a six-pointed star decorated with a pellet at the end of each ray and the legends +GIRARDVS/+SIDONIA (sometimes retrograde). The coin's arrow is a symbol for *Sagète*, the Frankish name for Sidon and a cognate of the Latin *sagitta* or arrow. Although it is quite distinct, the six-rayed star is more reminiscent of the rosette on the coins of Le Puy in France than the Toulousan star as Schlumberger proposed. The final attribution of this type is still debated. Some have suggested that its style would be more at home in the thirteenth century. The arguments supporting this attribution have been discussed in more detail by Edbury.[21] Gerard's son Raynald also struck coins, bearing as types the arrow and a crenelated tower with archway, apparently an echo of the Tower of David type of Baldwin III of Jerusalem. Raynald's coins are commonly inscribed +RENALDVS/+SYDONIA, though Schlumberger lists a rare variety with the reverse inscription SYDONIE.[22] These coins are neatly designed and inscribed and usually struck in copper, though Schlumberger also lists a type which is in good billon.[23]

As with many of the copper issues of the Frankish East, it is difficult to determine the denominations of these twelfth century coins. Some scholars have called them *oboles*, others *pougeoises*, and still others *debased deniers*. Since the kings of Jerusalem minted copper pougeoises (1192-94), in addition to the billon deniers and oboles (1143-74), it is reasonable to assume these coppers were pougeoises. The appearance in the thirteenth century of a good billon type that names its denomination in its legend, DENIER, tends to dismiss the idea that the twelfth century coins were deniers, except that the evidence of the anomalous billon variety among Raynald's coins might mean that they were used as deniers by order of the local lords despite their intrinsic value.

Another fine billon type, stuck anonymously, represents a departure from the types previously issued at Sidon. Not only does it bear a cross and a domed building as types, but the legends are in French, +DENIER/+DE SEETE. The appearance of coins of this type in the al-Mina and Djebaïl hoards (1130-35) confirms that they were minted just before and perhaps during that period and, therefore, belong to the reign of Balian Grenier (*ca.* 1204-40), when the city of Sidon was once again completely under Frankish control (1227-60). Since Balian was co-bailie (1228-31) and baronial co-bailie (1233-40) of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he may have left the coining of money for the lordship to a regent who refrained from placing a name on the coins. The domed building appearing on the obverse represents a specific local mosque, converted to Christian use as the cathedral of Sidon. This functioned at this juncture as an eloquent sign to the Frankish population that the Crusaders had incorporated and subdued the Muslim element in religion and government at Sidon.

The appearance of the denomination in the inscription of these coins might also suggest that it was necessary to clarify the value of a specific local coinage, because of a proliferation of coinages and denominations at this time. Other baronial and royal coinages of various denominations were being minted at the same time, and some coins, such as the pougeoise of Henry of Champagne and the anonymous Latin dirhams of Acre, also bore their denominations. There may be additional evidence that this denier of Sidon was recognized as a separate entity and that it continued to circulate locally until the middle of the thirteenth century. Joinville mentioned the deniers of Sidon in an episode he chronicled in his history of King Louis IX of France. In a religious celebration which Louis attended at Sidon, along with Marguerite de Saiète, whose husband Julian (1247-60) was away, each chevalier offered "*un cierge et un denier d'argent, et le roys offri un cierge et un besant d'or, tous des deniers Madame de Saiète. Dont l'on se merveilla mout quant le roys fist ce, car l'on ne l'avait onques veu offrir que ses deniers, mais il le fist par sa courtoisie.*"[24] The passage implies that King Louis offered the equivalent of a gold bezant in deniers of Madame de Saiète, and that each of his chevaliers offered one *silver* denier apiece. The deniers which Joinville stated as belonging to Madame de Saiète are not clearly identifiable. They may be unknown deniers minted by Madame de Saiète, or deniers issued earlier and still in circulation while Marguerite de Saiète ruled the lordship. It may be, furthermore, that the coins' explicit identification of themselves, +DENIER/+DE SEETE, remained in Joinville's memory.

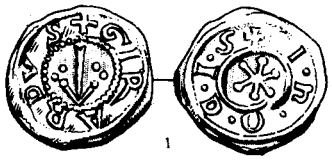
The attribution of a group of scarce copper coins of barbarous fabric and bearing indecipherable legends is problematic. Though Schlumberger assigned them to the individual baronies whose coin types they most closely resemble, the coins clearly form a distinct, often interrelated series. They bear no legible inscriptions, are sometimes of a very crude, reddish copper, vary greatly in weight, and are struck on irregularly-shaped fabric. Of this group of coins, those bearing an arrow on one side have been assigned by Schlumberger to Sidon. These coins also bear on the opposite face various types, including what appears to be the Holy Sepulchre, a tower

surmounted by a cross, and a star pommeté. Between the publication of his work and that of his *Supplement,* Schlumberger changed his mind about the dating of the coins, at first assigning them to the latter part of the thirteenth century, and later speculating that they might have been issued during the early twelfth century.[25] He suggested that Eustache Grenier might have begun the issue early, because the coins bear the same star pommeté that appears on the coins of Girard of Sidon (*ca.* 1130-70). The latter theory is probably mistaken, for it is highly unlikely that the Holy Sepulchre and tower types anticipated those issued originally at Jerusalem or that the baronial coinage could have been initiated so early. Other coins bearing a crude interlaced pattern, similar to that found on some fragments of gold coins struck by several kings of Jerusalem and somewhat similar to the more complex and handsome one on the coinage of Beirut, were also incorrectly given by Schlumberger to the lordship of Toron; and some coins bearing a star and cross pommeté as types were tentatively attributed to Tripoli's mint. The latter, however, may well be associated with the coins of Sidon, for the star with its rays ending in a globule or annulet is quite distinct from Tripoli's *type raymondin* and, as has been mentioned, is precisely like the star pommeté of Girard's copper pougeoise.

Therefore, how are these coins to be attributed? First of all, one is strongly tempted to conclude that they are counterfeits, or unofficial coins minted by private individuals at one or several mints. It is possible that they were produced at mints located in Palestine or Lebanon, where the coinages of Beirut, Sidon, and Jerusalem circulated. It might also be tentatively suggested that, as imitations of the most common of the Latin twelfth and early thirteenth century coins, they were issued by individuals, as likely Muslims as Franks, during the Ayyūbid occupation of the Frankish states. They surely cannot be dated any earlier than the late twelfth century, and the die-sinkers were evidently quite unfamiliar with Latin. Sidon, for example, only freed itself from Muslim control in 1227, and the billon and copper coinages of the Franks may well have taken such firm root in local commercial dealings at the kingdom's port cities that the Ayyūbid invaders imitated the local Frankish coins. The period of the War of the Lombards, when the barons rebelled against the central authority, might also afford a possible occasion.

The fabric and crudeness in design of these pieces seems to put them into a similar time frame as the uncertain copper coinage from the region of Tripoli probably struck during the Mongol invasions of the 1250s, and as the Antioch coinage of the same period. The high political stress throughout the Levant resulted in many abrupt changes. One was the coinage of Sidon.

Girard Grenier (ca. 1125-70)

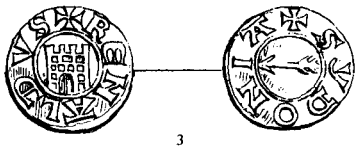


1

1. AE pougeoise. 0.92 g. Schl. XX,6.
   a. O: GIRARDVS
      Arrow between pellets.
      R: +S.I.D.O.N.I.A.
      Six-pointed star with pellet at the end of each ray.
   b. Reverse legend retrograde, otherwise similar.
   This attribution has been questioned. It may be a blundered legend Sidon coin of the mid-thirteenth century.

2. AE pougeoise. 1.13 g. Malloy Auction XX (1984), 893.
   O: ... RARD ... (retrograde)
   Arrow facing down, pellet each side.
   R: (uncertain legend)
   Linear edifice.
   This type is of crude design and simple linear rendering. It may be another example of Schl. V,6.

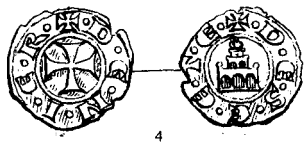
Raynald Grenier (*ca.* 1170-1204)



3

3. AE pougeoise. 0.90-1.17 g. Schl. V,3.
   a. O: +RϵNALDVS
      Fortified tower with gateway.
      R: +SYDONIA
      Arrow.
   b. Similar, but issued in billon. Schl., *Supplement* (1882), p.7.
   c. Similar, but with reverse inscription SYDONIϵ.

Balian Grenier (*ca.* 1204-40)

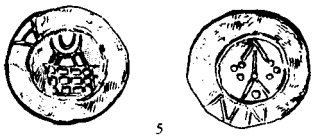


4

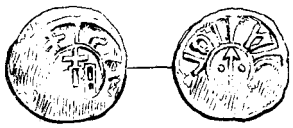
Bailie Issue, 1228-40

4. Billon denier. 0.55-0.73 g. Schl. V,8; Allen, *NC* (1937),
O: +.D.E.N.I.E.R., or var. with trefoil stops, etc.
Cross pattée.
R: +.D.E.S.E.E.T.E.
Three-storied edifice with arcade and cupola (the converted mosque made into the cathedral of Sidon).
The examples of the type vary a good deal in style.

Anonymous Coins of Sidon, Mid- to Late Thirteenth Century



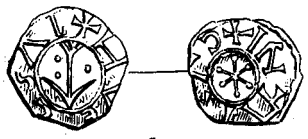
5



6

5. AE pougeoise. 0.70-0.90 g. Schl. XX,5 & V,7.
O: Uncertain legend.
Holy Sepulchre.
R: SYD ... N.
Arrow between pellets.

6. AE pougeoise. 1.02 g. Schl. V,6.
O: Uncertain legend.
Building surmounted by a cross.
R: Uncertain legend.
Arrow between pellets.



7

8

7. AE pougeoise. 0.55 g. Schl. V,5.
O: +IuC ... or + ... NV
Arrow downward between pellet l., two pellets r.
R: + I ...
Six-pointed star pommeté.

8. AE pougeoise. 0.57-0.96 g. Seltman, *Num.Circ.* (1966), #7.
O: No legend.
Arrow between crosses and pellets.
R: No legend.
Six-pointed star pommeté.

The County of Tripoli

Raymond de St. Gilles, count of Toulouse, one of the leaders of the First Crusade and of the Crusade of 1101, was determined to found a state in the Levant, but he was prevented from doing so until, in 1103, he was able to blockade the district of Tripoli. Before his plans for establishing the seat of government at the port of Tripoli were realized, Raymond died in 1105 and was succeeded by his natural son Bertrand, who captured the city in 1109 and was granted the title of count of Tripoli by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem. The counts also owed allegiance, sometimes nominal, to the prince of Antioch and to the Byzantine emperor for parts of their domains.

Bertrand (1109-12) was succeeded in turn by his son Pons (1112-37) and his grandson Raymond II (1137-52). Pons' long reign was one of nearly constant warfare and uneasy truces with Turcoman tribes; Pons himself was killed when Damascene forces under Beza Uch invaded the county. Raymond II was then confronted during his reign with rival claims to control of Tripoli, when Alphonse-Jourdain, count of Toulouse, the legitimate son of Raymond de St. Gilles, appeared in Syria with his own son Bertrand. Upon Alphonse-Jourdain's sudden death in 1148 at Caesarea, suspicion arose that Raymond II had had him poisoned. Later, when Raymond sought Muslim assistance in dislodging Bertrand from a fortress which he had occupied in the county, these Muslim forces, led by Nūr-ad-Din Mahmud, seized the opportunity to occupy more territory in central Syria.

After Raymond II was killed, his son Raymond III (1152-87) succeeded him. During his reign Raymond III was taken prisoner, after the battle against Nūr-ad-Dīn, and held captive between 1164 and 1174,[1] while King Amaury of Jerusalem acted as regent of Tripoli. After his return from captivity, Raymond III became regent of Jerusalem for King Baldwin IV, between 1174 and 1176, and again between 1183 and 1185, when he also became regent for Baldwin V (1185-86). Guy of Lusignan, however, usurped what may have been Raymond's legitimate claim to the throne of Jerusalem in 1186, and Raymond died soon after the battle of the Horns of Hattin in 1187.

After Saladin's onslaught, only the city of Tripoli held out against the Ayyūbids, while most of the rest of the county fell into their hands. Before his death in 1187, Raymond III, who had no children of his own, had designated as his successor his godson Raymond of Antioch. Prince Bohemond III of Antioch, so it seems broke the terms of the will and transferred the rule of the county of Tripoli from his elder to his younger son Bohemond and promised the principality to Raymond after his death. Raymond died several years before his father's death in 1201, and thus his brother Bohemond, count of Tripoli, also became prince of Antioch, adopting the title Bohemond IV. The two states were thereafter united under one rule. During his

long reign Bohemond succeeded in recapturing most of the county's former territories; and, although the principality of Antioch was plagued by attempts by rival claimants to control it, the county of Tripoli flourished, and its port handled much of the interior Muslim caravan trade and goods destined for Western Mediterranean ports.

Bohemond was succeeded by his son Bohemond V (1233-52), who, preferring to reside at the more prosperous Tripoli, left the principality of Antioch virtually to its own resources. The latter's son, Bohemond VI (1252-75), however, was better able to unite the two states and, with the encouragement of King Louis IX of France, married Sybil, the daughter of Hetoum of Armenia, thus ameliorating relations between the Franks and Armenians. In 1258, he and Hetoum paid tribute to the Mongol hordes who were invading Syria. When in 1268 the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars captured Antioch, Bohemond VI was able, because of the county's secure defenses, to avoid further Mamlūk incursions into Tripoli and concluded a ten years' truce with the sultan. Bohemond VII (1275-87) succeeded his father and continued to rule in Tripoli until he died childless. After a brief interlude when the government was disputed between Bohemond's mother, Sybil of Armenia, his sister Lucie, and the mayor Bartholomeo Embriaco, the Mamlūk Sultan Kalavun invested the city and captured it on April 26, 1289.

COINAGE OF TRIPOLI

FRANKISH-TYPE SILVER, BILLON, AND COPPER COINS

The first coins minted at Tripoli were the earliest Frankish-type coins to be issued in the Crusader states. They were struck at a time when Byzantine imitative coins were being issued at Antioch and Edessa, and when coins minted in Western Europe served as the only Frankish currency in the Crusader establishments in Syria and Palestine. Bertrand (1109-12), count of Toulouse, struck these first billon deniers of high silver content at Tripoli. The coins bear on the obverse +B·RTRANDVS CO and a cross pattée; on the reverse +TRIPOLIS CIVI and in the field T.A.S., the last three letters of the legend surrounding the central pellet. These coins weigh around 0.73 grams and are similar in type, but light-weight compared to the silver deniers that Bertrand had been issuing as count of Toulouse before coming to the East.[2]

An anonymous denier, of similar fabric to Bertrand's type, but apparently struck in silver, was also minted in the county of Tripoli. Its reverse is nearly identical to Bertrand's coin, but the obverse bears the legend +TRI·:·PO·:·LIS instead of a personal name. The PO marked off from the rest of the inscription with pellets may signify the first two letters in a name and possibly refers to Bertrand's successor Pons (1112-37), though no other coins bearing his name have yet been discovered.[3] The coin weighs about 0.84 grams, is extremely rare, and, as Schlumberger thought, probably belongs to Pons' reign. The half-obscured reference to his name may have

been concocted in the whimsical way in which the Franks commonly used symbols on their deniers.

In certain respects, it is surprising that these excellent quality billon and silver deniers of Tripoli existed during the thirty years before deniers were minted in any other Crusader state. The kings of Jerusalem, for example, were primarily interested in issuing Fātimid-type gold and did not mint a billon coinage until after 1143. Bohemond, prince of Taranto and Antioch, and his immediate successors were able, fortuitously, to continue the quasi-Byzantine types they had known in southern Italy in the similarly Byzantine-dominated economy of Antioch. Furthermore, at Edessa Baldwin I, who as a second son could hardly have entertained the hope of inheriting a county in his native Burgundy, turned to imitating the Byzantine coins that circulated in that area of northern Syria. Indeed, the only silver or billon coinages that circulated in Syria and Palestine during the first quarter of the twelfth century were the limited supply of deniers brought by the Crusaders, Byzantine billon *trachea,* current only in those areas that had extensive dealings with Constantinople, and some scarce and inferior Fatimid dirhams, which circulated to some extent in Palestine.[4] Because of the rarity of the deniers of Tripoli, the virtual absence, so far as we know, of billon mints in the other Crusader states, and the limited supply of coins the Crusaders brought with them from the West, it is evident that the denier did not immediately become a vital denomination in facilitating transactions in the coastal areas of the Near East. Not only are the earliest coins of Tripoli rare, but they are lighter and smaller than those of Toulouse in France, perhaps indicating how hard silver was to come by at the time in that area of the Mediterranean.[5] Why, then, did the counts of Tripoli issue billon deniers at all? The answer can only be that they prized their inherited feudal privilege to mint coins and perhaps planned to facilitate local trade and to rival the few coins that had been brought from Europe. They also may have sought to use this coinage to help establish Tripoli as a Crusader satellite of Toulouse, thus encouraging French immigrants. Though Bertrand owed allegiance to King Baldwin of Jerusalem for his county of Tripoli, he nevertheless asserted his authority by issuing coins similar to those of his homeland.

The first copper coins struck at Tripoli were copied from the tenth to eleventh century coins of Angouleme, and are known as "moneta coppers." This early type with its decorative crosses bears an unique legend, MONETA TRIPOLIS/RAIMVNDI COMITIS; the rare and unusual genitive form is used for the count's name on the reverse of the coin. Sabine[6] and Metcalf[7] assigned this to Raymond I while in siege of Tripoli, though he never actually gained control of the city. This idea is dispelled by the great stylistic similarities between the moneta type and the horse-and-cross type. These were both issued by Raymond II (1137-52). This rather prolific issue of the moneta coppers Sabine estimated to have been struck with 160 obverse dies and 109 reverse dies, amounting to a total of 2½ million. Such a large mintage would not have been possible were they to be assigned to a brief military operation. Raymond II struck the moneta coppers from 1137 up to the appearance of the new

type depicting a horse and cross.

The remainder of the billon coins and their copper fractions produced at Tripoli during the twelfth century had been difficult to place in an absolute chronology. Captain Sabine has successfully, for the most part, established a clear chronological pattern.[8] That there were three counts named Raymond and four named Bohemond has been a difficulty; the rarity of some of the twelfth century types and their virtual absence from published hoards have also been obstacles in the classification of Tripoli's coinage. A few stray finds have emerged at Antioch and Acre, though not in large numbers;[9] and none were found, for example, in the Samos hoard of 1182. As these facts perhaps indicate how localized the twelfth century Tripolitan coinage was. The coins, therefore, must be classified into three basic categories: those issued in the name of Raymond, those in the name of Bohemond, and some anonymous types, most of which are related by type and style to the named coins.

Raymond II (1137-52) and Raymond III (1152-87)[10] struck billon and copper coins inscribed +RAMVNDVS (or RAIMVNDVS) COMES or RAIMVNDI COMITIS and +CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. They bear as types various crosses with annulet terminals or pellets in the angles, a star and crescent as the device of the counts of Toulouse, and a horse and cross. The star and crescent insignia, the so-called *type raymondin* of Toulouse, was not used on coins of Toulouse until after 1148[11] and did not appear on the coinage of the marquisate of Provence, which was subject to the counts of Toulouse, until after 1194.[12] It then appears that the star and crescent copper and billon issues of Tripoli were introduced to France from the East, influencing the designs of the former's coinage. This Tripolitan coinage utilized and Islamic symbol from the Levant and was introduced to Western Europe by the returning Crusaders of the Second Crusade (1147-49). It was also during this period that Raymond II allied himself with the Ayyūbid leader Nur-ed-Din in ousting Raymond's rival, the young Bertrand of Toulouse, bastard son of Alfonse-Jordain of Toulouse. Bertrand had captured the castle of Araima and was trying to oust Raymond. The combined forces of Christian and Moslem laid waste to the castle. This alliance could seem to have inspired the star and crescent / cross coinage, which it may have illustrated.

The horse and cross coppers, known by Schlumberger as the Paschal Lamb type, has been thought to have been inspired by the very rare issue of the St. Gilles monastery by the Marquisate of Provence, struck under Alfonse-Jordain (1112-48) and Raymond V (1148-94). However, Alan Stahl opens questions to this, suggesting that the St. Giles issue may date from the period of Alfonse II of Toulouse (1249-71). Both types reveal a horse looking ahead with a processional cross behind. This is far different from the *Agnus Dei* type, of Lamb of God traditionally shown with the lamb looking over its shoulder at the banner which it holds in its foreleg. This copper is presently attributed to the reign of Raymond II (1137-52). Its average weight is 1.10 grams, and it is scarce.

With the commencement of the Second Crusade *ca.* 1147 to 1150, it would seem

logical that this type of a horse and cross could refer to the arriving European crusaders. The Crusaders' lead seals[13] very often depicted the Crusader on horseback with his military accoutrements. The counts of Tripoli used this devise. The horse was a close companion to the Crusaders and with the ensuing crusade would have been a welcome coin type. The images of the horse and the cross combined to convey the essence of the Crusades.

During the latter half of the twelfth century, the billon denier became a more important element in the coinage system of the Crusader states, as is evident from its relative abundance. *Figures 6-8* in the Catalogue, the coins with a star of eight rays, a pellet between each ray, and a crescent below, also decorated with pellets, were the the earliest of these revived Tripolitan deniers to be issued, and is available today in relatively large numbers. Since the type appears at Toulouse no earlier than the reign of Raymond V (1148-92), the likely reign to which to assign the first issue of this type may be that of Raymond II (1137-52). The coins were produced in fine billon and generally weigh around 0.80 grams. These rather handsome coins also bear various highly decorative letters, such as $\leq$ for S, < for C, /:\ for A, and **I:I** for N, and the like, in much the same style as the letters appearing on the *helmeted head* coins of Antioch and the billon deniers and oboles of Amaury of Jerusalem (1163-74). This evidence might suggest that they were also issued by Raymond III (1152-87), whose reign closely coincides with theirs. The only hard evidence we have is negative; since none of these coins was concealed in the in the Tripoli or Kessab hoards, they do not seem to have been current around the year 1221, thus also suggesting that they might have circulated before 1187. Since, however, Raymond II probably initiated the type and Raymond III continued it, in the Catalogue the coins have been assigned to both Raymond II and Raymond III.

The star and crescent copper coinage of Tripoli consists of four types.[14] The first copper coin of the *type raymondin* was issued in the name of Raymond, and thus is closely associated with the billon types, probably as a pougeoise. The reverse bears a large cross pommetée with a decorative ray in each quarter instead of a legend. A somewhat similar type was later struck in Provence by Raymond VI (1194-1222) or Raymond VII (1222-49).[15] The three other related types issued anonymously and inscribed on the obverse CIVITAS TRIPOLIS or simply TRIPOLIS, were struck in one rather compact period. These anonymous types were issued during Raymond III's captivity following the battle of Artah, between 1164 and 1174, while Amaury of Jerusalem served as regent of the country.[16]

The billon "star" deniers (*Figure 9*) in style are very different from their predecessors, the "star and crescent" deniers. This issue was well engraved and carefully executed and the results were attractive coins. The inscription RAMVNDS COMS is clear and was once open to discussion. As Yvon has pointed out, Schlumberger and the other historians of his day were incorrect in assigning coins to a Raymond IV, whom they thought ruled Tripoli as Raymond III's successor between 1187 and 1201.[17] In fact, Raymond IV, son of Bohemond III of Antioch and godson

of Raymond III of Tripoli, never ruled at Tripoli; for Bohemond III, sensing that the rule of both the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli might be too much for one man, granted the county, upon Raymond III's death in 1187, to his own second son Bohemond, later called Bohemond IV.[18] Star deniers of Sabine's type 1a and 1b are issues of Raymond III (1152-87), while those of type 2a and 2b with the legends BAHVNDVS and BAMVNDVS are assigned to Bohemond IV of Antioch (1187-1233).

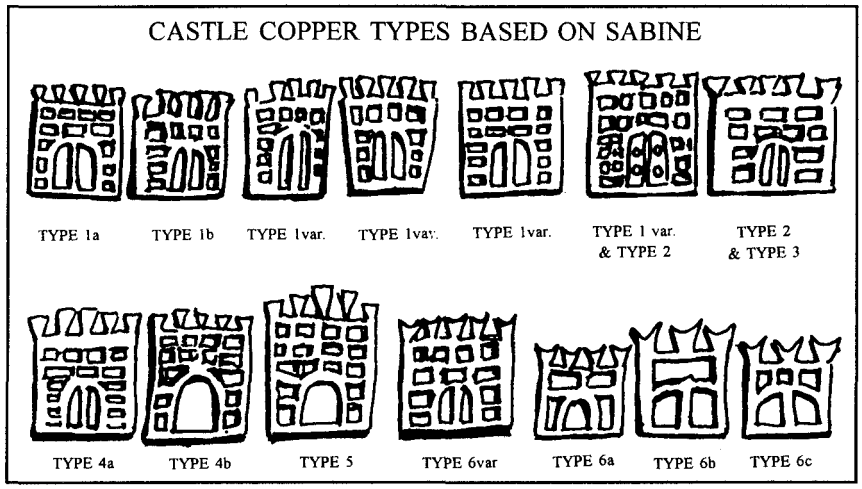
Another group of billon deniers, similar in type to the earlier coins issued by Bohemond IV bears the legend +BAMVND COMES/+CIVITAS TRIPOL', and a cross pattée and star. The Djebaïl hoard, discovered near Tripoli and published by Schlumberger in 1907,[19] confirms this sequence, for it contained several pieces of the type formerly ascribed to Bohemond IV, V, or VI. Since the date of the deposit of the hoard is fixed at 1230-35, the type is evidently to be dated late in the reign of Bohemond IV, or early in the reign of his successor Bohemond V (1233-52). The type, which Schlumberger found to be better-struck in good billon, bears a six-pointed star, whereas the usual type of Tripoli has an eight-pointed star. These coins weigh generally about 0.60-0.75 grams, just a bit less than the earlier billon coins issued by Bohemond IV.

A transitional, bilingual billon denier issue inscribed in both Latin and French was struck by Bohemond V. This was first cited by John Wilkinson.[20] The obverse legend in Latin reads BAMVND COMS, the reverse CITE TRIPOL'.

Finally, a billon type, which appears to be rather debased in style and fabric, bears the legend+BOCOMS/+CITE TRIPOL' and weighs between 0.40 and 0.70 grams. It was minted by the counts of Tripoli, as Schlumberger suggested, at about the same time as the gros and half-gros of Bohemond VI (1252-75).

The anonymous "castle coppers" began to be struck during the reign of Raymond III. It is possible that the gateway design was instituted to memorialize his father Raymond II who was killed by assassins at the city gate of Tripoli in 1152.[21] The design of the city gate also harks back to the period of Pons when seals of the counts have a reverse depicting the city of Tripoli with three towers and the city wall with a two door gate. A similar tower appears on the coinage of Sidon after 1170, and on the coinage of Beirut after 1205. The castle coppers have been divided into six types,[22] and were struck as late as the 1240s. Sabine has differentiated the types as shown in the table below.

Sabine and Pesant have both identified type 1 castle coppers overstruck on type 4 star and crescent coppers, thus establishing a definate sequence. Their gradual debasement in style suggests that they span a number of years. Furthemore, the cross appearing on the reverse of those coins bearing a star and crescent somewhat resembles that on the coins of the counts of Toulouse from the late twelfth century, but the cross of the later coins bearing a tower resembles that on some Norman tercias of Sicily. Though the latter resemblance may be fortuitous, Norman coins did circulate in Palestine during the thirteenth century, as stray finds from the region of Acre would indicate.[22A] These coins undergo a gradual degeneration in style, until



they resemble the Genoese gateway, rather than the original type. Importantly, the later issues of castle coppers reveal a style of lettering found on the late helmet deniers of Bohemond V, thus confirming a longevity of this immobilized series for seventy years. For the numismatist, therefore, these coins seem to function as touchstones for the various monetary influences at work in the Levant.

SILVER GROS AND HALF GROS OF TRIPOLI

The silver gros struck by Bohemond V some time after 1240 reflects the appearance in Venice of the grosso during the reign of Doge Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205). The grosso gained popularity and by 1240 was a widely accepted denomination. This unique coin from the John Porteous collection,[23] though now damaged, probably had an original weight of 2.0 to 2.2 grams.

Bohemond VI (1252-75) struck silver gros and half gros of excellent workmanship, which are often found today in nearly mint condition. They bear a cross and an eight-pointed star, and the legends +BOEMVNDVS:COMES / +C.I.V.I.TAS TR.I.POL.I., with the I's accosted by pellets. Varieties of the type are few, and its style is consistent. Some varieties, for example, have two or three pellet stops, as secret mintmarks of the workshops, while others lack marks on the reverse at all. The gros weighs between 4.20 and 4.30 grams, precisely the weight of the gros tournois that St. Louis issued in France in 1266, and the half gros, which is rarer, weighs between 2.10 and 2.20 grams.[24]

There has been some debate about how this type came to be issued at Tripoli. As all would agree, it does bear resemblance in both weight and module to the gros tournois issued after 1266 by Louis IX. Also, Louis' introduction to the large silver coins in circulation in Italy and the eastern Mediterranean may well have influenced him to issue the gros tournois after his return to France. What is uncertain is whether

Tripoli's gros prompted the gros tournois or vice versa.[25] Economic historians would perhaps profit from the discovery through numismatic evidence of which came first, in order to discern the relative importance to the West of the economy and the monetary system of the Crusader states. Opinions have indeed differed over the question of whether or not the Crusader states could have provided the impetus for coinage reform in the West during the thirteenth century. Though these Frankish states aided Western traders, offering them both asylum and markets, the bulk of trade passed directly through Islamic ports, especially those of Egypt, whether or not the Syrian and Palestinian ports were under Frankish control. Though these Crusader ports indeed did provide commodities demanded in the West, other Eastern markets had them also and were as prepared to deal with Western merchants. The consensus today therefore appears to be that the Crusader states, though they had influence, did not wield absolute and total control over the economy and the monetary systems of the West. Furthermore, by 1250, the states of Western Europe had assumed the aggressive and innovative role in economic and monetary affairs that Constantinople and Baghdad had played a century or more before. Therefore, no matter what Tripoli's importance as a port may have been and despite its position in local or international commerce, it is still unlikely that a change in the coinage of Tripoli alone could have precipitated a change in the coinage of France.

From hoard evidence we see that the French gros and the Tripolitan and Cypriot gros circulated side by side in Syria during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[26] We also know that the Frankish states of Greece likewise looked to France for monetary stimuli; site finds at Corinth, for example, reveal that large numbers of deniers tournois circulated there. Furthermore, during his four-year sojourn in the East, the king of France was no idle observer, but assumed the administrative duties of the Crusader states. Louis intervened directly in Tripoli's affairs by knighting young Bohemond VI as prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli in the winter of 1252/3.[27] It is therefore not unreasonable to expect that his influence, which was quite personal and profound, remained a force even after his return to France to prepare for another Crusade to recover Jerusalem. Not only, therefore, were there various coinages of France in circulation in the Crusader states during the thirteenth century, but also the king of France, who involved himself personally in the affairs of the Crusader states, was a direct influence on the county of Tripoli. The weight of circumstantial evidence thus may favor the theory that Bohemond VI's large silver coinage was influenced by the gros tournois.

The coins of Bohemond's son Bohemond VII (1275-87) weigh just slightly less than those of his father, just as the gros of France also declined slightly in weight when Philip IV began his issue after Louis' death in 1270. Bohemond VII's coinage, more common than his father's, is inscribed +SEPTIMVS: BOEMVNDVS:COMES / +CIVITAS:TRIPOLIS:SVRIE, with slight variations and misspellings. They bear as types a cross and a three-towered castle, both surrounded by a circle of twelve arcs, and weigh between 4.20 and 4.25 grams. The half gros, also relatively, scarce,

weighs *ca.* 2.10 g. As Metcalf suggests, when the gros and the écu d'or of France were introduced in 1266, the gros of Tripoli may soon have followed. It was possibly issued by Bohemond VI between 1268, the year Antioch fell to the Mamlūks, and his death in 1275. At the same time the *Agnus Dei* bezants, which bear the same reverse inscription as the écu, may have been issued at a slightly higher standard than the other gold coins of Tripoli, in order to accommodate a fully-integrated bimetallic coinage system, based on the Western European coinage. The above-mentioned hoard of French and Crusader silver gros also contained the Crusaders' Islamic-imitative gold coins issued earlier, though the rare *Agnus Dei* coins do not appear in it.

TRIPOLI OR UNCERTAIN SYRIA

Traditionally these most unusual fractional coppers have been attributed to Tripoli, or just labeled "uncertain." Schlumberger identified three types, but more recently scholars have been reluctant to accept his attribution. Hoard evidence however does place this group of coins in a circulation region around Tripoli. The appearance of two types at the excavations at Antioch-on-the-Orontes dates these before the devastation and sack of Antioch in 1268. The types display puzzling features. The six-pointed chrismon is the reverse type used by the coins minted at Sidon. The cross pommeté with pellets in angles is very close to the reverse of the earlier issue of Tripoli. The quasi-Latin legend with various letters appears as ANTHO or ANT, using various letter forms employed in the legends of Antiochene coinage. Some of these letters appear similar, but the die sinkers seemingly have no knowledge of the actual language being used. Uncertain Arabic inscriptions with the possible reading of *s[a]na* (i.e. year) are found. Some types are bilingual, others are with solely Khufic inscriptions. This coinage sends to us the message of a link between Sidon, Tripoli, and Antioch, as well as a Christian-Arabic connection.

Of the sixteen groups ("hoards") that Bedoukian reported, twelve groups originated near Tripoli. These were all reported from Lebanon. These groups totalled 398 coins from Tripoli, 33 from Antioch, 104 from Jerusalem, and 48 examples of the chrismon-cross coinage.[28]

From 1250 to 1266 the Mongols were sweeping across the Islamic cities of Syria and Palestine. The Christian-Arab refugees were legion. Tripoli was a friendly and fortified refuge for these refugees. This coinage of necessity can be associated with these feeing Arab Christians at Tripoli of the period 1250-1268. The actual minting authority is open to further study. Maqrizi, who wrote in the fifteenth century, refers to the monetary crisis in Damascus following the Mongol invasion. He said, "The people returned to Damascus. The prices became very high through lack of provisions and there was a lack of *falūs* (copper coins) there and the people suffered harm in the market through having to use dirhams, and what had been easy became

difficult.[29] This was the result of Arab copper moneyers fleeing Damascus with the ensuing Mongol hordes. This would support the theory of an Arab Christian mint located in or near Tripoli, with or without local authority. During this period Antioch had a similar coinage of bilingual types, concurrently with the similar, crude arrow/chrismon coinage of Sidon.

Bertrand (1109-12)

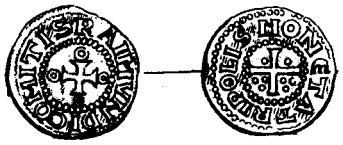
1 2

1. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.73g. Schl. IV,1; Sabine 1-3.
   O: +B·RTRANDVS CO, or var.
   Cross pattée.
   R: +TRIPOLIS CIVI, or var.
   T.A.S. around a central pellet.
   T.Λ.S, T.Λ.S, T.A.S *are noted.*

Bertrand or Pons (1109-37)

2. AR denier. 0.84 g. Schl. IV,2; Sabine 4; Porteous 66.
   O: +TRI·:·PO·:·LIS
   Cross pattée.
   R: +TRIPOLIS CIVI
   T.A.S, arranged around center.

Raymond II (1137-52)



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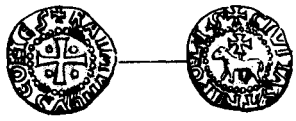


4

Early Period, ca. 1137-47

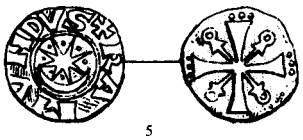
3. AE. 0.73-1.30 g. Schl. IV,3; Sabine 128-44 (Type 1).
   a. O: RAIMVNDI COMITIS
      Small cross pattée, annulet at the end of each arm.
      R: MONETA TRIPOLIS
      Plain cross, one pellet in first and second quarters, three pellets in third and fourth quarters.
   b. Similar but RAIMVNDI COMITI. Sabine 145-48 (Type 2).
   c. Similar but RAIMVNDI COMITII. Sabine 149-54 (Type 3).
   d. similar but RAIMVNDI COMITI. Sabine 155-67 (Type 4).

Second Crusade Period, ca. 1147-49

4. AE. 0.72-1.11g. Schl. IV, 8; Metcalf, *MN*(1975), p.143, XVII, 15; Sabine, 168-72 (Type 1).
   a. O: +RAIMVNDVS COMES, or var.
      Plain cross, pellet in each quarter.
      R: +CIVITAS TRIPOLIS,
      Horse stg. l., cross behind.
   b. Similar, but no initial cross and horse's head lowered. Sabine 173-93 (Type 2).

Star and Crescent Coppers, ca. 1149-52

5. AE pougeoise. 0.90-1.20 g. Schl. IV, 5.; Sabine 194-99 (Type 1).
   O: +RAMVNDVS
   Crescent and eight-pointed star, pellet between each ray.
   R: No legend, cross with ornament in each quarter.



5

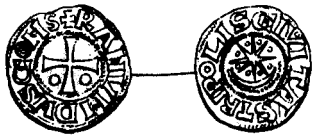
6

Raymond II (1137-52) and Raymond III (1152-87)

Star and Crescent Deniers, ca. 1149-64

6. Billon denier. 0.56-1.0 g. Sabine 5-14 (Type 1).
O: +RAMVNDVS COMS
Cross pattée, pellet in the first and third quarters.
R: CIVITAS TRIPOLIS
Smaller crescent and eight-pointed star, with pellet between each ray, and a series of pellets beneath the crescent.

7

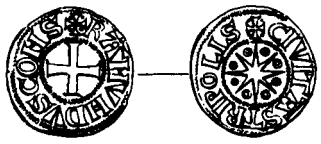


8

7. Billon denier. 0.67-1.12 g. Sabine 15-25 (Type 2).
O: +RAMVNDS COMS, or var.
Cross pattée, pellet in first and second quarters.
R: CIVITAS TRIPOLIS
Larger crescent and eight-pointed star, with pellet between each ray, and a series of pellets beneath the crescent.

8. Billon denier. 0.77-0.96 g. Sabine 26-35 (Type 3);
O: +RAMVNDVS COMS, or var. Schl. IV,4
Cross pattée, pellet in the third and fourth quarters.
R: CIVITAS TRIP☼LIS, or var.
Larger crescent and eight-pointed star, with pellet between each ray, and a series of pellets beneath the crescent.

Raymond III (1152-87)



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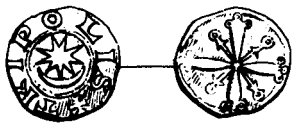


10

Star Deniers, ca. 1173-87

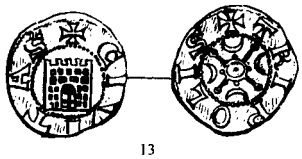
9. Billon denier. 0.84-0.95 g. Schl. IV,16.
   a. O: +RĀMVNDVS COMS Sabine 36-37 (Type 1a)
      Cross pattée.
      R: +CIVITĀS TRIPOLIS
      Eight-pointed star, with annulet or pellet between each ray.
   b. 0.72-1.04 g. Sabine 38-53 (Type 1b)
      The + initial mark distinguishes this type from type 9a.

Star and Crescent Coppers, ca. 1164-73

10. AE pougeoise. 0.58-1.73 g. Sabine 200-08 (Type 4, *ca.* 1164-65); Sch. IV,7.
    O: +TRIPOLIS
    Crescent and eight-pointed star.
    R: No legend. Cross pommetée, arrow touching annulet in each angle.

11

12



13

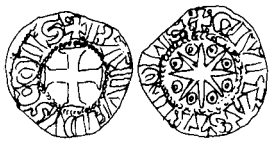
11. AE pougeoise. 0.65-1.69 g. Sabine 209-21 (Type 3).
    O: CVA TRIPOLIS
    Type as no. 10 but smaller star.
    R: Type as no. 10.
    This is a transitional type between types 10 and 12.

12. AE pougeoise. 0.97-1.30 g. Schl. IV,6; Sabine 222-30 Type 4 *ca.* 1164-73).
O: CIVITAS TRIPOLIS
Crescent and eight-pointed star with pellet between each ray.
R: No legend. Cross pommetée, arrow touching pellet in each angle.
This type has various misspellings, such as CIVITAS TRIIPOILS *(Sabine 231-39, Type 4b).*

Castle Coppers, ca. 1173-87

13. AE pougeoise. 0.43-1.12 g. Sabine 240-57 (Type 1a *ca.* 1173-87)
a. O: +CIVITAS
Fortified gateway with five rows of masonry and five crenellations, and large divided door with rounded top.
R: +TRIPOLIS
St. Andrew's cross pommetée, circle in center, crescents in each quarter.
This type has many variants, cf. *Sabine 263-74, Type 1 variants.*
b. Similar but four rows of masonry and smaller gateway.
0.67-1.18 g. Sabine 258-62 (Type 1b).

Bohemond IV (1187-1233)



14

15

14. Billon denier. 0.56-1.00 g. Sabine 54-59 (Type 2a), *rough style.*
a. O: +BAHVNDVS COIIS
Cross pattée, beaded borders.
R: +CIVITAS TRIPOLIS
Eight-pointed star with annulets between rays, beaded border.
b. Similar, but + initial mark and wire borders.
0.57-0.93 g. Sabine 60-67 (Type 2b).

Castle Coppers (1187-1230)

15a. AE pougeoise. 0.83-1.21 g. Sabine 275-82 (Type 2 1187-90).
O: +CIVITAS
As type 13, more vertical divisions, smaller doorway, thin lettering.
R: +TRIPOLIS
St. Andrew's cross pommettée, circle in center, crescent in each quarter.

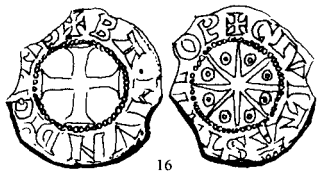
15b. AE pougeoise. 0.58-1.19 g. Sabine 283-92 (Type 3, after 1190 and later).
Similar to 15a but crude castle, four rows of masonry, five crenellations, small divided door.

15c. AE pougeoise. 0.45-1.25 g. Sabine 293-301 (Type 4, 1210-1220).
Similar to 15a but large crude castle, large undivided door.

15d. AE pougeoise. 0.34-0.97 g. Sabine 302-07 (Type 5, 1215-1235).
Similar to 15a but finer castle, large letters, often blundered legends, and various pellet or annulet stops such as +C o I·VITAS / +TR∴IPOLIS (retrograde), or +·T·R·I·P·O·L·I·S.

Bohemond V (1233-51)

16. AR Gros. 1.9 g. (broken) Porteous, *HOC*, v. 6, pl. IX,77.
O: ✠BΛMVNDI' COMS,
Cross pattée.
R: ✠CIVITΛS TRIPOLI'
Eight-pointed star, annulets between rays.



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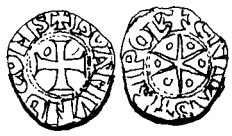
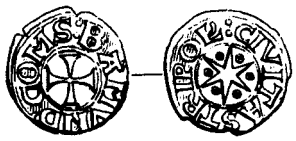


17

New Style Star Deniers, 1233 and later

17. Billon denier. 0.43-0.46 g. Sabine 68 (Type 3); Metcalf, *Ash.* 396.
O: +BOΛMVND COMS
Cross pattée with pellet in first quarter.
R: +CIVITΛS TRIPOL'
Six-pointed star, annulets between rays.



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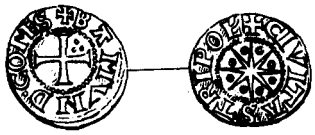
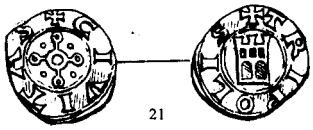


19

18. Billon denier. 0.53-0.59 g. Sabine 69-71 (Type 3); Metcalf,
O: :BΛMVND' COMS
Cross pattée, no pellet.
R: :CIVITΛS TRIPOL'
Six-pointed star, annulets between rays.

19. Billon denier. 0.34-0.80 g. Sabine 75-127 (Type 5).
O: +BΛMVND' COMS
Cross pattée, three pellets in second quarter.
R: +CIVITΛS TRIPOL'
Eight-pointed star, annulets between rays.
Variants of this type have fish-tail serifs.

20. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.4 g. Wilkinson, p. 50; Porteous, *HOC*, v. 6, p. 78.
O: +BΛMVND' COMS
Cross pattée.
R: +CITЄ TRIPOL'
Six-pointed star, annulets between rays.
This is a bilingual, transitional type, from Latin to French inscriptions.



21

New Style Castle Coppers, ca. 1235 and later

21. AE pougeoise. 0.47-1.29 g. Sabine 308-31 (Type 6).
O: +CIVITΛS
Cross pommetée, pellet in circle at center, pellet in each quarter.
R: +TRIPOLIS
Genoese gateway or tower, three crenellations.
Variants of this type have crescents and pellets in the obv. quarters, and four or five crenellations on gateway.

Bohemond VI (1251-75)

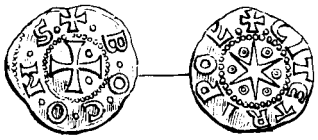
22

23

22. AR gros. 4.20-4.30 g. Schl. IV,19.
O: +BOЄMVNDVS : COMЄS
Cross within frame of alternate arcs and angles.
R: +C·I·V·I·T·AS : TR·I·POL·I·
Eight-pointed star within eight arcs.
This type has various stop marks ⁝, :, ·.

23. AR half gros. 2.10-2.15 g. Schl. IV,20.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.

24

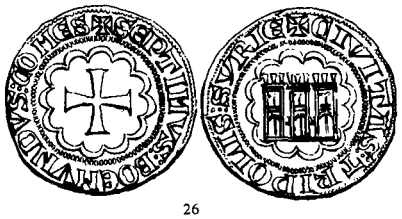


25

24. Billon denier. 0.36-0.72 g. Sabine 72-74 (Type 4).
O: :+: BOCOMS
Cross pattée
R: :+: CITЄ TRIPOL'
Six-pointed star, annulets between rays.
This type features French legends. A variant with +BO:COMS *exists.*

25. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.70 g. Schl. IV,23; Sabine._. (Type 4).
O: +.B·O·C·O·M·S·
Cross pattée, pellets in second and fourth quarters.
R: +CITЄ TRIPOL'
Six-pointed star, annulets between rays.
This type features French legends.

Bohemond VII (1275-87)



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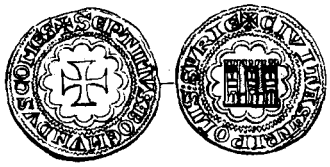


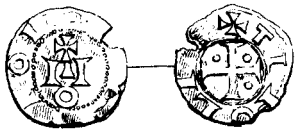
27

26. AR gros. 4.20-4.25 g. Schl. IV,21.
O: +SЄPTIMVS : BOЄMVNDVS : COMЄS, or var.
Cross within twelve arcs.
R: +CIVITAS:TRIPOLIS:SVRIЄ, or var.
Triple-towered gateway of two stories, with crenellations and pointed arches.
The following legend varieties are known for this type: SЄTIVS, CIITAS, COIIЄS, COIES, ЄOMЄS, *and with pellet stops.*

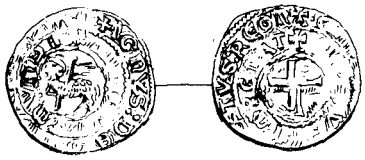
27. AR half gros. 2.10 g. Schl. IV,22.
O: Similar to above.
R: Similar to above.

Anonymous Tripoli, after 1266

28. AE pougeoise. 0.39-65 g. Sabine 332-342;
O: ...IPOLI Schl. IV,24.
Edifice or gateway, cross above and annulet below.
R: +TIPOLI
Cross, pellet in each quarter.
This uncertain, late type also exists with cross below and annulet above. It is very crudely struck, and was apparently made in hurried circumstances.



28



29

Agnus Dei Bezant, Thirteenth Century

29a. AV *Agnus Dei* bezant. 3.40-3.64 g., 21 mm. Schl. XIX, 9; Grierson, *MN*(1954); Yvon, *BSFN*(1962), p.150; Yvon,*RN*(1966), pl.III,1-2.

O: Ext. leg.: +AGИVS:DЄI·QVI TOLLIT
Int. leg.: +PЄCCATA:CVИDI
Paschal Lamb, nimbate, facing left, holding a banner.

R: Ext. leg.: +XPISTVS:VIИCIT XPISTVS REGI
Int. leg.: +XPISTVS: IMPERAT
Cross pattée with pellet in first quarter.

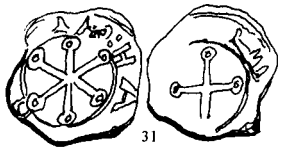
29b. Similar, also with C instead of M in the obverse legend, pellet in third quarter.

29c. Similar, but correct spelling MVИDI, pellet in second quarter.
(*Cf.* Schl. XIX,9.)

When and where this famous and rare coinage was struck is still uncertain. Scholars have toyed with the idea that it was minted in Palestine or Syria while Louis sojourned there, but recently this idea has been challenged.[28] *Possibly the type might have been struck by Bohemond VI (1252-75) at Tripoli, along with his silver gros and half gros.*

Tripoli or Uncertain Syria
Anonymous Coppers *ca.* 1250-68

30



31

30. AE pougeoise. 0.53-1.49 g. Schl. V,26; ANS 17.

O: AN✝I✝O·I·CΠ·V
Six-rayed chrismon pommeté

R: AHT✝✝IC ... ✝✝
Cross pommeté, pellet in first and fourth angles

This type is distinguished by its quasi-Latin inscription.

Variety: Pellet inner border.

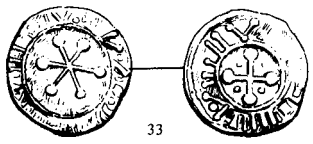
31. AE pougeoise. 0.96 g. Schl._; ANS H-14.
O: ⊣ ⊦∩ : HA ... ⊓
Six-rayed chrismon ending in annulets
R: Uncertain Arabic inscription
Cross pommeté, ending in annulets

32. AE pougeoise. Schl.—.; Waage, Antioch 2314.
Similar to above but with pellet in angle of cross, traces of ANT have been observed on obverse.

33. AE pougeoise. 0.50-2.25 g. Schl. IV,25; ANS 25; Malloy Auction XX,905.
O: Unertain Arabic legend
Six-rayed chrismon pommeté
R: Uncertain Arabic legend
Cross pommeté, pellets in angles

34. AE pougeoise. 0.50-2.25 g. Schl. IV,27.
O: Unertain Arabic legend Auction XX,905.
Six-rayed chrismon with annulet ends
R: Uncertain Arabic legend
Cross potent, annulets in angles

35. AE pougeoise. 0.47-1.55 g. Schl.—.; ANS H-16 (8 vars.)
a. O: Uncertain Arabic legend Auction XX,905.
Six-rayed chrismon pommeté
R: Uncertain Arabic legend
Cross pommeté, pellets in first and fourth angles
b. Similar to above with Arabic exterior legend (ANS)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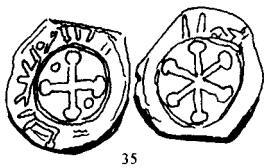

35

The Principality of Antioch

During the middle ages Antioch was the seat of one of the four Greek patriarchates and retained a predominately Christian population, though it had been part of the 'Abbasid Empire for three centuries. It was also a commercial center, manufacturing glass and cloths for export and handling through its nearby seaports, St. Symeon and Lattaqiyah, most of the traffic of goods between interior Muslim cities, especially Aleppo, and the West.[1] The Byzantines recaptured Antioch in 969 and held it until 1084, when it passed under Seljuq rule; and on June 3, 1098, Antioch became a Latin principality, when the Crusaders of the First Crusade captured the city after an eight months' siege.

Bohemond of Taranto (1099-1111), one of the leaders of the First Crusade, was proclaimed prince of Antioch in 1099. Despite his oath of fealty to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I, he defied Byzantine authority and ruled the city independently with the assistance of his Norman-Italian followers. While attempting to extend his domain, Bohemond was captured in 1101 by Dānishmendid Turcomans and held prisoner until 1103; until his return from captivity, his nephew Tancred acted as regent and was able to extend the principality's territory both northwestward into Cilicia and southward towards Tripoli. When in 1104 Bohemond left northern Syria for Europe, where he tried to gather support for an anti-Byzantine Crusade, Tancred (1104-12) again became regent in his absence and persisted in the policy of resisting Byzantine overlordship and extending the principality's frontiers.

Tancred was succeeded in 1112 by his nephew Roger of Salerno (1112-19), the son of Richard, regent of Edessa. Though he had become a legendary figure in the principality because of his early military victories against the Turcomans, in the winter of 1119 the Franks of Antioch suffered a serious defeat by the army of Il-Ghazī of Mardin, and Roger was killed.[2] After Roger's death, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1119-26) was appointed bailie, serving his term as representative for Bohemond's young son Bohemond II. Bohemond came to Antioch to rule in 1126 but died soon afterwards in 1230, after quarreling bitterly with Joscelin I, count of Edessa, who became regent of Antioch until 1231.

Meanwhile, Bohemond II's widow, Alice, felt that an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus (1118-43) would offer the best defense of the principality.[3] When, however, King Foulques of Jerusalem became regent of Antioch in 1231, he considered that a wiser course would be to find a Frankish noble to rule over Antioch; he therefore invited Raymond de Poitiers from France to become the husband of Bohemond's daughter Constance. Prince Raymond's reign (1136-49) was troubled by wars with Zengi of Mosul, who captured Edessa in 1144. In 1149 Raymond was killed in a skirmish, after the failure of the second Crusade had

emboldened Nūr-ad-Dīn to attack the principality's territories east of the Orontes. Thereafter, Constance became regent for her son Bohemond III until he attained his majority in 1163, except for the period between 1153 and 1160 when her second husband, Renaud de Châtillon, served as regent.

Bohemond III (1163-1201) became a strong prince, initiating policies at Antioch that were to last for nearly half a century. During the Ayyubid wars, though Saladin captured most of the principality, including Lattaqiyah, he failed to capture Antioch itself. Bohemond signed a truce with Saladin in 1187 and a treaty in 1192, and later concluded a non-aggression agreement with al-Zāhir of Aleppo, in order to strengthen Antioch with allies against Armenian interference. He also annexed Tripoli in 1187, giving it to his second son, Bohemond IV, and promised Antioch, to his elder son, Raymond, who died not long afterwards (*ca.* 1197).[4] Since it was not clear who would rule Antioch after Bohemond's death, a fierce rivalry commenced during the 1190's between the claimants to the throne, Raymond Roupen, Bohemond's grandson who resided in Armenia, and Bohemond IV, Bohemond's second son who ruled Tripoli.

Bohemond IV hurried to Antioch immediately after his father's death and secured his recognition as prince. Raymond Roupen, with the aid of his other uncle, King Levon II of Armenia, made several attempts to take the city, one of which was nearly successful in 1203, though he failed to take the citadel of Antioch, which was guarded by the Templars.[5] Again an attempt was made in 1208, but it was stifled by al-Zāhir's swift invasion of Armenia, which forced Levon to return home. In 1216, however, Raymond Roupen seized the citadel of Antioch, while Bohemond was occupied at Tripoli. Because the wars of succession had exhausted Antioch's resources, Raymond's rule was not secure, and after three years Bohemond regained control of his northern dominion.

During the second part of Bohemond IV's reign (1219-33), Antioch was impoverished both by constant battles with Armenians and Muslims and by the rivalries of the Military Orders. Commerce nearly ceased altogether during this period and Antioch was isolated from the prosperous ports of Tripoli and Acre by Muslims at Lattaqiyah.[6] In fact, the Antioch-St. Symeon flow of trade was largely eclipsed by the Muslim monopoly of trade between Aleppo and Lattaqiyah.[7] Bohemond, who generally preferred to reside in the richer and more centrally located Tripoli, was succeeded by his son Bohemond V (1232-52). During the latter's reign the city of Antioch was almost entirely administered by the local government, in which the Greek element was particularly powerful.

When St. Louis was in Palestine, he intervened in Antioch's affairs by knighting Bohemond VI (1252-68) before he had come of age and by arranging a marriage between the young Bohemond and Sybil, the daughter of Hetoum of Armenia, thus forming the closest alliance Armenia and Antioch had known for decades. Hetoum was diligent in aiding Bohemond in the protection of the principality. After the sacking of Baghdad by the Mongols, both Hetoum and

Bohemond VI paid tribute to the Mongol leader Hulagu in 1259; in exchange, Bohemond was given some towns and fortresses, including Lattaqiyah, which Antioch had lost so long before to Saladin.

Fearing the Mongols more than the Franks, the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt directed their attacks against Antioch; in 1268 Baybars sacked Antioch and conquered most of the principality, except the city of Lattaqiyah, which remained in Frankish hands until 1287. Antioch never recovered its former glory. Retaining the title of prince of Antioch, Bohemond VI, followed by his son Bohemond VII (1275-89), continued to rule at Tripoli, until it was captured by the Mamlūk Kalavun in 1289.

COINAGE OF ANTIOCH

A series of copper coins, issued in quasi-Byzantine style and bearing Greek and Latin legends, were the first Crusader coins minted at Antioch. Though little documentary evidence exists concerning the mint or coinage system of Antioch, numismatists have presumed that the first of these coins were struck fairly soon after 1099 at a mint located within the city walls. William of Tyre described the situation at Antioch during its first days as quite dangerous. The city was surrounded by Muslim enemies who cut off all trade between St. Symeon and the city. Despite such dangers, military expenses may perhaps have required that currency be issued early on; and trade at Antioch soon increased in direct proportion to its security.[8]

Bohemond I (1099-1101, 1103-04)

During his turbulent rule, prince Bohemond I issued three rare types, including one with a bust of St. Peter, nimbate and holding a scepter cruciger right, and inscribed ΟΠΕ-ΤΡΟC, a type which Bohemond had previously used for his official *bullae* as prince of Taranto in 1090.[9] The reverse bears a cross pattée with a pellet at the end of each arm, tendrils emanating from the base, and B - H - M - T, the abbreviation of "Bohemond," in the angles.

A second type, that could possibly be attributed to Bohemond II as well, has the bust of St. Peter facing, with the reverse inscription BOM / NDVS / SERVVS / XPI in four lines. This coin could be an unknown issue of Norman Sicily. The reading of the reverse is open to speculation, and the square E's tend to suggest an origin other than Antioch. Also most Antiochene inscriptions of the time are in Greek.

Because of the rarity of Bohemond's coins, no reliable evidence has been discovered for determining either the date when they were initiated at Antioch, or their relative chronology. One might guess that the earliest type was the St. Peter coin, since it is known that Bohemond had used the depiction earlier as prince of Taranto and since it was, as we shall see, Tancred's first type as well. By analogy with Tancred's coinage, which imitates Bohemond's, but which is a much more

common series with a well-established sequence, the coins may have appeared in the order they have been described above and in the Catalogue. Many questions, however, remain unsolved. Were the coins initiated during Bohemond's first reign, before his capture by the Dānishmendids in 1101; or after his return from captivity in 1103? If the coins were issued during both reigns, did some of Tancred's types interrupt them? One would think that prince Bohemond, rather than his regent, initiated the coinage, but beyond this it is idle to speculate without further evidence.

Tancred (1101-03, 1104-12)

Tancred, prince of Galilee, who served Antioch as regent during Bohemond's captivity (1101-03) and again during his travels in Europe (1104-11) issued a relatively large group of coins in his own name. Though much more common, his coins are quite similar to those of Bohemond. The earliest show the same general obverse types and the same widely fluctuating flan size and weight (1.90-9.18 g), but the reverse types vary. What must be Tancred's earliest issue, according to the evidence of the sequence of overstriking, bears on the obverse a bust of St. Peter quite similar to Bohemond's; and on the reverse a Greek inscription in four lines, with a religious invocation: +/KEBOI/ΘHTOΔV/ΛOCOVT/ANKPI/+, for χυρίε βοήΘει τῷ δουλῷ θοῦ Τανκρήδῳ, or "Lord, help your servant Tancred." His second issue, a turbaned-portrait coin, known from a relatively larger number of specimens than Bohemond's type, bears a similar inscription around on the obverse beginning left: +KE BOHΘH TΩ ΔOVΛΩ TANKPI+ or shortened versions of the invocations on some varieties, +KE BO - TANKPI. The reverse of the coin has, a cross pommetée with tendrils and IC-XC-NI-KA, for Ἰησους Χρίστος, Νικάτωρ, or "Jesus Christ, Victor," in the angles.

Another type, also found overstruck on the two earlier coins, bears a bust of Christ on the obverse and a similar cross pommetée with tendrils, but with TA-NK-P-H, for TANKPHΔOC, or "Tancred," in the angles. A fourth type breaks the pattern of imitating Bohemond's coinage. It bears on the obverse a standing full-length figure of St. Peter, facing slightly left, walking and holding a long cross; and on the reverse an abbreviated inscription in Latin within the angles of a plain cross. The legend, D-S-F-T, stands for the Latin invocation: *Domine, salvum fac Tancredum,* or "Lord, help Tancred." The coins are overstruck on Tancred's third coinage; thus the type should be dated later in Tancred's reign. A gradual diminution in the weight of these coins of Antioch seems to have occurred during Tancred's regency, for these two later types are not only scarcer, but lighter in general than his two earlier types.

Because Schlumberger, following Promis, found the idea anomalous that coinage bearing a Latin legend should interrupt a series of coins inscribed in Greek, he attempted to rationalize this, though with very little success. He assigned the coins with Latin legends to a separate mint at Tiberias, one of Tancred's fiefs in Palestine, despite the fact that Latin legends appear on the coins of Tancred's successor Roger

or that the coin is overstruck onto one of Tancred's earlier coins inscribed in Greek.[10] The circulation of copper coins during the medieval period was extremely localized; and the idea that a copper coin was overstruck at a regional mint, let alone at Tancred's lordship of Tiberias or his principality of Galilee, located hundreds of miles away through hostile territory, is highly unlikely. Therefore, the coins must be assigned to Antioch. The Latin inscription's appearance on the coins probably does have some political significance: the use of both Latin and Greek on the coins was possibly meant to assuage the susceptibilities of the two races living side by side at Antioch. As Schlumberger suggested, the appearance of the Latin legend may, have coincided with a period of intense resentment against Byzantium as well.[11]

Although all these early coins of the principality of Antioch vary greatly in weight, none is so large or so heavy as some of the earliest copper coins of Edessa. Bohemond's coins are often found struck on octagonal flans; and there is some slight, unsubstantiated evidence that Tancred's coins were overstruck on Bohemond's, or possibly Byzantine imperial coins.[12] Though very little is known about the economic forces and the monetary systems of twelfth century Syria, the differences between the coins of Antioch and Edessa may be the natural result of different local traditions and economic climates. As we have seen, Norman-Italian glyptic art influenced some of the coinage types of Antioch, and it is more than likely that the coinage which the Normans issued in formerly Byzantine-controlled South Italy also influenced the weight standard of these coins. Indeed, the Norman colonies in Italy, as well as the formerly Byzantine-controlled and still economically important city of Antioch, had long maintained close economic ties with Constantinople.[13] Crusader Antioch may, therefore, have been better attuned to the developments in the Byzantine coinage system than was the more isolated Edessa. The princes of Antioch may have been issuing imitations of the Byzantine *tetartera* and Norman-Italian *follare* in module and weight, while the Frankish counts of Edessa may have fancied the large eleventh century *folles* that they encountered still circulating in the area of Edessa, although connections between Byzantium and its former territories had been severed by the Turkish invasions. The coinage of the Dānishmendid Turcomans of northern Syria and the barons of Cilician Armenia also consisted of large copper coins of quasi-Byzantine types.[14]

The similarities between these two coinage systems, however, are perhaps just as important. The frequent re-coining, the use of political and religious types (some of which are quite original), the use primarily of Greek legends, and the wide variation of the flan sizes and weights within a given issue are all characteristics of the coins not only of Antioch and Edessa, but also of Salerno and Constantinople. The Norman influence is also discernible on the coins of Edessa, especially during and after the regency of Richard of Salerno. After *circa* 1110, the weight and size of the coins of Edessa finally became aligned with the standard of the coinage of Antioch.[15]

Roger of Salerno (1112-18)

Tancred's successor as regent of Antioch, Roger of Salerno, continued to use both Greek and Latin legends on his coinage. The earliest type issued during his regency bears a standing, three-quarter length figure of Christ on the obverse and an abbreviated Latin legend, DNS-SAL-FT-RO, for *Domine, salvum fac tuum Rogerium,* or "Lord, save your Roger," within the angles of a plain cross on the reverse. Examples of Roger's second issue have been discovered overstruck directly on his Latin type. The coin bearing a standing figure of Mary, orans, flanked by MH-ΘY for MHTHP ΘEOY, also bears a Greek invocation in four lines, + /KEBOH/ΘEITϢCϢ/ΔOYΛϢP/OTSEPI/Ϣ+, for Κυρίε βοήΘει τῷ σῷ δουλῷ Ροτξερίῳ, or "Lord, help your servant Roger." Again, one is struck by the fact that the translations in two different languages of the same religious invocation appear on these coins of Antioch. As familiar with Greek as the Norman-Italians were, having lived in Greek-speaking South Italy and having sometimes inscribed their coinages there in Greek, it would, furthermore, have been quite natural to issue coins in either language at Antioch. Both coins are scarce, and the Greek type seems to be of several varieties. The most common change is the division of the inscription, the most common forms being, KEBO/HΘEITΩ/CΩΔ/OYΔO/POTZEPIΩ and KEBOHΘ/EITΩCΩ/ΔOYΛΩP/OTZEPIΩ, though many other forms and divisions occur, without changing the meaning of the text. The difficulty of rendering Roger's name in Greek is also readily apparent.

A third type, a rather original numismatic depiction, is often found overstruck on the earlier coins, and is by far the most common of Roger's coinage. It shows St. George riding right, slaying a dragon, and is inscribed O-A (in monogram form) ΓEϢP, for 'AΓIOC ΓEΩPΓIOC, or "Saint George," one of the favorite saints of the Crusaders. The reverse bears a Greek inscription in three or four lines, divided and spelled in various ways, POTZEP/ΠPIΓK(I)Π/OCANT/IOK (or X) for "Roger, prince of Antioch." The letters are sometimes scrambled, and quite often the first division of the legend occurs after the E or the Z in POTZEP. One specimen in the Vogüé Collection also bore the legend retrograde. Roger's coins are often rather crude in style and generally weigh less than Tancred's coins, ranging between 2.00 and 3.65 grams. The type is found overstruck, however, on Tancred's coins as well as on some Byzantine imperial coins, such as a follis of Leo VI (886-912), which are both larger and heavier.

Bohemond II (1126-30)

When Bohemond's son, Bohemond II (1126-30), came to Antioch and became prince in 1126, he continued the types which his father had issued before him. He reintroduced coins bearing the bust of St. Peter and others bearing a bust of Christ, both of which have BA-IM-VN (or ON) - ΔOC within the angles of a slender cross pommetée. The form of the name varies, ending ΔOY, ΔOY, ΔOC or ΔOZ, for βαΐμοῦνδου, βαΐμόνδου, or βαΐμοῦνδος.[16] The type is found overstruck

on coins of Tancred and on each of the coins issued by Roger, thus confirming their assignment to Bohemond II. The obverse of the St. Peter type also usually bears a Greek inscription O-A (in monogram form) ΠΕΤ-POC (or variant); but a rare variety, which Schlumberger lists, bears simply S-P, the Latin abbreviation for "Saint Peter." The type bearing the bust of Christ, flanked by IC-XC, is also rare.

Anonymous Period (ca. 1120-40)

The period of transition from the Byzantine style and Norman-Italian inspired coinage to the Frankish type coinage lasted for a period of some twenty years, encompassing the regencies of Baldwin II (1119-26), Joscelin I (1230-31), and Foulques of Anjou (1231-36), and perhaps some of the reign of Raymond of Poitier as well. Anonymous folles of various reduced weights, generally less than one gram, were struck, along with anonymous copper fractional deniers of Frankish type. These folles represent the last of the Byzantine influence on the coinage of Antioch.

One type, which Schlumberger assigned to the reign of Tancred because of the reverse type, is actually unattributable to any one of the earliest rulers of Antioch. It bears a two-lined inscription on the obverse, MHP ΘOY for MHTHP ΘEOY, "Mother of God," and a cross with IC-XC-NI-KA in the quarters on the reverse. As we have seen, the Cross of Victory also appears on the coins attributed, to Baldwin II as regent of Antioch, and Roger showed his particular devotion to the Virgin when he chose to portray her full-length figure on his coinage. Thus, though Schlumberger may have been correct, he had no real evidence for attributing the coin to Tancred.

Another copper type bears a fortress, and the legend in three lines AN-TIOC-HIA, rather like the reverse type of a coin attributed to Raymond of Antioch (1136-49). The coin may thus belong to Raymond, since its Norman style and low weight (0.70 g) suggest that it was struck during the latter days of the Byzantine influence on the coinage of the principality.

Raymond of Poitier (1136-49)

In 1136, Raymond of Poitiers, who had been called from France by Foulques, arrived at Antioch to marry Constance and take up the responsibilities of prince. Probably later in his reign Raymond began Antioch's first issue of billon deniers. What may have been his first issue, however, is a rare copper coin weighing 1.30 grams, with RAM, for *Ramundus,* within a triangular pattern on the obverse and AN-TIOC-HIE in three lines on the reverse. The obverse type's unusual epigraphy is highly decorative, but easily recognizable. The billon type that Raymond introduced, moreover, bears his bare-headed profile portrait, facing right. The type was to endure for several decades as the standard billon denier of Antioch. The coins have several distinct styles and varieties of lettering: the first variety has the neck of the figure extending into the region of the legend and is inscribed +RAIM-VNDVS (sometimes with the Gothic form Ol as well) / +ANTIOCHIЄ+ (sometimes with ~ for C). A second variety bears a "transitional" figure, with the neck extending into

the legend only so far as to break the circle of dots. The third, or "man-in-the moon" variety is completely circumscribed and bears the legend, with plainer letter forms, + RAIMVNDVS/+ANTIOCHIC.[17] Though the coins are rare and their style somewhat inconsistent, Antioch is consistently spelled "ANTIOCHIC." They appear to range in weight between 0.75 and 0.90 grams, and are of very good billon, though the "man-in-the-moon" type appears to be almost silver. The lettering resembles that on the coins of the counts of Toulouse in France, with whom Raymond was connected.[18] As Metcalf suggests, these billon coins may have been issued late in Raymond's reign because of their "experimental" character, and because, as we shall see, similar types inscribed BOAMVNDVS seem to be a continuation of Raymond's coinage.

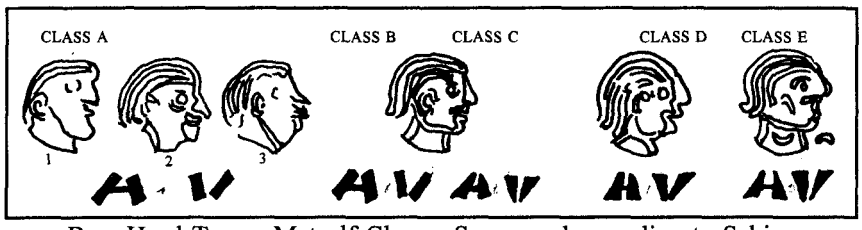
A most interesting copper fractional denier, weighing ca. 0.79-1.20 g. bears the legends +PRINCEPS (the S sometimes reversed) /+ANTIOCHIC. The obverse type is a cross pattée with a pellet in each angle, and the reverse type, has hitherto been an unidentified pattern. Seltman orignally suggested this as an architectural scene, but the image can more probably be interpreted as the high altar of the Cathedral of Antioch. The altar's four or five legs are in the center, the proverbial Holy Grail, which legend had as the Chalice of Antioch, is set on the center of the altar. A cross is set above. To each side of it are ornaments variously interpreted as books, windows, or angels. To the sides of the altar are cloth hangings. Below is an unidentified object in the form of a recumbant C with a pellet at each side. The inscription ANTIOCHIC and the weight places this issue during Raymond's tenure at Antioch.

Minority of Bohemond III (1149-63)

After Raymond's death in 1149, the only immediate change in the type was the inscription BOAMVNDVS; thus, these coins may be assigned to the minority of Bohemond III (1149-63). The style of the portrait is gradually reduced to a linear pattern in imitation of the original, and Antioch is consistently spelled with two A's.

These coins have appeared in hoards in recent years, so that they are neither as scarce as those of Raymond seem to be, nor as scarce as Schlumberger once thought them.[19] Their mean weight, easily determinable from many specimens, is between 0.81 and 0.83 grams. The Subak and the Ras Shamra Hoards have greatly shed light on this issue.[20] These coins have been divided into classes by Metcalf.[20A] The earliest, Class A, is the modeled bare head type. Portrait one of Class A shows an affinity to Raymond's modeled portrait with an elongated head having what has been called a "man in the moon" look. The second portrait has a modeled round head with the nose protruding or sloping downwards. The third portrait has a cruder look, with thin, pointed nose and lips. Class B introduces the linear portrait with pellet eye and three simple lines for hair. Classes A and B have the earlier, squared off A and V. Classes B and C have annulets or pellets in various angles of the reverse cross. Class C continues with the linear portrait but the A and V are now more shaped and delineated, as does Classes D and E. The portraits of Class D

degenerated to a crude style. Some legend marks are also found on this class. The last, Class E, has a linear portrait with a crescent on the neck. A distinct legend with +ANTI$_o$O$_o$CHIA is present. Sabine correctly observed[20B] that this last type has many similarities to the helmeted head right type of the next issue, thus substantiating the sequence. The coinage used 35-40% pure silver, and was probably issued continually during Bohemond's regency of 1149-63.



Bare Head Types, Metcalf Classes Sequenced according to Sabine

During the regency of Constance and Renaud of Chatillon and the minority of Bohemond III, an anonymous copper fractional denier was issued. This is closely allied to the earlier anonymous PRINCEPS/ANTIOCHIC issue of the period of Raymond's rule. The similarity of inscription, weight and legend ties this closely, but as a successive issue. This coin bears a retrograde S as the obverse type, and a cross pattée with pellets usually decorating the quarters on the reverse. The legends, sometimes retrograde, read +PRINCEPS /+ANTIO.hIA. The type would suggest that the coins belong to a regency, although no name of a ruler of Antioch begins with S except perhaps Sybil, the wife of Bohemond VI (1253-75), who was regent at Tripoli for two years after her husband's death. But this issue is not of the style of the late thirteenth century. The initial S also appears on fifteenth century billion deniers of Cyprus; and it has been suggested that on these it might possibly signify the *Secrete,* the central office of the Treasury.

Majority of Bohemond III (1163-1201)

The group of billon coins that followed the bare-headed portrait type of Antioch were issued in vast quantities, judging from the numbers of coins which have survived to this day (including those found in recently discovered hoards). When they were issued has been a matter of debate since Schlumberger's time. Each of the coins bears a small profile bust of a Crusader warrior wearing chain-mail and a helmet with nasal guard and cross. Rendered in a fairly abstract style, the obverse bust is normally flanked by a crescent in front and a star behind. The reverse bears a cross pattée with a downward-pointed crescent, usually in the second angle. The coins are inscribed +BOAMVNDVS/+ANTIOCHIA, though with varying letter forms and decorative elements. The same type was also used by the claimant to the

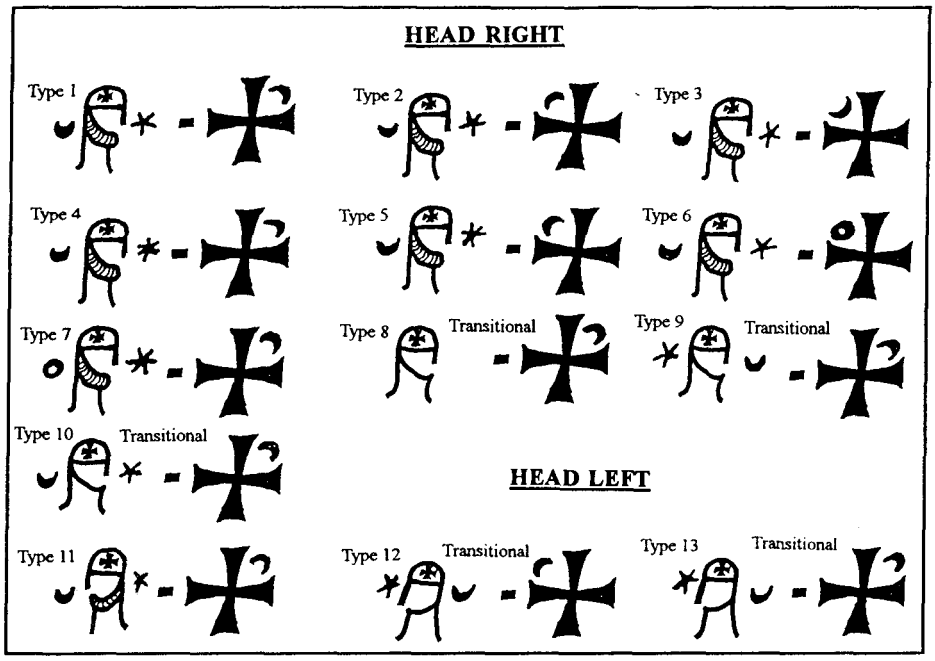
principality, Raymond Roupen, who ruled the city briefly between 1216 and 1219 and inscribed the coinage with his own name RVPINVS on the obverse. Several scholars have studied the hoards in which these coins occur in an effort to clarify the sequence of each variety. In the process, though many questions remain unanswered, they have revised Schlumberger's attribution of these particularly common coins and have provided a good general picture of Antioch's late twelfth and early thirteenth century billon coinage. These coins, except for a late type, generally weigh between 0.90 and 1.00 grams, which is nearly 25% more than the bare-headed coins issued earlier.[21]

Though these coins form a *type immobilisé*, the issues can be divided into four groups. Those inscribed BOAMVNDVS can be classified as: a) Experimental, b) Standard, c) Irregular, and d) Late types.

Experimental Helmeted Head Types

A major characteristic of this early experimental coinage is the bearded head.[22] The preceeding bare head type has long been accepted as a Bohemond III issue during his minority, 1149-63. With the onset of Bohemond's long reign of thirty-eight years after reaching his majority, he initiated the helmeted head with a bearded portrait, in essence proclaiming to his subjects, clients, and foes, that he was now a man. These earliest types, which are rare, resemble the earlier, bare-headed coinage with their head facing right, and show similar experimental characteristics as the bear-heads. These characteristics include variety in the rendering of the chain-mail, dots, annulets, half-crescents, lozenges, crescents upward and downward; a larger or smaller crescent appearing upward or downward or an annulet appearing in the first or second angle of the reverse cross; a five or six pointed star before the face on the obverse, along with a crescent upwards or annulet behind the head. The legend appears in the plainest form +BOĀHVHDVS/+ĀHTIOCHIĀ.

This experimental coinage is here divided into twelve types. The early development of the vast helmeted head coinage is apparent in these experimental types. The sequence to the transitional types 8 and 9 head right, and 11 and 12 head left, shows the end of this series and the beginning of the standard types. Type 9 head right uses the legends of the early Standard types. The early transitional type 1 is the most common and also has the most variants in style and rendering of the portrait, while the later, rare transitional types show the link to the standard types. The six-pointed star and annulet types are of great rarity, as are the later transitional head right and left types. Type six is problematic as the annulet on the obverse is not all struck up on the known specimens, but size and shape of the mark would indicate an annulet punch in the die. It could have been the die cutter's intent to make a crescent using an annulet punch. Until a clear coin of this type shows up, this type will not be certain. The other annulet type is published by Metcalf in his catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum collection. These experimental types lay the numismatic groundwork for the largest extant coinage of the Crusader states, the helmeted head standard types.



Experimental Helmeted Heads

Standard Helmeted Head Types

Each of the Standard types bears the head facing left, highly decorative lettering, crescents pointing upwards for chain-mail, and a neat, elegantly-proportioned bust. These coins have various forms of ornamented letters and a few decorative insertions between letters in the legend. They are now, for the most part, worked out chronologically; Allen did some die-link studies of the coins and Metcalf collected data from hoard analyses. Allen separated the Standard types he studied from the British Museum and al-Mina hoard into five varieties, which have been checked by Metcalf for their sequence as more specimens appeared hoards.[23] Metcalf has basically sorted out the sequence of varieties, with the aid of Lilburn and Pesant, using various dated hoards. But further detained studies will illuminate other idiosyncracies of the vast series of standard types. The sequence of the standard types, referring to them by Allen numbers, is 5,1 4, 3, 2.[24]

The first variety of the Standard class, according to Metcalf, is confirmed by the Ras Shamra hoard, which revealed a mule between two types.[25] One must, therefore, assign Allen's Class 5 with his Class 1, early in the series. His Class 5 (*Type 65, Metcalf B*) is plain in style and shares characteristics with both the bare-headed type and the regular Class 1. Allen's Class 1 is common and is characterized by the annulets which consistently adorn the letters and the elegant proportions of the bust. He divided it into 1a, 1b, and 1c, with the scarce 1a using an annuleted C. The

common 1b often has a pelleted O and a pelleted C, while the less common Class 1c has initial cross pellets before or after. The rare Class 1c with sigla appears with variations of pellets, and trefoil and joined dots in the inscription.

The sequence of Classes 2, 3 and 4 (*Types 70,69, 68*) should be reversed. Class 4 has dotted lettering without the trefoil and is placed in sequence after Class 1, based on Metcalf's analysis of the Mağarack hoard. The mule of Classes 1 and 4 also solidify this sequence.[26] Class 4 has been noted as being of a slightly rougher style than the following two. Certain variations on these coins, such as the line of annulets which replaces the trefoil, the scrambled spelling of BOAMVCNVS, or the inadvertent omission of the crescent and star on the obverse, are simply idiosyncracies of the die-sinkers at the mint. These Standard types form a consistent group whose variations are a function of lively mint-activity.

Allen Classes 3 and 2 are characterized by a trefoil between the I and O of the reverse legend. It has been suggested that the trefoil could suggest the Tripoli mint, but the hoard evidence and linked mules to earlier issues squelch this theory. Class 3 has letters decorated with pellets and has double-barred N's and H's, otherwise it bears similarity to the earlier Class 4. Class 2 has single-barred N's and H's.

Irregular Helmeted Head Types

The Crusader disaster at the hands of Saladin in 1187-88, including the annihilation of 150 knights of Antioch[27] resulted in its territory being reduced to the environs of the city and the castles of Marqab and Qusair. The vast Principality of Antioch south to the port of Lattaqiyah was gone, and so was its former power and influence. This time of hardship, persisting into the reign of Bohemond IV, resulted in a period of inactivity in the production of billon deniers. In 1201-03 Bohemond IV fought off Raymond Roupen, in 1203-06 he contended with the Tripoli Revolt, and in 1207-08, he was warding off Levon of Armenia and Raymond. Despite this chaotic reign, Antioch was still a major stop-off point on the caravan routes to the sea. Bohemond needed coinage to sustain what remained of the trade. After 1208 this growing need for coinage resulted in a new series now known as the Irregular Helmeted Head Deniers.

The Irregular coins are rendered in a cruder style with distinctive letter forms and crescents pointing downwards for the chain mail. These coins are decidedly imitative in character, with many experimental and eclectic features. Allen lists three varieties which are mainly distinguished by the Letter S consistently rendered ; B as B; and HI, in *Antiochia,* as a series of lines. The ornament ∵ sometimes interrupts the reverse legend on these coins. Though scarce, they seem to weigh about the same as the standard series.

Allen's Class 1* is characterized by a three-pellet V in the legend, his Class 2* lacks the three-pellet V. The most common Irregular, Class 3*, is subdivided by

HEAD RIGHT	HEAD LEFT				
	BOHEMOND III CLASS A-F	BOHEMOND IV CLASS G-K	RUPIN CLASS L-M	BOHEM. IV CLASS N	BOHEM. V CLASS O
Catalogue No. 50-59	65-70	75-79	93-97	105-06	126

Letter Forms on Helmeted Head Deniers

Metcalf into his Classes J and K[28] with their distinguishing features a larger bust and dot ornamentation versus a smaller bust and annulet ornamentation respectively. Metcalf's earlier Class G is characterized by a solid O and a downward obverse field crescent.

The group of coins that Raymond Roupen issued (in his own name), while he had control of the citadel at Antioch between 1216 and 1219, are quite similar in many details to the Irregular coins, except that the obverse legend RVPINVS usually has stops between each letter. Many of the letter forms, for example, are the same. During the space of three years, Roupen issued a significant number of varieties which can be grouped into two basic types. The probable earlier type, Metcalf's Class M, has annulet stops. The later and more common type, Metcalf's Class L, has pellets. The pellet stops vary a great deal on these coins. Pesant points out in the ANS Hoard the interesting addition of the chin guard to the helmeted head. Other

unusual and rare type show an annulet, pellet, or trefoil in the field to the left of the head. An extremely rare type known from the Martin Jacobowitz collection has a triple pellet in the left field and a two-dotted five-pointed star to right.

The billon denier issued by Bohemond IV during his second reign has been open to question. Allen called it Class 4/5 mule, Pesant referred to it as Irregular Class 4*, but Metcalf labeled it Class N, placing it immediately after class M, those deniers bearing the name of Raymond Roupen. The reverse legends are so closely akin to Roupen C, along with style and even some pellet stops at the end of the obverse inscription on this type. It seems necessary to place it after Roupen's reign, at Bohemond's reestablishment of his reign.

Late or New Style Helmeted Head Deniers

A final helmet type, quite consistent in style, seems by all hoard, stylistic, and metrological evidence to be later in date than the other coins. It has seriffed but less decorated letters, is of cruder fabric, and weighs only between 0.60 and 0.80 grams, substantially less than the rest of the "helmet" issues.

Hoard evidence confirms that the first issues of the "helmet" type were minted at the beginning of the reign of Bohemond III (1163). The Samos hoard (1183-85) has a Standard Type 3 coin, thus suggesting that the issue began substantially earlier and that such later issues were being minted at its time of burial. One coin's appearance is admittedly a risky piece of evidence on which to build a theory, but it likewise cannot ignored. The Samos Hoard was found under strict German excavations in the Fall of 1932. The Mağaracik hoard, discovered in a village of that name near Antioch, also affirms the early dating of the regular series. Since it contains no coins of Raymond Roupen, it may have been concealed before 1216; and its more than two hundred Standard Type specimens and its two Irregular coins also tend to prove that these classes of the "helmet" coinage belong to the reign of Bohemond III and the first reign of Bohemond IV. The Aleppo and Ras Shamra hoards, which may be savings hoards, are of similar composition, though some later types were also added to them. The Mağaracik hoard also tends to substantiate the attribution of the Irregular series to the period 1201-1216, or perhaps even 1208-16.

The Late type, found in the al-Mina hoard, perhaps concealed between 1230 and 1235, evidently belongs to late in the second reign of Bohemond IV, or early in that of Bohemond V, as a completely separate issue from the earlier coins. Pesant has also suggested that the Late type might have been issued at an auxiliary mint because of its lower weight standard, plain style, and distinct letter forms; but the theory awaits proof.

The historical circumstances surrounding the issue of these coins at Antioch also dictate in favor of the attribution of the Standard series to the reign of Bohemond III. The capture of Lattaqiyah by Saladin in 1188 and the bitter struggles between the Armenians and Bohemond IV for control of Antioch, which began during the first decades of the thirteenth century, crippled Antioch's economy.

Although two attempts (one in 1203 and another in 1208) by Levon and Raymond Roupen were thwarted because Bohemond and the Templars could not be driven off the citadel at Antioch, where the mint was undoubtedly located,[29] mint activities were probably nonetheless slowed down or totally disrupted. Furthermore, when Lattaqiyah recovered its former strength under Muslim control following Saladin's conquest, the Aleppo-Lattaqiyah trade began to monopolize that of Antioch-St. Symeon. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the bulk of the Standard coins had been issued before the fall of Lattaqiyah in 1188; for though Antioch itself did not fall to Saladin's armies, over twenty-five towns and fortresses of the principality did.[30] During this twenty-one year period (1188-1208), it is probable that relatively few billon coins were minted, if any were produced at all, for lack of personnel, materials, or economic necessity. Metcalf's theory that mint production ceased for a period before the appearance of the Irregular series may, therefore, be correct regarding billon coinage.

Another argument in favor of an early dating for the Standard "helmet" coins is that the highly decorative lettering seems to coincide with the decorative character of the deniers of Amaury of Jerusalem (1163-74) and Raymond II of Tripoli (1152-87). On the other hand, Antioch's coinage was localized, as is evident from the absence of these billon coins of Antioch in southern hoards or stray finds. Conversely, the coinages of Tripoli, Jerusalem, Acre, or the baronies of the kingdom are rarely found among the coins of Antioch in northern hoards. The Tripoli hoard (1221-1225) has only three examples of the "helmet" type which appear to be Irregular types and the Kessab hoard has none. The Mağaracik, al-Mina, Ras Shamra, Antioch, Subak, and Aleppo hoards contain very few, if any, Palestinian coins, but many European deniers. Judging from the al-Mina hoard, which contains only one coin of Sidon, there must have been little interchange between the circulating media of northern Syria and Palestine at this period. Excavations undertaken at Hamā revealed that more European than Antiochene deniers circulated there.[31] The conclusions to be drawn from this are that Antioch's coinage was minted to fulfill the needs of the principality alone and that the city did not take on the responsibility, as one of the few mints left free from Saladin's armies, for minting coins for other Crusader states.

Copper Fractional Deniers

A scarce type, inscribed +BOAMVNDVS/+ANTIOCHIA, but bearing the *type raymondin* of the coins of the counts of Tripoli, belongs to either Bohemond III or Bohemond IV of Antioch.[32] The style of the lettering resembles that of the Experimental and early Standard type "helmeted head" coins of Antioch, and the star and crescent are somewhat crudely designed with a six-pointed star and U-shaped crescent. Schlumberger inclined towards attributing the coins to Bohemond III on the grounds that they were contemporary with the coinage of Raymond II of Tripoli. Schlumberger and others have identified this issue as billon, but Metcalf believes it

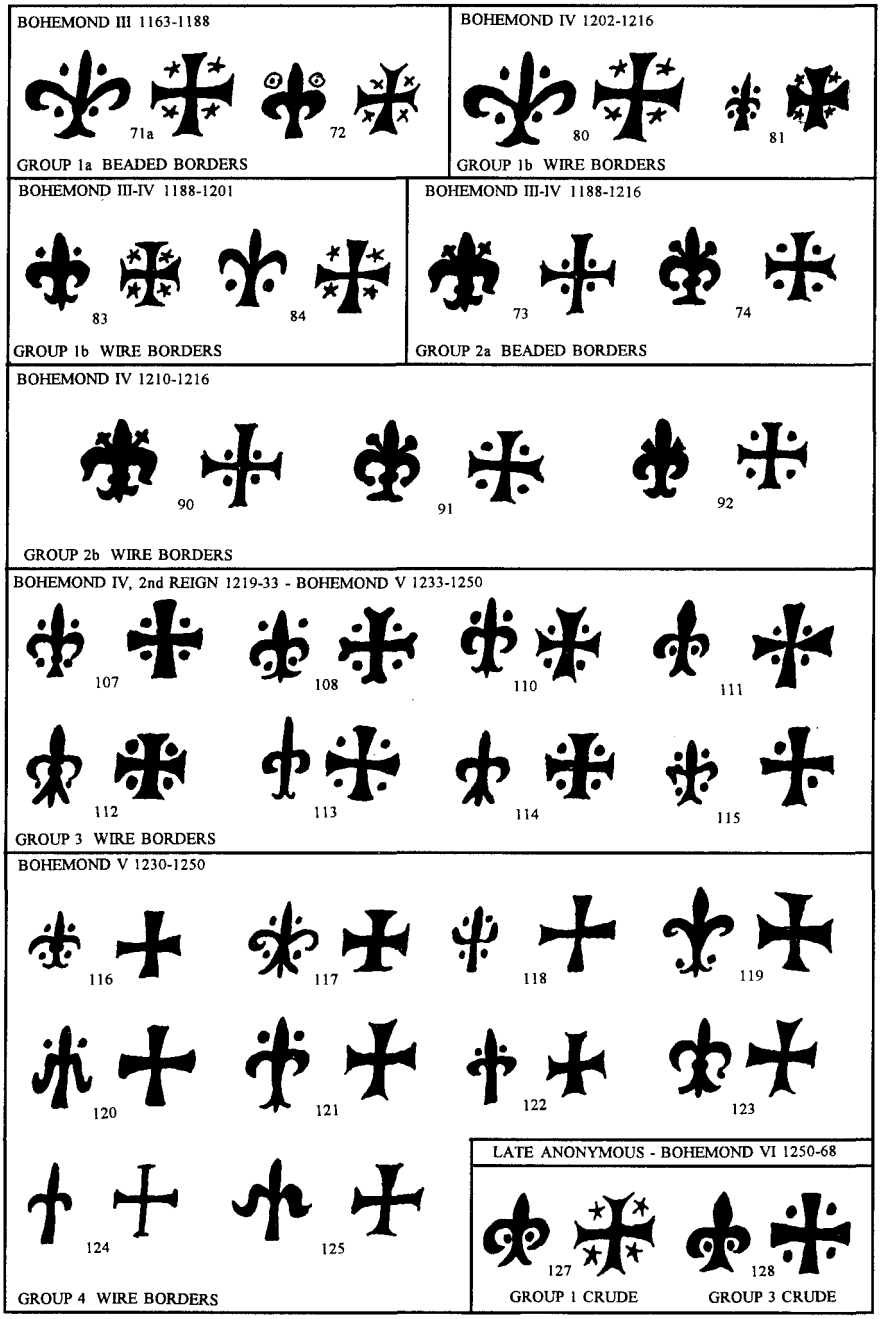
to be a copper issue. This fractional denier fits neatly as an early copper issue of Bohemond III's majority. From the few specimens known, the type seems to range, like the contemporary coins of Antioch, between 0.90 and 1.00 grams. Several varieties are known, mostly with misspelled legends; the major type bears annulets instead of pellets at the end of each arm of the obverse cross.

Fleur-de-Lis Copper Coinage

Excavations undertaken at Ḥamā between 1931 and 1938 produced twenty-three fleur-de-lis coins[33]. Excavations at Antioch-on-the-Orontes produced forty fleur-de-lis coins, the largest for any single Crusader coin type[34]. And from Bedoukian's the reported sixteen groups of coins mostly found in Lebanon, twenty-eight were fleur-de-lis types[35]. Antioch's copper coinage is far less common today because of its nature. They are not found in hoards but in single stray finds. They were not saved for the future but evidently lost. This only means that they are not common today, but the fleur-de-lis coinage was extensive. More fleur-de-lis types were found at Antioch than the related billon "helmeted head" types.

The fleur-de-lis type depicts on the obverse a fleur-de-lis, and on the reverse a cross pattée with various pellets, stars, or nothing in the angles. The inscription with variants is ✠BOAMVNDVS/+ANTIOCHIA. This type is divided into four groups. Group 1 has stars in the angles. Group 2 has pellets in the angles, and an ornate lily. Group 3 has pellets in the angles and Group 4 has nothing in the angles.

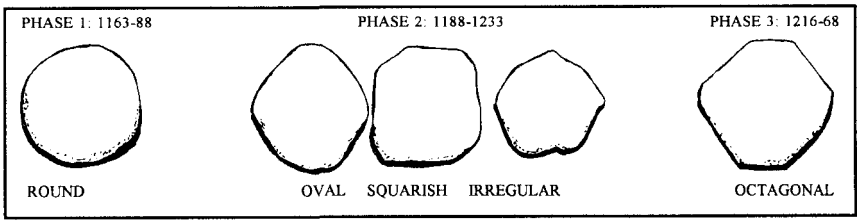
The early Group 1a is characterized by neat round flans, although dies are smaller in size than the earlier Antioch fractional copper coinage. It is also consistent in shape and rendering of the outer and inner fine beaded borders. The lettering is also consistent with the contemporary Standard Helmeted Head Deniers. The **B, Z,** Ā, Ā are all found on both Standard Helmeted Head Deniers and Group 1. This group tends not to deviate as much as the irregular later groups. This group, with beaded borders, dates as early as the majority of Bohemond III before the battle of Hattin (1188). Group 1b is similar to Group 1a but with wire borders and dates later. Many wire border types appear to have been struck from re-engraved beaded border dies. This could be an instance where the die engraves found it much easier to produce the wire borders than the beaded borders. It is also possible that the beaded border dies deteriorated faster than those with wire borders. Groups 2 and 3 are similar, the pellets in the angles of the cross being the binding thread. Group 2 has the lily ornamented with buds, wedges and long crosslets in upper angles. Groups 2a and 2b are also distinguished by beaded and wire borders. The earliest of these types, 2a, has beaded outer and inner borders, with long crosslets emerging from the upper angles of the lily. Sabine[36] concluded that wire borders on the coppers at Tripoli emerged around 1215-20. Wire borders throughout the Levant started in the reigns of rulers at 1210 and later. The average is 1225-50. In Cyprus, wire borders started in 1232 and continued through the fourteenth century on the fractional coinage. The fleur-de-lis Group 2 is assigned to the same period that Henry of Champagne (1192-97) was striking coins in Jerusalem. His type also featured the



4 Evolution of Types of Fleur-de-Lis Coppers

fleur-de-lis with buds emerging and beaded borders. The start of Group 2, with beaded borders is *ca.* 1188, after the battle of Hattin. The more common wire borders of this group would have been used after 1215 up to the 1220's. Group 3, featuring the simple lily, is assigned to the period after 1215, as 95% of the group is free of beaded borders and uses the wire borders in vogue at the time. This type has a similar affinity to the later issues of the "B" type fractionals with some of each type repeating the legends on both the obverse and reverse. The letter forms also align more with the "B" type fractionals. An interesting die linkage was discovered by Metcalf between two coins (nos. 347-48) in the Ashmolean Collection. The wire border reverses are die-linked while the obverse of 347 has a wire border and that of 348 has a beaded border. Group 2 coins generally have oval flans, but those Group 2 pieces with wire borders have an irregular octagonal shape. The irregular octagonal shape continues on through the rest of Groups 3 and 4, along with many of the "B" type fractionals. The conclusion is that this newer method of flan preparation at Antioch commenced during the later part of Bohemond IV's first reign (1201-16). This flan preparation seems particularly characteristic of Antioch but irregular flans were certainly used at Tripoli at various stages.

Also three phases of flan shapes of these fractional coppers appear. Phase one reveals a round flan with neat design and fine workmanship. These date from the time of Raymond of Portier through the battle of Hattin. Phase two can be characterized as a transitional period. Oval, squarish, slightly irregular, and some round flans were used. These were struck in the early part of the thirteenth century. The third phase moves the production of the octagonal so characteristic of Antioch in its later copper coinage. The shape is basically square with the corners cut off to make an octagonal with sides of alternating length. During this period of 1216-1268, the octagonal flan predominates, especially at its later stages. However irregular and squarish flans can also be found in this last period.



5 Antioch Copper Flan Shapes

Many of the letter forms of the wire border coins in Group 3 are closely akin to the Late Style Helmeted Head deniers of Bohemond V (1233-52), **B, S,** Ā, **T** and the initial mark ✠, but with less exaggerated serifs. In various examples the N is rendered Ꞑ, **N**, И and Ѝ. The A is found **A**, Ā, Ā, Λ and the initial marks are

✠ +. Elongated and narrow letter forms are also found. These letter forms are consistent with Tripoli's Bohemond V and VI issues of new style deniers.

Group 4 is distinguished by its lack of pellets or stars in the angles of the reverse cross. All types have wire borders. These also have various letter forms, with the **B** consistent with Bohemond V issues. Also found is the rendering of BOHEMVNDVS with a round Є, along with a round ϖ and recumbant ᔕ. The A is shown as Ā and **H**, initial marks as ✠ and ✠. This group dates from 1230-50, the period of Bohemond V.

The denomination of copper obole or pougeoise has been open to wide discussion. First, Antioch issued no billon half-denomination or billon oboles as Jerusalem did. Second, a continuation of copper coinage, along with the billon denier, was steady at Antioch. Raymond d'Aguilers infers that the Le Puy deniers circulated as half-deniers and called *pogesi*.[37] The Jerusalem copper issues of Henry of Champagne, which also exhibit the fleur-de-lis, are marked with their value PVGES (*pougeoise*). From this we can assume a comprehensive monetary system at Antioch[38] of denier and pougeoise, valued at half of a denier, along with foreign billon also valued at half a denier.

"B" Type Coppers

The rare "B" Type coppers of Antioch have a large central motif B on the obverse with a small cross pattée on the reverse. The inscriptions vary with each type: +BOΛMVNDV/+ANTIOCHE, +IOAMVNDV/ANTIOCHIA (retrograde), +ΛIITIOCHЄ/+AIITIOCHA, illegible inscription/+ΛNTIOCIE. The letter forms are consistent with Bohemond IV's Irregular Helmeted Head series. The earlier issues have pellet borders similar to the Raymond Roupen issue, along with rounder flans and a more finely engraved and thicker rendering of the central B. This type fits neatly into the late period of Bohemond IV's first reign (1201-16). Some cruder, wire border issues were probably struck shortly after Bohemond IV reestablished himself at Antioch.

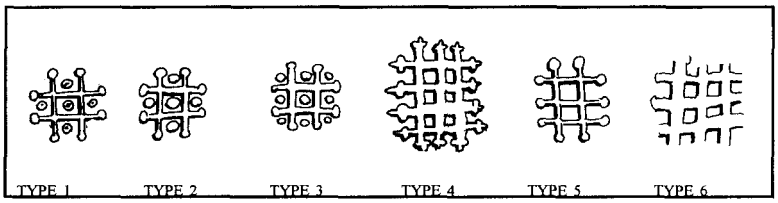
Anonymous Gate Series (1216-1219 and later)

Seven coins fall into this series, all having a large gate as their reverse type. None of these coins have any inscription as to identify their actual origin. The three helmeted head types are certainly Antioch, as they portray the same helmeted Crusader head as the billon issues. The reverse depicting a gate would suggest a close affinity of these types to each other. The irregular, Antiochene octagonal flans also link this coinage together. As noted above, these irregular octagonal flans were in use by 1216. The helmeted head types depict a palm at each side within a fine beaded border. Often the palm was a sign indicating victory or coronation. We have all four conditions coming together at the beginning of Raymond Roupen's reign: the

beginning of the octagonal flans, the ending of beaded borders, Roupen's victory over Bohemond IV, and his coronation at Antioch. There is also no identified copper coinage attributed to Roupen. This rare gate series could have been an anonymous coinage issued during Rupen's short hold on Antioch, 1216-19, and possibly continuing into Bohemond's second reign.

Schlumberger's illustration (III,17) of an apparent beard in pellet lines below the chin must be questioned; this type does not exist. One basic type is patterned after Metcalf's billon helmeted head Class C and Class M. Class M is a Raymond Roupen issue. This has the eye as a pellet in an oval. This would point us to Raymond Roupen for these helmeted head coppers. The other type has just an eye pellet, which does not, in and of itself, permit its accurate dating.

The other three gate types have a cross as the obverse motif. One has a Latin cross flanked by two St. Andrew's crosses on poles. This suggests the three crosses at Calvary. The other two have a cross with pellets in the angles and a cross with an X in each lower angle. These three cross/gate types could belong to a later Antioch issue, but the links of the gates and size of flan could link them together. The Gate/Gate Type was probably issued later, during the time of the late anonymous series.



6 Anonymous Gate Series: Gate Types

Late Anonymous Series (1250-68)

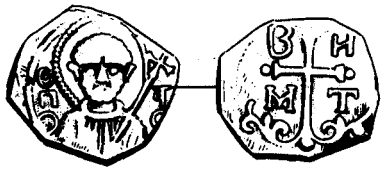
With the onslaught of the Mongol Hordes, the Levant was put in excessive turmoil. In 1244 the Khorezmians from the north flowed into Syria, moving before the Mongols. In 1256 the Mongols under their great leader Hulagu took Alamut. In 1258 Hulagu sacked Baghdad and killed the last Abbasid Caliph. In 1260 he laid waste to Aleppo. That same year the Mongols took Damascus, then under Kitboha. Most Syrian towns were overrun during these Mongol invasions of 1259-61. Refugees swarmed into the Christian protected areas of Antioch and Tripoli. In 1260 the Mongols levied a head tax of one dinar per person on Antioch. This levy amounted to an astonishing hundred thousand dinars.[39]

Antioch's population swelled with the influx of many Arab refugees, both Christian and non-Christian. The bulging city certainly needed a coinage, at the very least for internal use. The anonymous coinage struck at Antioch at this period reflected the changing times. Two types with Arabic inscriptions are identified. The

reflected the changing times. Two types with Arabic inscriptions are identified. The crude Arabic, *fals / Antak*, translates "copper [from] Antioch." The first type has St. Andrew's cross as a central motif, with (AN?)TIO in the angles on the obverse, and the Arabic two-line inscription on the reverse. The second, also having an Arabic connection, has as its obverse a large cross with crosslets in the angles, and also the two-line Arabic inscription for the reverse. Two non-Arabic types are also identified from that period. The first, noted in the Martin Jacobowitz collection, has a cross pattée on one side, a cross pattée with pellets in angles for the flip side. The second is a coin having a long cross pattée with A - N / T - I in the angles, and the same with inscription in retrograde on the reverse. Two fleur-de-lis types excavated at Antioch reveal this late style in flan and crudeness, All these six coin types have the prominent Antiochene octagonal flans, but for the most part are larger in diameter and thinner than the earlier fleur-de-lis types.

With Baybars, the total destruction of Antioch was accomplished in 1268. Antioch, for all intents and purposes, ceased to exist after over 1,500 years of great civilization and 171 years as a main Crusader state. The disaster at Antioch resulted in the uncovering of the great riches of its past economic prosperity. The Mamluks found such quantity of coins that they were handed out by the bowl full.[40]

Bohemond I (1098-1100, 1102-04)



1

2

1. AE follis. 4.27-5.44 g. Schl. II,4.

O: ⊙ ΠE-TPOC (TP in monogram)

Bust of St. Peter, nimbate, wearing tunic, holding cross in left hand.

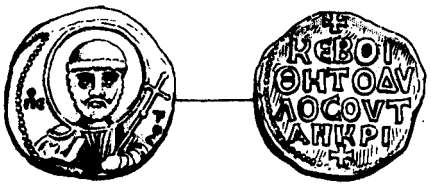
R: B - H - M - T

Cross pommetée, fleuronée at base.

Bohemond I (1098-1100, 1102-04) or Bohemond II (1119-30)

2. AE follis. 3.78 g. Porteous, *HOC*, 15.
O: Bust of St. Peter (?) facing, nimbate, holding jewelled long cross, ◯ l..
R: BOM / NDVS / SERVVS / XPI, in four lines.
It has been suggested that this coin could be an unknown Norman Salernitan or other Italian issue.

Tancred, Regent (1101-03, 1104-12)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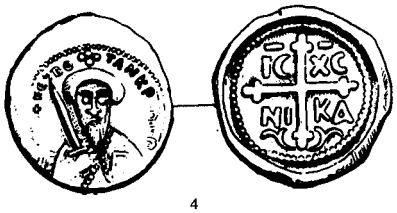
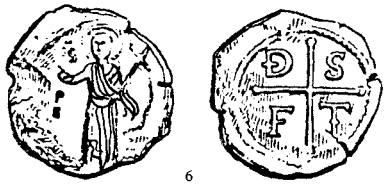

4

3a. AE follis. 2.25-5.95 g. Schl. II,6.
O: O ΠΕ-TPOC
Bust of St. Peter, holding cross in l. hand.
R: + / KЄ BOI / ΘH TOΔV / ΛO COVT / ANKPI / + (or ANKPI+), i.e. "Lord, help your servant Tancred."
b. Similar to above but struck with smaller dies, on smaller flan, 17mm or smaller.

4a. AE follis. 1.95-4.31 g., 18-23 mm. Schl. II,7.
O: KE BOHΘH TΩ ΔOVΛΩ TANKPI, or var., especially KE BO TANKP.
Bust of Tancred wearing turban and holding sword in r. hand.
R: IC - XC - NI - KA
Cross pommetée, fleuronnée at base.
This type is often found overstruck on the previous type.
b. As above but with reduced dies and flan, 18mm or smaller.

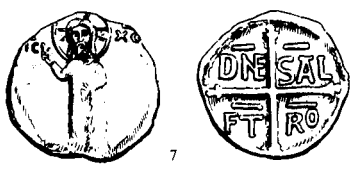
5. AE follis. 1.90-5.05 g., mean *ca.* 3.50 g. Schl. II,8.
O: IC - XC
Bust of Christ, nimbate, wearing tunic and cloak, holding Gospels.
R: TA - NK - P - H
Cross pommetée, fleuronnée at base.
This type is found overstruck onto previous types.

5


6

6. AE follis. 3.17-4.28 g., 18-23 mm.
O: PETRVS, or var., especially S PE... Schl. V,1.
St. Peter, standing, wearing tunic and cloak, blessing with r. hand, holding cross in l. hand.
R: Đ - S F T for *Domine salvum fac Tancredum.*
Slender cross.
This type is often found overstruck on Type 5.

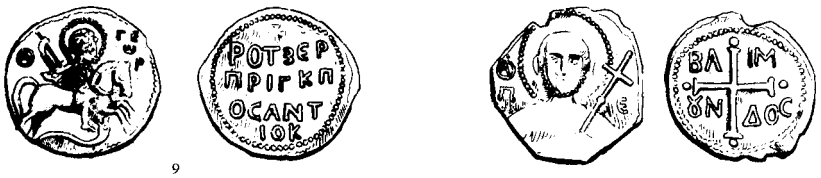
Roger of Salerno, Regent (1112-19)


7

8

7. AE follis. 3.14-4.70 g., Schl. II,10
O: IC-XC mean *ca.* 3.60 g.
Christ standing, giving benediction with r. hand.
R: DNE-SAL-FT-RO for *Domine salvum fac tuum Rogerium.*
Slender cross pommetée.

8. AE follis. 3.55-6.97 g., Schl. II,11.
O: MH - ΘV mean *ca.* 4.30 g.
Virgin standing orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion with jeweled border.
R: + / KЄ BOH / ΘЄITΩCΩ / ΔOVλΩP / OTSEPI / Ω+, or var., for "Lord, help your servant Roger."
This type is often found overstruck on Type 7.



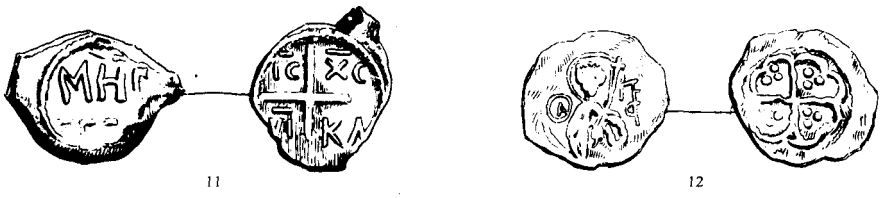
9

9. AE follis. 1.45-7.05 g., mean *ca.* 4.00 g.
O: OA-ΓЄŒЭP (OA in monogram) Schl. II, 12.
St. George, nimbate, riding on horseback r., spearing dragon below.
R: POTƷЄP / ΠΡΙΓΚΠ / OC ANT / IOK - or var., in three or four lines.
Cross above.
This more common type is found overstruck on the last two types issued by Roger.

Bohemond II (1126-30)

10a. AE follis. 3.90 g. Schl. II,14; Metcalf, *MN*(1975), p.142, Porteous, *HOC*, 23.
O: OA Π - TPOC, (OA in monogram)
Bust of Peter, nimbate, holding cross in l. hand.
R: BA-IM-VN-OC or var. ΔOZ, ΔOY in fourth quarter.
Slender cross pommetée.
b. A variety also bears the Latin abbreviation on obverse: S-P.
This type has been discovered overstruck on Roger's types 7, 8, and 9, and on Tancred's Type 3.

Anonymous (1120-40)



11 12

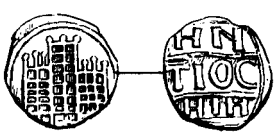
11. AE follis. ca. 2.37 g. Schl. II,9; XX,1.
O:M$\bar{H}\bar{H}$P ΘOY in two lines, for MHTHP ΘEOY, "Mother of God."
R: I$\bar{C}$-$\bar{X}$C-NI-KA within the angles of cross.

12a. AE. *ca.* 0.91 g. Schl. XIX,1; Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes,* IV, 11, 2298.

O: OA ΠΕΤΡΟC to left and right in monogram form.
Half-length figure of St. Peter, holding long cross on l. shoulder.

R: No legend.
Cross moline with three pellets in each quarter.

b. Similar, but figure holds cross on right shoulder.


13a

13b

13a. AE fractional denier. 0.70 g. Schl. III,12.

O: No legend.
Three towered castle or fortress with no doors in center.

R: HN / TIOC / HIH, in three lines.

b. AE fractional denier. 0.60-0.80 g. Saulcy IV,10; Malloy, *Medieval Coins XX* (1983), 273.

O: No legend
Three towered castle or fortress, with tall double doors in center, three small bushes in exergue.

R: ooo / AN / TIOC / HIA / ooo, in five lines.
Variety: ooo / oIIII / TIOC / IIIII / ooo.

13c

13d

c. AE fractional denier. 0.73 g. Jacobowitz Coll.

O: Similar to above but three pellets in exergue.

R: AN / TIOC / HIH, in three lines.

d. AE fractional denier. Porteous, *HOC*, 35.

O: Similar to b. above.

R: AN / TI·OC / HIA / Three pellets.

Raymond of Poitiers (1136-49)

14

15

14. Billon denier. 0.77-0.84 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 4.; Vogüé, *Mélanges* II (1877), p.181;
O: +RAIMY-NDYS Lambros, *Mélanges* I , p.360.
Beardless head, r., with short hair, the neck breaking the legend.
R: ANTIOCNIE
Cross pattée.

15. Billon denier. 0.75-0.90 g. References as above.
b. Similar but neck of portrait is shorter and breaks only circle of dots.

16

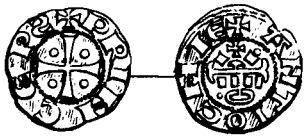
17

16. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.75 g. Schl. II,17.
c. O: +RAMVNDYS in plainer style.
Head r., completely circumscribed.
R: +ANTIOCHIE, or var. with sideways S for C.

Contemporary counterfeits have been noted, with +RAIMVIIDVS, *bare head r. /* +ΛNTIOCHIЄ, *cross pattée, 0.70-0.84 g., cf. Met./Ash. 237, ANS 1046.*

17. AE. *ca.* 1.30 g. Schl. II,19.
O: R A M in ornamental style, within a triangular pattern.
R: AN-TIOC-HIE, in three lines.

Anonymous Period of Raymond of Poitiers (ca. 1136-49)

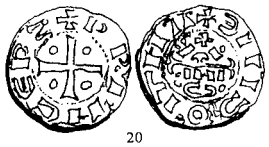


18

19

18. AE fractional denier. 1.20 g. Schl. III,15; Malloy, *Medieval Coins XXX*, 126.
O: ✠PRINCЄPƧ
Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIЄ
Altar with four legs, chalice in center, cross above, diamond with pellet each side, pellet each side of open oval below.
A variant exists with square E's.

19. AE fractional denier. 0.90 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 339; Porteous, *HOC*, 29.
O: As above.
R: ANTIOCIIIЄ or ANTIOCHIЄ
Altar as above but with five legs.



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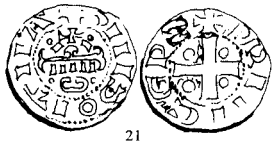


21

20. AE fractional denier. 0.79 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 338.
O: As above.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIЄ (retrograde)
Altar as above with four legs.

21. AE fractional denier. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: As above (retrograde).
R: As above but altar with five legs.

Bohemond III, Minority (1149-63)
Regencies of Constance and Renaud de Châtillon

22

23

24

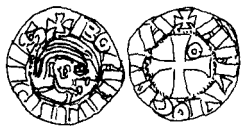
22. Billon denier. 0.76-0.79 g., Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 1 & H;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS Metcalf, *Ash.* Class A, 238-39.
Bare head r., in modeled "man in the moon" style similar to the portrait type of Raymond.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée.
Variety: Pellet in O (Metcalf, *NC* (1969), H.

23. Billon denier. 0.63-1.07 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 2-12, 15;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS Metcalf, *Ash.* Class A, 240-42.
Bare head r., modeled style round head, pellet eye, modeled nose turned up or out.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA, double barred M and N, square Λ and V.
Cross pattée.
Variety: Plain O.

24. Billon denier. 0.48-0.86 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 13-14, 16;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS Metcalf, *Ash.* Class A.
Bare head r., modeled style round head, thin, pointed nose and lips.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA, square Λ and V.
Cross pattée.
Variety: Pellet within O.

25

26


27

25. Billon denier. 0.61-1.08 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 44-73;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS, square Λ and V. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B, 243.
Bare head r., linear portrait.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA, square Λ and V.

Cross pattée.
Variety: Pellet within O.

26. Billon denier. 0.97 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 97-100;
O: As Type 25. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B, 245.
R: As Type but cross pattée has annulet in first angle.

27. Billon denier. 0.66-0.90 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 120-22;
O: As Type 25. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B, 245.
R: As Type but cross pattée has annulet in second angle.

28

29

30

28. Billon denier. 0.62-0.73 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 123-24.
O: As Type 25.
R: As Type but cross pattée has annulet in third angle.

29. Billon denier. 0.77-0.84 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 125-27.
O: As Type 25.
R: As Type but cross pattée has annulet in fourth angle.

30. Billon denier. 0.94 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 74-77;
O: As Type 25. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B, 244.
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in first angle.

32

33

31. Billon denier. 1.05 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 36.
O: As Type 25. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in second angle.

32. Billon denier. 1.11 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 92.
O: As Type 25. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in third angle.

33. Billon denier. 1.04-1.15 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 94-95.
O: As Type 25. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class B
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in fourth angle.

Mules of Classes B and C are known.

34. Billon denier. 0.61-1.08 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 17-28;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS, shaped A and V. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class C.
Bare head r., linear portrait.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA, shaped A and V.
Cross pattée.

35. Billon denier. 0.42-1.05 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 37-43.
O: As Type 34. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class C.
R: As Type but cross pattée has annulet in first angle.

36. Billon denier. 0.59-0.90 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 29-35.
O: As Type 34. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class C.
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in first angle.

37. Billon denier. 1.05 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), 36.
O: As Type 34. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class C.
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in second angle.

38. Billon denier. 1.05 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 248.
O: As Type 34. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class C.
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellet in third angle.

39. Billon denier. 0.635 g. Malloy, Auction XXXII, 998.
O: As Type 34.
R: As Type but cross pattée has pellets in first and third angles.

40

41

42

40. Billon denier. 0.73 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class D.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS, A and V of tapered segments.
Degenerate bare head r., large linear portrait, short neck.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA, A and V of tapered segments.
Cross pattée.

41. Billon denier. 0.74 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class E, 250.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS, A and V of tapered segments.
Bare head r., linear portrait, crescent downwards on neck.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA, A and V of tapered segments.
Cross pattée.

42. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class E, 251.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS, A and V of tapered segments.
Bare head r., linear portrait, crescent downwards on neck.
R: ✠ANTI$_o$O$_o$CHIA, A and V of tapered segments.
Cross pattée.
Variety: BOAMVNDVS/✠ANTIOCHIA

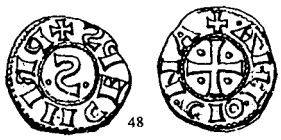
43. Billon denier. 0.75 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* Class E.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS, A and V of tapered segments.
Bare head r., linear portrait, no crescent
R: ✠ANTI$_o$O$_o$CHIA, A and V of tapered segments.
Cross pattée.

44

45

44. AE fractional denier. 1.05 g. Schl. III,16; Malloy, *Medieval Coins* XX, 274.
O: ✠PRIN·CЄPS
Large 2, ornamented with two pellets, flanked by four pellets.
R: ✠ANTIO·hIA
Cross pattée, pellet in first, second and fourth angles, crescent downwards in third.
A variety exists with dotted A.

45. AE fractional denier. 0.94 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 340.
O: As Type 44.
R: As Type 44 but pellets in first, second and third angles, crescent downwards in fourth.



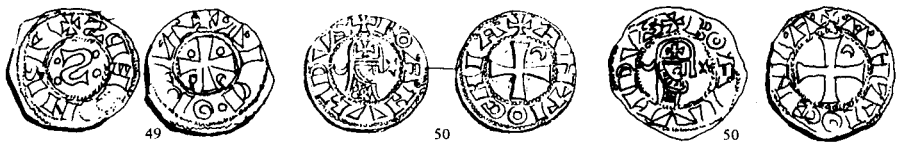
48

46. AE fractional denier. Wiklinson, *Crusader Coins*, "B."
O: As Type 44.
R: As Type 44 but annulets in first, second and fourth angles, crosslet in third.

47. AE fractional denier. Wiklinson, *Ibid.*, p. 36, "C."
O: As Type 44.
R: As Type 44 but pellets instead of annulets, crosslet in third angle.

48. AE fractional denier. Saulcy, IV,7; Wilkinson, "A."
O: ✠PRIHCEPS (retrograde)
As above but only two pellets at sides.
R: ✠AHTIO●HIA (retrograde)
Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.

49a. AE fractional denier. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: ✠PRINCEPS (retrograde)
As 44 above.
R: ✠ANTIO·hIA (retrograde)
Cross pattée, pellet in first, second and third angles, crescent downwards in fourth.
Variety: Large retrograde S not ornamented (Malloy Coll.)
b. O: As above.
R: ✠ANTIOh·HA
As above. 1.15-1.16 g. Auctiones A.G., II, 627-28.


49 50 50

Bohemond III, Majority (1163-1201)

Experimental Issue
Head Right

50a. Billon denier. 0.88-0.95 g. Schl. III,7; Metcalf, *NC*(1969) fig. 6; Metcalf, *MN*(1970), 1.
O: ✠BOĀNVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent l., five-pointed star r. Beard and mail composed of annulets.
R: ✠ĀHTIOCHIĀ
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
Variant letter forms: **C**, **C**, Ā.
b. Beard and mail composed of downward crescents.
c. Linear beard, mail composed of crescents upwards.
d. Linear beard, mail composed of crescents upwards.
e. Large crescent downwards on rev. Pesant 1.

51a. Billon denier. 0.89 g. Pesant, *MN*(1972) XVI:2.
O: ✠BOĀIIVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent l., five-pointed star r. Beard and mail composed of annulets.
R: ✠ĀHTIOCHIĀ
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in first angle.

b. Linear beard, crescent lozenge upwards in mail.
c. Large crescent downwards on rev.

51 52 53

52. Billon denier. 0.93-0.98 g. Lilborn, *NC* (1981) 1B; Metcalf, *BAR* pl. 1,2.
O: ✠BOAHVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, crescent pointing upwards in first angle.

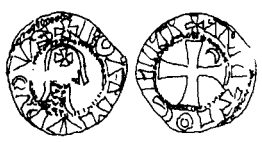
53a. Billon denier. Pesant, *MN*, 3.
O: ✠BOAHVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards l., six-pointed star r. Beard and mail composed of crescents upwards.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
b. Similar but M and И for H. Metcalf, *Ash.* 255.

54 55 56

54. Billon denier. Malloy, Auction XI, 475.
O: ✠BOAHVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards l., six-pointed star r. Beard and mail composed of crescents upwards.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, annulet in first angle.

55. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.* 252.
O: ✠BOĀHVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r. Beard and mail composed of crescents upwards.
R: ✠ĀHTIOCHIĀ
Cross pattée, annulet in first angle.

56. Billon denier. Malloy Coll.
O: ✠BOAHVHDVS
Elongated, bearded, helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, annulet l., six-pointed star r. Mail composed of half-lozenges upwards.
R: ✠ĀHTIOCHIĀ
Cross pattée, crescent downwards in second angle.


57

58

59

57. Billon denier. Metcalf, *BAR* (1980), p.138,3.
O: ✠BOĀHVHDVS
Helmeted head r., in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, no beard, crescent, or star. Mail composed of crescents upwards.
R: ✠ĀHTIOCHIĀ
Cross pattée, crescent downwards in second angle.
This type could be a misstrike of Type T3 with crescent or star not struck up.

58. Billon denier. 0.87 g. Metcalf/Willis, *NC* (1979); Clerkenwell, 55.
O: ✠BOĀMVИDVS
Helmeted head r., not bearded, in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards r., five-pointed star l. Lozenge mail with long nose guard.
R: ✠ĀNTIOCHIĀ
Cross pattée, crescent downward in second angle.

59. Billon denier. Lilburn, *NC* (1981), D.

O: ✠BOĀMVNDVS

Broad helmeted head r., not bearded, in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r. Mail composed of lozenges.

R: ✠ĀMTIOCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent downward in second angle.

60 61 62

60. Billon denier. Metcalf, *BAR*, p. 140, 2.

O: ✠BOĀHVNDVS

Elongated, helmeted head l., bearded, in chain mail; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r. Mail composed of lozenges.

R: ✠ĀMTIOCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent downward in second angle.

61. Billon denier. 0.92 g. Jacobowitz Coll.

O: ✠BOĀHVHDVS

Helmeted head l., not bearded, in chain mail, with long nose-guard; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards r., five-pointed star l. Mail composed of upward crescents.

R: ✠ĀHTIOCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent downward in first angle.

62. Billon denier. 0.96 g. *NCirc.* XCV,2,

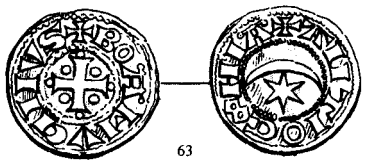
O: ✠BOĀIIVHDVS Wilkinson Coll. 1569.

Helmeted head l., not bearded, in chain mail, with long nose-guard; cross pattée on helmet, crescent upwards r., five-pointed star l. Mail composed of upward crescents.

R: ✠ĀNTIOCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent downward in second angle.

Contemporary Fractional Denier


63

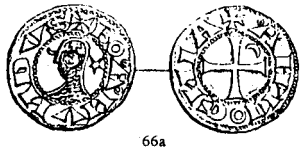
64

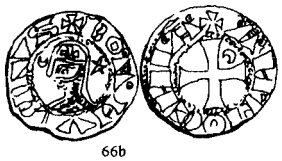
63. AE fractional denier. 0.84-1.00 g. Schl. III, 3; Porteous, *HOC*, 37.
O: ✠BOHMVDNVS
Cross pattée with pellet at the end of each branch, pellet in each quarter.
R: ✠ANTIOC ◇ ◇ HIA
Crescent above, six-pointed star beneath it.

64. AE fractional denier. Metcalf, *Ash.* 337.
b. O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Annulet at the end of each branch of the obverse cross.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Similar.
Varieties: BOAMDNDVS / ANTIOCHIA (0.92 g., ANS 668).

Standard Type

65


66a


66b

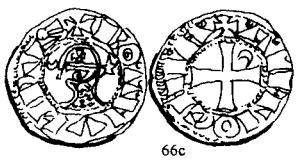
65. Billon denier. 0.78-1.08 g. Metcalf, *NC*(1969), XV,30-34, *Ash.*, Class B; Pesant, *MN* XVI, 4-20; Allen, *NC*(1937), Type 5.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Helmeted head l., mail composed of crescents, star r., crescent l.
R: ✠AMTIOCNIA
Cross pattée, with crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
Varieties: N *for* M, *reversed* D, II *for* M, H *for* M.
b. Similar to above but on rev. a pellet and crescent in first angle.
c. Mule of Types 5 and 1 (Class B and C) Metcalf, *Ash.* 258-60; Lilburn, *NC* (1981) 163-66, 9-12.
d. Mule of Types 1 and 5 (Class C and B) Lilburn, *NC* (1981) 13.

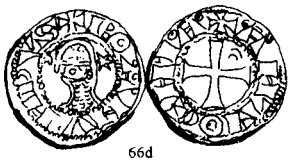
66a. Billon denier. 0.78-1.13 g., *mean 0.94 g.* Schl. III,4.; Metcalf, *Ash. Class B; Pesant, MN*, XVI,28-131; Allen, *NC*(1937), Type 1.

O: ✠BOΛHVHDVS
Similar to previous type but finer style.

R: ✠AIITIOCHIA, C has annulets.
Similar.

b. Similar to last, ✠BʘĀHVHDVS / ✠ĀHTIʘCIIIΛ, pellet often in O, C with pellets. Allen, *NC* (1937), Type 1b.

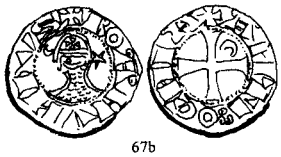

66c

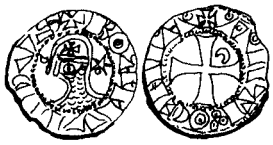

66d

66e

c. Similar but obverse star has dot below. Metcalf, *MN* XVI,16.
d. Similar to b., obverse has six-pointed star. Malloy Coll.
e. Similar to a., ✠BʘĀHVHDVS / ·✠·ĀHTIʘCIIIΛ.
Varieties: ✠·, ·✠ Allen, *ibid.*, Type 1c.
f. Mule of Types 1 and 4 (Classes C and D). Metcalf, *Ash.* 273.

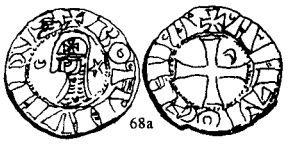
67a


67b


67e

67a. Similar to above type but with sigla. Allen, *ibid.*, Type 1b (Class C);
As XXXb above, dot in rev. inscription. Metcalf, *MN* (1970), 22-28.
Varieties: ИI●A, HI●A●
b. Similar but trefoil in rev. inscription. Metcalf, *MN* (1970), 29-31.
c. Similar, obv. star has dot below, rev. trefoil. Pesant, *MN* XVIII, 130.
d. Similar but sigla two dots joined thus TIIO. Metcalf, *MN* (1970), 32-34.

67d


68a

68b

68a. Billon denier. 0.85-1.12 g. Pesant, *ibid.*; Allen, *ibid.*, Type 4; Metcalf, *Ash.* Class D, 274-5.

O: ✠BΘĀNVHDVS

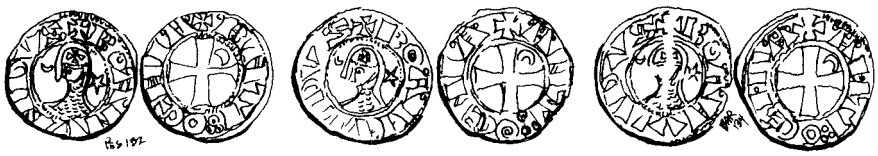
Helmeted head l., crescent l., five-pointed star r., chain mail composed of crescents.

R: ✠ĀNTIΘCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.

All coins of this type have double barred N and four pellet A. Varieties include N - И / И - И, И - И / И - И, N - И / H - И. *Mules with Types 4 and 3 (Classes D and E) are not identifiable, as obverses are the same.*

b. Similar but obverse has four-pointed star in field (Jacobowitz Coll.)



69 70a 70b

69. Billon denier. 0.71-1.20 g. Allen, *NC* (1937) Type 3; Pesant, *ibid.*, 132-4; Metcalf, *Ash.* 277-0.

O: ✠BΘĀNVHDVS

Helmeted head l., crescent l., five-pointed star r., chain mail composed of crescents.

R: ✠ĀNTI°$_{o}$°OCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.

This type is characterized by double cross-bars on the N and H, and by a four-pellet A. Variants include dotted H and N. Mules between Types 3 and 2 (Classes E and F) are not true mules as they can be interchangeable.[41]

70a. Billon denier. 0.86-1.20 g. Allen, *ibid.*, Type 2; Pesant, *ibid.*; Metcalf, *Ash.* 285-6, Class F.

O: ✠BΘĀHVHDVS

Helmeted head l., crescent l., five-pointed star r., chain mail composed of crescents.

R: ✠ĀNTI°$_{o}$°OCHIĀ

Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.

This type has dotted single bar on N and H, four pellet A. It is commonly found weakly struck, with irregular flans.

b. Three pellets ⁘ replace trefoil °$_{o}$°. Metcalf, *BAR* 134; Stewart 40.

Bohemond III, Majority (1163-1201)
early period, 1163-1188

Fleur-de-lis Pougeoise with Stars in Angles

71

72

71a. AE pougeoise. 0.64-0.93 g. DeWit, *NCirc.* (1981) p. 117, Type 3.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with splayed foot, pellet in each angle, fine beaded border.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, five-pointed star in each angle, fine beaded border.
Variety: ANTIOCIIIA Malloy, Auction VII, 686.
b. Four-pellet **A**, fine beaded borders. Malloy Coll. 1, Edessa Hoard.
c. A depicted as **Λ**, fine beaded borders. Malloy Coll. 10.

72. AE pougeoise. 0.75 g. Münzen und Medaillen Auction 30, 787.
O: ✠BOANVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with flat foot, annulet each upper angle, fine beaded border.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, five-pointed star in each angle, fine beaded border.

There appears to have been a transition from fine beaded to wire borders on this series, perhaps during the early part of the thirteenth century. This occurrence follows a parallel trend in the coinage of Tripoli, ca. 1215-20, and elsewhere in the region.

See Late Anonymous for other Fleur-de-lis Types.

Bohemond III, Late Period (1188-1201) and Bohemond IV (*circa* 1201-1210)

Fleur-de-Lis Pougeoise with Ornate Fleur

73

75

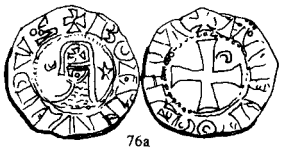
73. AE pougeoise. Malloy Auction XX, July 1984;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS Jacobowitz Coll.
Fleur-de-lis with long crosses in upper angles, beaded borders.
R: ANTIOCHIA
Narrow cross pattée, pellet in each angle, beaded inner border.
This type has double barred N, and S ornamented with two pellets.

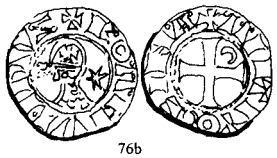
74. AE pougeoise. 0.70 g. Antioch Ca 271.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with round-headed buds in upper angles.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellet in each angle, fine beaded border.
This type has double barred N, and S ornamented with two pellets.

Bohemond IV, First Reign (1201-1216)

Irregular Types

75. Billon denier. 0.88-1.03 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 287-88, Class G;
O: ✠BOAИVИ·DVS
Helmeted head l., chain mail composed of downward (*i.e.* inverted) crescents, crescent downward l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠AMTIOCIIIA (retrograde)
Cross pattée with crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
Metcalf Class G is also noted with solid O and pellets in legends.
Varieties: BAИVNDVS/AИTIOCIIIA, BAMVNDVS, BAIMVNDVS, *single and double barred* A *'s with pellets or annulets, and unbarred* H *'s and* N *'s.*


76a


76b

76a. Billon denier. 0.80-1.01 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 289-93, Class H;
O: ✠BOAHVNDVS Allen, *ibid.*, Class 1*.
Helmeted head l., chain mail composed of downward (*i.e.* inverted) crescents, crescent upward l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠AMTIV⊙CIIIA
Cross pattée with crescent downwards in second angle.
Metcalf Class H and Allen Class 1* are characterized by a V ornamented by three pellets.
Varieties: Dotted H *and* N, A *with three or four dots, dotted* S.

b. Similar but star in obverse field has six points? Metcalf, *Ash.* 292.

c. Similar to a. but obverse crescent points downward. Pesant, *ibid.*, 378.

76c

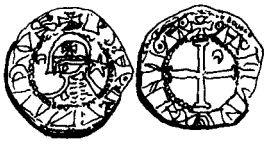
77

78a

77. Billon denier. Metcalf, *Ash.*, Class I; Allen,
O: ✠B⊙AHVIIDVS *ibid.*, Class 2*.
Helmeted head l., chain mail composed of downward (*i.e.* inverted) crescents, crescent upward l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠AHTIOCIIIA
Cross pattée with crescent downwards in second angle.
Similar to preceding but without the ornate V.

78b

79a

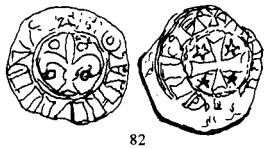

79b

78a. Billon denier. 0.79-1.12 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 294-314 Class J; Metcalf, *MN* XVI, 347.
O: ✠BʘΛIIVIIDVS
Helmeted head l., chain mail composed of downward (*i.e.* inverted) crescents, crescent upward l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠ΛITI(·)CIIIΛ
Cross pattée with crescent downwards in second angle.
Metcalf Class J has larger portrait, broken O, *and* A *and* S *with dots. Varieties: Unbarred* A, *broken* O *with dot or annulet at center, seriffed and unseriffed* C, *dots or annulets within legend,* N *and* И *dotted or annuleted,* AIITIOCIIIA, *and* BOИIVINDVS.

b. Similar but no star and crescent in obverse field. Jacobowitz

79a. Billon denier. 0.91-0.97 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 316-23, Class K.
O: ✠BOAIIVIIDVS
Helmeted head l. with annulet eye, chain mail composed of downward (*i.e.* inverted) crescents, crescent upward l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠ΛIITIOCIIIΛ
Cross pattée with crescent downwards in second angle.
Metcalf Class K has smaller, neat portrait, and mostly ornamented A *and* S *with annulets.*

b. Similar but obverse crescent downwards. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 321.

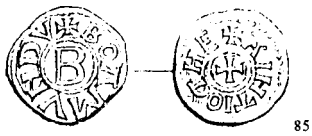


82

81. AE pougeoise. 0.62 g. DeWitt Type 3; ANS 868.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with triangular foot, pellet in each angle, wire border.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, five-pointed star in each angle, wire border.

82. AE pougeoise. 0.60-0.86 g. Metcalf, *MN* (1975), p. 142, Metcalf, *Ash.* 342.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with seriffed foot, fine beaded border.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, five-pointed star in each angle, fine beaded border.

84

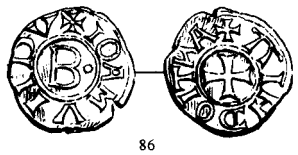


85

83. AE pougeoise. 1.70 g. *Antioch*, PR *ca.* 1952.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with three-pointed, splayed foot, pellet in each upper angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, five-pointed star in each angle, wire border.

84. AE pougeoise. 1.04 g. Malloy Coll.
O: ✠BOAHVHDVS
Fleur-de-lis with splayed foot, pellet in each lower angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, five-pointed star in each angle, wire border.

Bohemond IV, First Reign (1201-16)
or later through 1233



86

87

88

85. AE fractional denier. 0.70-0.81 g. Schl. III,13; Metcalf, *Ash.* 349; Porteous, *HOC,* 40; Malloy, Auction VII, 679.
O: ✠BOΛMVNDV
Large letter B in field.
R: ✠AINTIOCHE
Small cross pattée.
Varieties: ΛIITIOCHЄ⁝, ·NTIOCHΛ, both pellet and wire outer and inner borders, the latter being issued later in this period.

86. AE fractional denier. Schl. III,14.
O: ✠IOAMVNDV
Large letter B in field, pellet r.

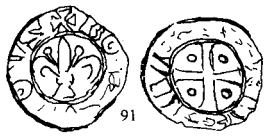
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA (retrograde)
Small cross pattée.
This type features wire borders and was issued late in this period.

87. AE fractional denier. Superior, Abramowitz Coll., 549.
O: ✠IOAMVNDV
Large letter B in field.
R: ✠ANTIOCIHIA (retrograde)
Small cross pattée.

88a. AE fractional denier. 0.74 g. ANS Coll.; Jacobowitz Coll.
O: ✠AIITIOCHЄ:
Large letter B in field.
R: ✠AIITIOCHA
Small cross pattée.
This type has pellet borders and is earlier in the series.
Varieties: N *for* H.
b. Similar but obverse legend retrograde.
c. Similar but reverse, rather than obverse, legend retrograde.

89. AE fractional denier. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: Very crude inscription 1 III I ... +
Large letter B in field.
R: +ΛNTIOCIε
Small cross pattée.
The obverse characters are mere dashes or crude Arabic, while the reverse inscription uses crude exaggerated serifs.
This issue could have been issued in Bohemond's second reign, 1219-33, or later.

89


91

Bohemond IV, Late Period
***ca.* 1210-1216 or later**

Fleur-de-lis Pougeoise with Ornate Fleur

90. AE pougeoise. 1.65 g. *Antioch*, Cb 2009.

O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with long crosses in upper angles, wire border.
R: ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellet in each angle, wire border.

91. AE pougeoise. 0.70 g. Antioch Ca 52, Ca 365, Cb 4274;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS Malloy Coll. 6.
Fleur-de-lis with round-headed buds in upper angles, wire border.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellet in each angle, wire border.
This type has double barred N, and S ornamented with two pellets.

92. AE pougeoise. Malloy Coll. 8.
O: ✠BOHMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with wedges in upper angles.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellet in each angle, wire border.

92

93

Raymond Roupen (1216-19)

93. Billon denier. 0.72-1.00 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 328-29 Class M;
O: ✠ o RꝸVꝸPꝸIꝸNꝸVꝸS, or var. Pesant, *MN* XVIII, 365-66.
Helmeted head l., chain mail composed of downward crescents, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠AMTIOCIIIA, or var.
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
This type is characterized by annulet stops.
Varieties: RVPIIVS, trefoil stops °ₒ° or ₒ°ₒ, AMTIOCI·IIA.

94. Billon denier. Pesant, *MN* XVIII, 1C.
Similar to above, trefoil in front of bust with chin-guard.

95a. Billon denier. 0.72-1.05 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 324-26, Class L;
O: ✠·R·V·P·I·N·V·S·, or var. Pesant, *MN* XVIII, 370-77.
Helmeted head l. with chin guard, chain mail composed of upward crescents, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r.

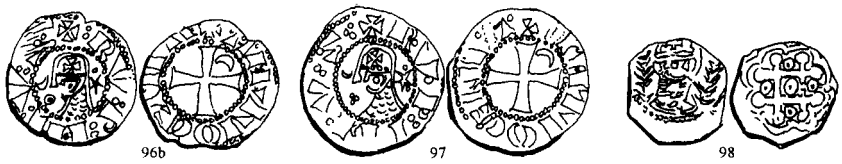
R: ✠AMTIOCIIIA, or var.
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
This type is characterized by pellet stops.
Varieties: obverse stops ·, ⁚, ⁝, ∴, ⁘; *and on reverse* N *for* M, ·I *for* M; NI *or* IN *or* I·I·I *for* III.

b. Similar to above but without chin-guard. Pesant, *MN* XVIII, 368-69.

95a 95b 96a

96a. Billon denier. 0.88 g. Malloy Auction VIII (1976), 114.
O: ✠R·V:P:I:N:VS
Helmeted head l. with chin guard, crescent upwards l. with pellet below, five-pointed star r.
R: ✠AMTIOCIIIA.
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.

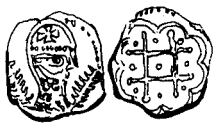
b. Similar to above but annulet in field instead of pellet, and pellet above star. Pesant, *MN* XVIII, 371.


96b 97 98

97. Billon denier. 0.84 g. Schl., p. 35, var. 8;
O: ✠R·V·P:I·N·V:⊆·:, or var. Jacobowitz Coll.
Helmeted head l. with chin guard, crescent upwards l. with ∴ below, five-pointed star with pellet above and below r.
R: ✠AMTIOCIIIA, or var.
Cross pattée, crescent pointing downwards in second angle.
This type is characterized by pellet stops.

Anonymous Gate Series,
perhaps period of Raymond Roupen and later

99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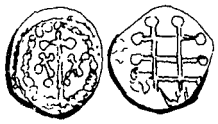

101

98. AE. 0.34-0.83 g. Schulman, Mabbott Coll. 5169;
O: No legend
Helmeted head with pellet eye, r., in chain-mail, between two palm branches.
R: No legend
Gate containing five annulets within, all within octafoil.

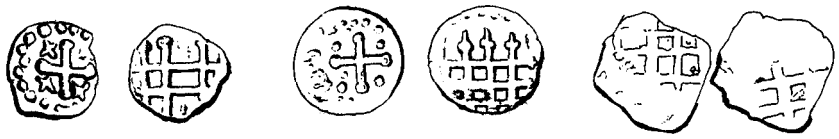
99. AE. Superior, Abramowitz Coll. 549.
O: No legend
Similar to above.
R: No legend
Gate containing five pellets.

100. AE. Malloy, *Medieval Coins XXXV*, 850.
O: No legend
Helmeted head l., similar but pellet in almond circle.
R: No legend
Gate containing nine pellets.
b. Similar but very thin gate and pellets. Porteous, *HOC,* 32

101. AE. Schl. III,18; Mabbott Coll. 5165; Malloy, Auction VIII, 116.
O: No legend
Large Latin cross flanked by two St. Andrew's crosses with pellets below.
R: No legend
Gate composed of two vertical and three horizontal bars.

102. AE. 0.76 g. Saulcy VIII,9; Metcalf, *Ash.* 350.
O: No legend
Cross pometée, X in each lower angle.
R: No legend
Gate composed of three vertical and three or more horizontal bars.

103. AE. Saulcy VIII,8;
O: No legend
Cross pometée, pellets in angles.
R: No legend
Gate composed of three vertical and three horizontal bars.



102 103 104

104. AE Jacobowitz Coll.
O: No legend
Gate composed of four vertical and three horizontal bars.
R: No legend
Gate composed of two vertical and two horizontal bars.

Bohemond IV Second Reign (1219-33)

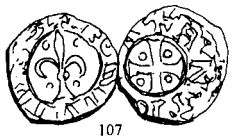
105 106

105. Billon denier. 0.72-0.93 g. Allen Type 4/5 mule; Metcalf, *Ash.* 330-1 Class N; Pesant, *ibid.*
O: ✠BOANVИDV : S
Helmeted head l. with chain mail composed of upward crescents, crescent upwards l., five-pointed star r.
R: ✠AMTIȮCIIIA
Cross pattée with crescent downwards in second angle.
Varieties: AMTIȮCI·I·IΛ, *double barred* N *and* И.

106. Billon denier. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: ✠BȮAMVN·DVS
Helmeted head l., chain mail composed of upward crescents, crescent upward to l., to r. five-pointed star with crescent downward above.
R: ✠AMTIȮCIIIA
Cross pattée with crescent downwards in second angle.

Bohemond IV Second Reign - Bohemond V (ca. 1215-1250)

Fleur-de-Lis Pougeoise


107

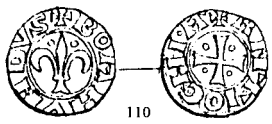
109a

107. AE pougeoise. 1.12 g. ANS 355; Jacobowitz Coll.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Thin fleur-de-lis with triangular foot and round knot in center, pellet in each angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.

108. AE pougeoise. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes.*
O: ✠A·MT·IOCHIA (retrograde)
Fleur-de-lis with pellet in each angle.
R: ✠B.OЄ.:ЛЛVNDVS (retrograde)
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.

109a. AE pougeoise. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: ✠BOAMONDV (retrograde)
Fleur-de-lis, pellet in each angle.
R: ✠BOЄMVNDVS (retrograde)
Cross fourchée, pellets in angles.
b. Similar but legends ✠BOЄ·IMVЛS/✠B:OЄ:ЛVЛDVS retrograde.
0.64 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 341.
c. Similar but legends ✠B·O·C·NDVS (retrograde) / ✠B:OЄ:NDVS (retrograde).
1.29 g. ANS 319.

110. AE pougeoise. 0.75-1.05 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 343; Schl. III,1;
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS Metcalf, *MN* (1975), p. 142, 3.
Fleur-de-lis, foot ends with three points, pellet each side in upper field.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.
Varieties: BOAMVND/ANTIOCIIA; BOЄMΛANDΛS.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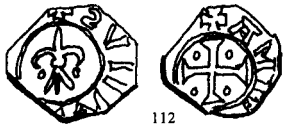
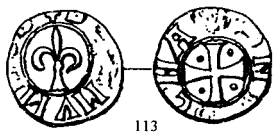
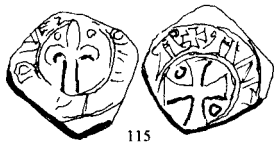

112

111. AE pougeoise. 0.80 g. *Antioch,* PR C-6623.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis, two-pointed foot, pellet in each lower angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.

112. AE pougeoise. 0.51 g. Superior, Abramowitz Coll., 545; Malloy Coll. 19.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS (retrograde)
Fleur-de-lis, three-pointed splayed foot, pellet in each lower angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.


113

114


115

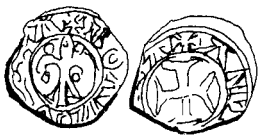
113. AE pougeoise. 0.62-0.88 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 348; ANS 624-5, 1056; Malloy Coll. 13.
O: +BOAMVNDVS
Elongated fleur-de-lis, seriffed foot, no pellet.
R: +ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.
This type has simple, elongated letters, sometimes with beaded inner circle.

114. AE pougeoise. 0.87 g. Malloy, Auction XII, 1023.
O: ✠BOΛMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis, three pointed, splayed foot, no pellets.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellets in angles.

115. AE pougeoise. 0.82 g. *NCirc* (1987), Wilkinson Coll. 1577; Malloy Coll. 7.
O: ✠BOΛMVNDVS
Elongated fleur-de-lis, plain foot, pellet in each angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée, pellet in first and fourth angles.

Bohemond V (1230-50)

Fleur-de-Lis Pougeoise.


117

118

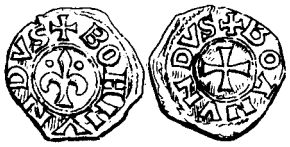
116. AE pougeoise. DeWit, *NCirc* (1981) p. 117, Type 2.
O: ✠BOANVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with splayed foot, pellets in each angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée

117. AE pougeoise. 0.59 g. DeWit, *ibid.*, Type 4.
O: ✠BOΛNVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with three-pointed foot, pellet in each angle.
R: ✠ΛNTIOCHIΛ
Cross pattée

118. AE pougeoise. DeWit, *NCirc* (1981) p. 117, Type 1.
O: ✠BOЄMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with petals turned up, pellets in each angle.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée

119. AE pougeoise. 0.69 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 346.
O: ✠BOAꟻVNDVƧ
Fleur-de-lis, foot ends in three points, pellet at each side of foot.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée

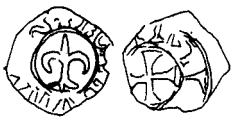
119



121

120. AE pougeoise. 0.49 g. ANS H-14, 792.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with petals turned down and up, pellets above each side.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée

121. AE pougeoise. Schl. III,2.
O: ✠BOANVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis, three-pointed foot, pellet in each upper angle.
R: ✠BOANVNDVS
Cross pattée



123

122. AE pougeoise. Jacobowitz Coll.
Similar but linear fleur-de-lis, plain foot, no pellets.

123. AE pougeoise. 0.52 g. ANS H-8, 505.
O: ✠BOΛNVNDVS
Fleur-de-lis with three pointed foot, no pellets.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Cross pattée

124. AE pougeoise. 0.74-0.88 g. ANS 624-5, 1056;
Similar but linear fleur-de-lis, Malloy Coll. 13.
plain foot, no pellets.

125. AE pougeoise. 0.66 g. *Antioch*, C-3809.
O: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Fleur-de-lis with petals down and up, no pellets.
R: ✠BOAMVNDVS (retrograde)
Cross pattée

See Late Anonymous for other Fleur-de-lis Types

125

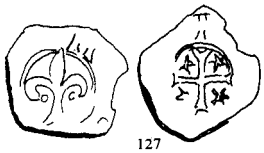
126

Bohemond V (1233-52)

Late Type (New Style)

126. Billon denier. 0.55-0.92 g. Metcalf, *NC* (1969), pp. 266-67; Metcalf, *Ash.* Class O; Allen, *NC* (1937), Type 6.
O: ✠BOAMVNDVS
Similar type.
R: ✠ANTIOCHIA
Similar.
This type generally weighs less than the earlier coins of this design. It is characterized by its neat style, standard S and B, a three pellet A, and highly seriffed letters.
Varieties: BOΛMVIIDVS.

Late Anonymous (1250-1268)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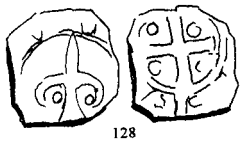
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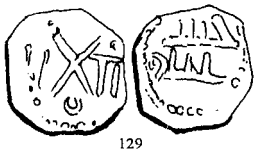

129

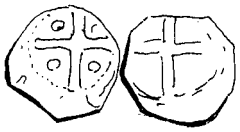
127. AE pougeoise. *Antioch*, Ca 1952.
O: Uncertain inscription
Fleur-de-lis, pellet at each lower side.

R: Uncertain inscription
Cross, star in each angle.
Crude workmanship.

128. AE pougeoise. *Antioch*, C-6623.
O: Uncertain inscription
Fleur-de-lis, pellet at each lower side.
R: Uncertain inscription
Cross, pellet in each angle.
Crude workmanship.

129. AE. Seltman, *NCirc* (1966), 3.
O: St. Andrew's cross, (A / N?) - TI / O in angles.
R: Arabic inscription *fals Antak* in two lines.
Struck on late Antiochene octagonal flan.

130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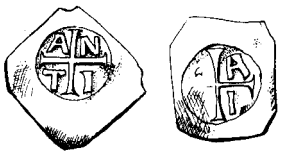


132

130. AE. 0.88 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: Cross pattée, X in each angle.
R: Arabic inscription *fals Antak* in two lines.
Struck on late Antiochene octagonal flan.

131. AE. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: Cross pattée, pellet in each angle.
R: Cross pattée.
Struck on late Antiochene octagonal flan.

132. AE. 0.64-0.98 g. Seltman, *NCirc.*(1966), p.61, 2; Waage,*Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV,* II,2305.
O: A-N-T-I in angles of long cross pattée.
R: A-N-T-I retrograde in angles of long cross pattée.
Struck on late Antiochene octagonal flan.

ANTIOCHENE-TYPE ARMENIAN COINAGE

An interesting type, not strictly a Crusader issue, though influenced by Western-types, was minted by King Levon II of Armenia (1198-1216), the great-uncle of Raymond Roupen of Antioch. The coins of this type are handsome, well-struck billon specimens, weighing over one gram and bearing a cross pattée and a portrait of the king, crowned and facing. One variety listed here bears Latin legends ✠LЄO DЄI GRĀTIĀ / ✠RЄX ĀRMЄNIOR for "Levon, by the grace of God king of the Armenians." A simplified version also exists with the legend ✠LЄO RЄX / ĀRMЄNIOR. Though this portrait-type is distinct from any found on the coins of the Crusader kings of Jerusalem (probably because the latter are original or were influenced by Western coinages), it was clearly minted to conform to the billon coinage system of Antioch. The Armenian coinage consisted of silver trams and takvorins, not billon deniers of Western style. Bedoukian also describes some billon coins that bear a similar crowned head, but that were inscribed in Armenian and were struck at Sis. He, therefore, prefers to assign the Latin-inscribed coins to Sis as well, rather than to Antioch as Schlumberger earlier suggested.

It appears, therefore, that Levon had this Latin type issued at Sis in anticipation of his takeover of Antioch, sometime between *ca.* 1198/99 (when he was given the royal crown by a representative of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI) and 1216 (when his great-nephew Raymond Roupen became prince of Antioch after capturing the citadel). Desiring to extend his domain to the territory of the Franks and claiming suzerainty because of his own title and because of his great nephew's connections with the principality, Levon nearly succeeded in capturing Antioch on two occasions, once in 1203 and again in 1208. He never was able to seize the citadel, however, and he is known to have returned to his kingdom soon after Raymond Roupen seized the citadel of Antioch in 1216. This casts further doubt on the theory that Levon had the opportunity to mint these Frankish type coins at Antioch. Bedoukian prefers to assign these Latin types to Sis just before Levon's invasion of the principality in 1208.[42]

issue of Levon I as baron (1187-1198/99)

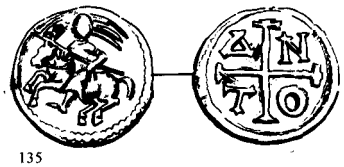
Two other coins traditionally attributed to Antioch also fall into this category and were minted by Levon I at Sis[43] for circulation in the Antioch market. These copper types with the helmeted horseman galloping with long, flowing banner fall into two types, horseman left and horseman right. This image can be identified with that on an issue of Levon I as baron (1187-1198/99) which depicts a horseman galloping left with banner behind. The baronial coin is so closely akin to the Antioch-intended Sis issues that there can be no doubt of the connection between them. The Antioch-Levon coppers are also not of the fabric of Antiochene copper.

Levon II of Armenia (1198-1219)
Great Uncle of Raymond Roupen of Antioch (1216-19)

133a

133a. Billon denier. *ca.* 1.06 g. Schl. III,10; Bedoukian, *NC* (1967), pl.XI,3-4.
O: ✠LЄO DЄI GRATIA
Cross pattée.
R: ✠RЄX ARMЄNIOR
Crowned bust facing.
b. O: Similar.
R: Similar but legend ✠RЄX ARMЄNOR.

134. Billon denier. Bedoukian, *NC* (1967), p.194.
O: ✠LЄO RЄX
Crowned bust facing.
R: ARMЄNIOR.
Cross pattée.



135

135. AE. 0.85-0.97 g. Schl. III,11.
O: No legend.
Horseman, helmeted, carrying banner, riding l.
R: Δ-N-T-O, also A-N-T-O
Cross potent.

136. AE. 0.80 g. Schl._; Porteous, *HOC*, 26.
Similar, but with horseman riding to the right.

County of Edessa

The county of Edessa was the first state to be conquered and formed during First Crusade, on March 10, 1098, when Baldwin de Boulogne assumed power there and adopted the title of count; and the first to fall, on November 3, 1146, when it was conquered by Nūr-ad-Dīn Mahmūd. Edessa, the modern Urfa, which in the eleventh century had a mixed Christian, largely Syrian Jacobite and Armenian, Moslem population, had been seized from the Kurds of Upper Mesopotamia in 1052 by the Byzantines, who lost it again in 1086/7 to the Seljug Turks. In 1094 Edessa fell into the hands of an Armenian named Toros, but his rule was unpopular. In order to strengthen his position, he invited the aid of Baldwin de Boulogne, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, who left the Crusade in southern Anatolia and reached Edessa with eighty horsemen on February 6, 1098. Toros, who was childless, formally adopted Baldwin as his son and appointed him co-regent. A month later Toros was dethroned and put to death, and Baldwin took over the government and eventually assumed the title of count of Edessa (1098-1100).[1]

In 1100, on the death of his elder brother Godefroy de Bouillon, Baldwin became king of Jerusalem; before his departure from Edessa he named as his successor there his cousin Baldwin du Bourg, count Baldwin II (1100-18). Four years later, Baldwin II and his cousin Joselin de Courtenai were captured by the Turks, and held prisoner until 1108. In Baldwin's absence, Tancrede of Antioch becane regent of Edessa for a short time in 1104, and then appointed his cousin Richard of Salerno (also known as "Richard of the Principate") governor of it in his stead (1104-08).

On his release from captivity in 1108, Baldwin II resumed control of Edessa until 1118. During this time the Turcoman incursions, led by Maudūd of Mosul (1110-12), and the Armenian onslaught (1115-17) greatly impoverished the county.[2] When in 1118 Baldwin II succeeded his cousin as king of Jerusalem, he at first hesitated to entrust the administration of Edessa to his cousin Joselin I de Courtenai, but later becoming reconciled to him, named him count of Edessa (1119-31). Under Joselin I the county withstood the constant threat of invasion from the Zengids; and on his death in 1131 he was succeeded by his son Joselin II who was a weaker ruler than his father.

During the reign of Joselin II, 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zengi, the Turkish ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, overran the county of Edessa and captured the city on December 24, 1144, killing all the Franks. On September 14, 1146, Zengi was assassinated; in

the following month Joselin II and Baldwin of Marash appeared before the city, but were unable to reduce the inner citadel. Nūr-ad-Dīn Mahmūd, the son and successor of Zengi, surrounded the city and reconquered it; thousands of native Christians were massacred. The Crusaders never again reconquered Edessa.

COINAGE OF EDESSA

Byzantine-type Copper Coins

As far as numismatists can discern from the available evidence, the entire coinage of Edessa was issued between about 1098 and 1144, and thus forms a compact series of scarce copper coins, designed in quasi-Byzantine style, often overstruck, and reduced over the years in module and weight. Because more coins have come to light since 1878, it has become possible to refine and augment Schlumberger's attributions. Porteous published a study of the sequence of overstrikes — so characteristic of the eailier large module coins of Edessa — from which he has been able to suggest a relative chronology.

Large Module (Heavy) Series.

The first coins of Edessa may have been issued as early as the reign of Baldwin I (1098-1100), though Baldwin II (1100-1104) probably continued to issue them during the four years of his reign before his capture and imprisonment. These large copper coins of Byzantine type bear on the obverse a bust of Christ, rendered in fine style and high relief and flanked by IC - XC in large angular letters; and on the reverse a cross and the letters B-Λ-Δ-N, an abbreviation for the Greek form of Baldwin's name, BAΛΔOVINOC. The style of the rendering of the bust varies slightly, but the only substantial variety known is that bearing large wedges in the angles of the reverse cross along with the letters. As Porteous points out, this coin is usually struck on clean, newly-made flans, is often discernable beneath later overstrikes, and thus must have made up a substantial issue. Schlumberger's reading of the sequence of the overstriking of a coin in the Fürstenberg collection and his assignment of this type to late in the series, rather than first, has therefore been proved erroneous.[3] As a neatly drawn and inscribed Byzantine imitation, the type was issued first in order, presumably, to supplemet the Byzantine coinage that circulated at Edessa and to advertise the new regime that a handful of Frankish Crusaders had established there, without changing the coinage system or inscribing the coins in a language and alphabet unfamiliar to the native population.

A coin which Schlumberger did not know, bears a similar bust of Christ, flanked by a pair of forked, twig-like objects. On the reverse appears a plain cross with X-B-B-K in the angles. As Porteous proposes, the abbreviation may stand for the invocation XPICTE BOHΘEI BAΛΔOINO KOMH, or "Christ, help count Baldwin."[4] Both these early coins have been overstruck by later types and weigh between about 6.40 and 8.80 grams, with a mean weigh of about 7.70 grams.

Richard of Salerno, who was regent of Edessa during the imprisonment of

Baldwin II (1104-08), overstruck his coinage on earlier Edessan pieces. Though Saulcy provisionally ascribed these coins to a Richard who in 1111 was lord of Marach, located to the west of Edessa and north of Aleppo, Schlumberger hesitated between attributing them to Richard of Marash and Richard of Salerno. In view of the sequence of overstrikes, there is little doubt that they belong to Richard of Salerno as regent of Edessa. The bilingual coin with an Armenian or even Georgian inscription around a chrismon appears with a legend that could refer to Richard. The Armenian population in Edessa was very large and this coin refering to Richard and Baldwin II would not be unusual. The undercoin is the first Edessan Baldwin coin. The reverse shows a cross on steps with B / A / Δ / N in the angles.

Another Richard type is a coin, also overstruck, bearing the bust of Christ with IC - XC in small letters; and on the reverse the Greek inscription KE / BOHΘ / PIKAP / Δω in four lines, for "Lord, help Richard." The coins of this type are rare, and the few known specimens seem to range in weight only between 4.55 and 7.47 grams. Another type issued in the name of Richard, equally rare and comparable in weight, is found overstruck not only on the earlier coins of Baldwin, but also, according to Porteous, on the latter type *(Figure 3).*[5] On the obverse appears a cross potent, with a large pellet at the end of each arm and wedges in the angles; and on the reverse, the same four-lined inscription that appears on the latter's reverse.

A fourth issue, found overstruck on an earlier coin of Richard and on coins of Baldwin, bears a rather crudely rendered bust of Christ flanked by IC - XC on the obverse; the inscription (+)KEBPHKAPΔ(ω) surrounds a small central cross pattée placed within a circular bar on the reverse. Since this pattern is the archetype of the Frankish denier, with its circular inscription surrounding a small cross, the departure from strictly Byzantine designs on the Edessan coins must have occurred at some point between 1105 and 1108. Its appearance perhaps demonstrates the Franks' growing confidence in their influence in Edessa. Like the other coins bearing Richard's name, the type is also quite scarce and weighs, on average, 6.96 grams. Though Schlumberger knew the type and illustrated some examples of it, he had some difficulty in interpreting the sequence of the overstriking and in describing the features of the type itself. The appearance of several better specimens has revealed its true form, as we have described it. Porteous' reading of the coin illustrated by Schlumberger (pl. I,6) differs fundamentally from that of Schlumberger's.[6] According to Porteous, both the obverse and the reverse of that particular specimen were overstruck off-center, and weakly overstruck at that, on Baldwin's Type 2 and not, as Schlumberger thought, on a Byzantine coin. Schlumberger's theory that the Edessan coinage was overstruck directly on Byzantine coins is therefore not correct; for what he saw beneath this particular example, as well as others, was an earlier Edessan coin of Byzantine type.

One coin in this series of large coppers, minted without inscription, probably belongs to Baldwin's second reign (1108-18). On the obverse the coin bears t figure

of an armed man, wearing a cone-shaped helmet and a coat of mail, walking to the left, holding a sword and a long shield. The reverse has a partiarchal cross on two steps, decorated with large pellets in the middle angles and flanked by two flowers, springing from the linear circle surrounding the design. Though Schlumberger listed five varieties of this type, Porteous has argued that the coins were uniform and some of the differences between them caused by uneven overstriking on the types beneath. The "armed man" type is known from over thirteen non-overstruck specimens, which have the same range (6.06-10.25 grams) and mean weight (7.70 grams) as the earlier coins of Baldwin. Some small module coins, weighing only between 2.50 and 5.00 grams and similar in type, inscribed with Baldwin's name. Since these small module coins are attributable the second reign of Baldwin II, the larger type may also have been issued by Baldwin, perhaps just after his release from prison in 1108 and before the Edessan coinage was reduced in module. Furthermore, if Porteous is correct in his determination that the large copper coins were overstruck not only on the earlier coins of Baldwin but also on the last type (*no. 5*) that Richard issued in his own name, then this large module "armed man" type may possibly be assigned to the last months of Richard's regency; or just after Baldwin's return to Edessa. The coins' anonymity may be explained as pious commemoration of Baldwin's return from captivity.[7] In the Catalogue, therefore, the coins are assigned to Baldwin II's second reign, according to the traditional attribution.

The representation of the Crusader that appears on this type's obverse is one of the most eloquent depictions of a Crusader warrior in numismatics, and is specifically Romanesque, rather than Byzantine, in character. Though it bears some resemblance to the armed rider design on the large copper *follare* issued by Norman count Roger I of Sicily, Richard of Salerno's uncle, the striding Edessan footsoldier is distinct and original.[8] Considering the origins of many Crusaders at both Edessa and Antioch, the Norman-Italian influence discernible in their "armed man" type is certainly not fortuitous; moreover, the early coppers issued by Bohemond and Tancrede of Antioch show an even closer and more direct connection with Sicilian and South Italian seals and coins. Though it is likely Richard's familiarity with South Italian coins influenced the "armed man" type, the coinage of Antioch may also have influenced that of Edessa, at least by suggesting an alternative mode in which to design new types.

The last of this series of large module types is overstruck most often on the "armed man" coins,[9] suggesting that it was minted immediately afterwards. The coin (no. 7) bears the inscription BAΛΔ/OVINO/KOMH in three lines on the obverse; and, on the reverse, a large cross potent, similar to that on Richard's coin, no. 4 the Catalogue. The former varies in weight between 4.59 and 9.80 grams, but the mean weight remains about 7.60 grams. Because none of the examples of this type seems to have been overstruck, it is clear that the smaller types that succeeded it at Edessa must have replaced the large module coins rather than accompaned them as half denominations.

Small Module (Light) Series.

At some point during his second reign, possibly around 1110, Baldwin reduced the module and weight of his coins. It is known that in the spring of 1110 Maudūd of Mosul devastated the county's territory east of the Euphrates; subsequent Turkish and Armenian incursions impoverished Edessa beyond hope of recovery.[10] These invasions may well have affected Baldwin's decision to reduce the module of his coinage; for copper may have become difficult to obtain and the county may have been forced to conserve its supply. Porteous suggests,, furthermore, that Edessa reduced the standard of its coinage to conform to that of Antioch; but in fact the impetus to reducethe coinage to Antioch's lighter standard was probably prompted in this instance by other concerns. In any case, Baldwin's small module coins bear the "armed man" as type, with the inscription BAΛΔOINOC in various forms identifying the representation as a full-length portrait of count Baldwin. What might be the earliest issue of the small module coins bears a bust of Christ on the reverse and the count standing, facing, and holding a sword and long cross on the obverse. On one type (*Figure 9* in the Catalogue), the obverse representation is similar, but the attributes the figure holds have switched hands.

Like the figure on the large module type, these coins (nos. 10 and 11 in the Catalogue) bear the count walking left, holding a cross in the right hand and a sword in the left. On the opposite face appears a cross fleuronnée whose form varies only slightly from type to type: Instead of the abbreviation of "Baldwin" in Greek, which appears on the other coins, in one instance (no. 10) the legend is BAΛΔOINOC ΔOVΛOCTAY — for BAΛΔOYINOC ΔOYΛOC (TOY) CTAYPOY — "Baldwin, servant of the Cross." The fineness of style varies a great deal among these coins and their weight seems to have been reduced to about 2.25 grams and less. A final type (no. 12) again shows the count standing, facing, holding a long cross and a long Norman-type shield. The reverse bears a small cross in the center with B - A - Λ - N in large letters at the end of each arm and has only one slight variation in the form of the letters. This type also seems to be slightly cruder and lighter.

Yet another small module type, first published by Casanova in 1897,[11] is today known from several specimens. It consists of a cross pattée with a globule at the end of each arm, except the lower arm which is bifurcated. The inscription encircling the cross is +STAV9IC NIXACI for σταυρ(ε) νιχας (the IC is possibly a monogram for Ἰησου), "By the Cross, may you conque," and a four-lined inscription +BA/ΛΔOY/INXO/MI for "Baldwin count," occupies the reverse.[12] Considering the reverse inscription and the similar invocation of the powers of the cross appearing on no. 10, which illustrated Baudoqin II's particular devotion to the cross, there is little doubt that the type belongs to Baldwin II as count of Edessa. What is peculiar about these coins is that they were overstruck on various billon dirhams of the Seljuks and on copper fals.

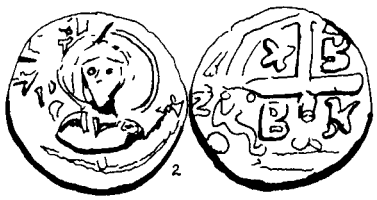
One coin overstruck on Richard (*no. 5*) also has the Armenian legend in three lines. The inscription appears to include Count Joselin's name in Armenian.

The obverse type is a large broad cross with large globes at the ends. This coin, first published by Porteous is still open to conjecture, but has here been assigned to Joselin. A second coin with the name Joselin has been assigned to Joselin II's reign. It bears an interesting Syriac inscription. Syriac was the main Edessan language and was closely identified with the language of the Christian church throughout Persia.[13] The legend reads "Joselin son of Joselin, his hope in God." The obverse has the facing portrait of St. Thomas who was closely associated with Edessa.

In summary, soon after 1098 the Crusaders established a mint at Edessa and began issuing copper coins in Byzantine style and of Byzantine anonymous follis type, weight, and module. The chronicler Guillaume of Tyre tells us that Byzantine coins, especially gold bezants of Michael VII, the *Michaelitari,* as they were called, were the preferred currency in northern Syria;[14] and it is clear from the adherence of Antioch, Edessa, the barons of Cilician Armenia, and some Turcoman tribes during the twelfth century to Byzantine types that Byzantine trade dominated th area. The value and supply of copper no doubt fluctuated at Edessa, and the large coins of follis size issued first were often overstruck. Just as Byzantium in 1192 debased its coins and halved the module of its copper coins because of economic pressures, so too Baldwin II reduced the coinage of Edessa to about half its previous size around 1110. The copper coinage further declined in weight until the issue of coins was completely discontinued after 1144. Some uncertain coins also exist, which may provisionally be assigned to the Edessa mint; these will be discusse in the following section.

Large Module (Heavy) Series

Baldwin I (1098-1100) or Baldwin II, First Reign (1100-04)



1a. AE. 6.46-8.74 g., mean 7.72 g. Schl. I,5; Porteous, *NC* (1975), p. 169ff., pl. XIV, 2 and 5.

O: $\overline{\text{IC}}$-$\overline{\text{XC}}$
Bust of Christ, nimbate, blessing with r. hand.

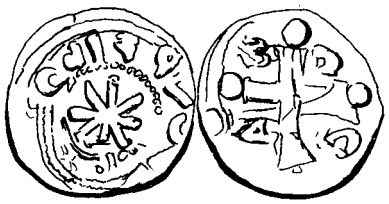
R: B - Λ - Δ - N in large, angular letters, for the abbrevation of ΒΑΛΔΟΙΝΟC, or "Baldwin." Large cross pattée on two steps, with globules at the end of each arm.

b. Similar obverse and reverse, but wedge in each angle of thin reverse cross.

Baldwin II (1100-04)

2. AE. 7.22 g. Schl._; Porteous, XIV, 11.
O: Similar to the obverse of no. 1.
R: X - B - B - K as an abbreviation of XPICTЄ BOHΘЄI BAΛΔOVINO KOMH, for "Christ, help Count Baldwin."
Large plain cross on two steps, the end of each arm accosted by two pellets.

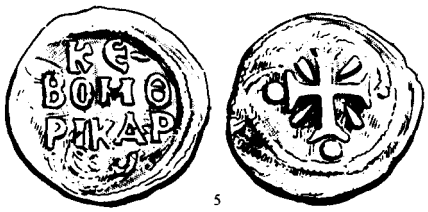
Richard of Salerno, Regent (1104-08)



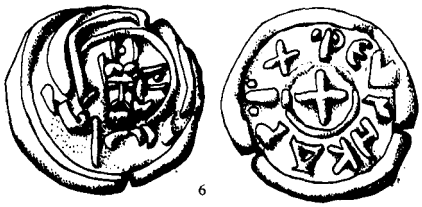
4

3. AE. 6.94-8.46 g. Porteous, *NC* (1975), 10;
O: ⅠϿ℘~ (inscription in Armenian or Georgian) Jacobowitz Coll.
Chrismon
R: ƷΛJSUIUIUc or ∩ IIϿVICI
Cross bouletée on two steps, B / Λ / Δ / N in angles.
This type is overstruck on type 1.

4. AE. 4.55-7.37 g. Schl. II,2; Porteous, XVI, 12-14.
O: I̅C-X̅C̅, in small letters.
Bust of Christ, nimbate, blessing, holding Gospels in left hand.
R: KЄ BOHΘ PIKAP Δω in four lines, for "Lord, help Richard."
This type is often found overstruck on no. 1.



5



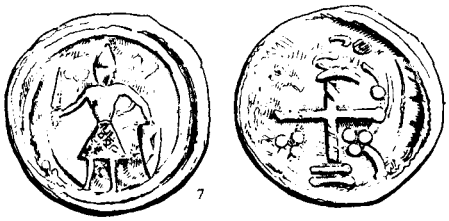
6

5. AE. 4.95-7.59 g., mean 7.89 g. Schl. II,1,3; Porteous, XIV, 15-17,19.

O: KЄ BOHΘ PIKAP Δω in four lines.
As the reverse of 3.
R: No legend.
Large cross potent, with globule at the end of each arm, and large wedges in angles.
This type is found overstruck on nos. 1 and 3.

6. AE. 4.99-6.95 g. Schl. I,18; Porteous, XV, 21,23,25.
O: $\overline{IC}$-$\overline{XC}$
Bust of Christ, as no. 3.
R: (+)KЄ·BOHΘ·PIKAP·ΔΩ, or var., for "Lord, help Richird."
Short cross, within circular border, surrounded by legend.
This type is often found overstruck on the earlier coins, indluding the two of Baldwin's types and one or the other of Richard's types.

Baldwin II, Second Reign (1108-18)


7

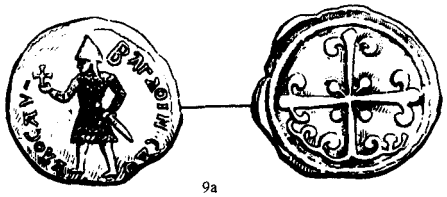
8

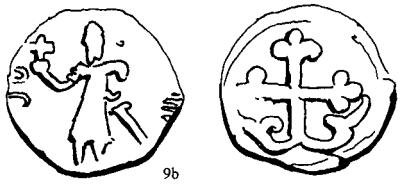
7. AE. 6.34-10.25 g., Schl. I,1; Porteous, XVI, 26-38.
O: No legend.
Count stg. l., holding sword in r. and shield in l. hand, dressed in coat of mail and helmet.
R: No legend.
Patriarchal cross on two-stepped base, large pellet in each upper angle, three pellets and sprig in each lower angle.
The type is found overstruck on the earlier coins, including both of Baldwin's types and the last two of Richard's types.

8. AE. 4.59-9.30 g. Schl., I,3.; Port. XVII, 41-65.
O: BAΛΔ/OVINO/KOMH - or var., in three lines for "Baldwin, Count."
R: No legend.
Cross potent, with globule at the end of each arm and with wedges in angles, similar to the reverse cross of no. 5.

The above type is most often overstruck on the latter type, no. 7, and only seldom on the earlier types of Baldwin and Richard.

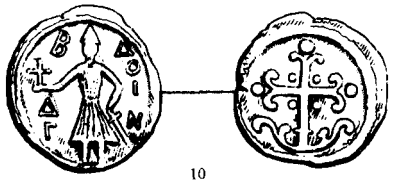
Small Module (Light) Series

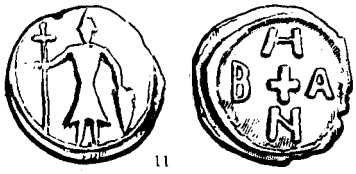

9a


9b

9a. AE. 4.52-4.84 g. Schl. I,7.
O: BAΓΔOINOC ΔOYΛO CTAY, for "Baldwin, Servant of the Cross."
Count walking l., holding cross in r. and sword in l. hand.
R: No legend.
Cross fleuronnée with scroll at base and pellets in angles.

9b. AE. *ca.* 4.94 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
O: BAΓΔOINOC ΔOYΛO CTAY
Similar representation of the count.
R: Cross fleuronée with scroll at base, no pellets.


10


11

10a. AE. 2.66-5.20 g. Schl. I,9.
O: BAΓΔoIN
Count in similar stance as that on coin above, but stg. still, and facing.
R: As type "a" above, with or without pellets.

10b. AE. 3.18-3.34 g.
O: BΛΓAOIN
Count as above.
R: As above, no pellets.

11. AE. Schl. I, 10.

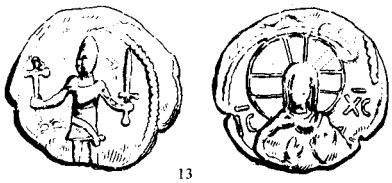
O: Traces of legend.

Count stg. facing, holding long cross in r. and shield in l. hand.

R: B-A-Δ-N

Small cross, surrounded by letters.

12



13

12. AE. 3.75 g. Schl. I,12; Porteous, *HOC,* 11.

O: B-Δ-N

Count standing l., holding sword in r. and cross in l. hand.

R: $\overline{IC}$ - $\overline{XC}$

Bust of Christ.

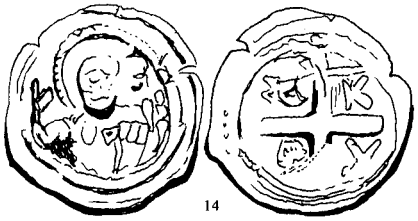
Some are known struck on Islamic fals.

13. AE. Schl. XIX,2.

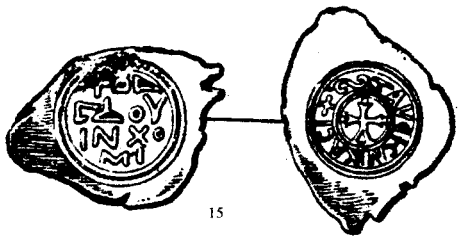
O: No legend.

Count standing l., holding cross in r. and sword in l. hand.

R: Similar to reverse of no.8.



14



15

Large Module (Heavy) Series.

14. AE. 6.18 g. Porteous, XVI,39.

O: Virgin orans, nimbate

R: Long cross, with K in second, X in fourth angle.

The coin is overstruck on Baldwin's "armed man" type.

Baldwin II, Regent (1119-1126)

15a. AE. 2.88-2.93 g. Pesant, *NC* (1982), 1 and 3.
O: +BA/ΓΔ OY/INXO/MI, or var., in four lines for "Baldwin, count."
R: +ꝏTAV9IC NIXACI, or var., for "By the Cross may you conquer."
Small cross pattée with globule at end of each arm, except lower, bifurcated arm. The "I C" of the legend may be a deliberate rendering of of $\bar{I}C$, the abbreviation for "Jesus."

15b. Billon. 1.91 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
Type as above but struck on Seljuk billon dirham.

15c. AE. 0.93-1.48 g. Pesant, *NC* (1982), 2.
Type as above but struck on smaller module flan.

16. Billon. 2.37 g. *NC* (1979), p. 136, no. 50.
O: + / BAΛΔ/ OYINOC / ΔECΠO / THC, for "Baldwin Despot"
R: IX (*sic*) - XC / NI - KA, in angles of cross.
This and other Baldwin pieces are overstruck on Seljuk billon dirhams.

17

18

Joselin I (1119-1131)

17. AE. 6.42-8.10 g. Porteous, *NC* (1975), 20.
O: Broad cross with globules at each end, pellet and large **V** in each angle.
R: ΛChϕ / ISIƨεN / I3I⊔, Armenian legend in three lines.
This inscription appears to bear Joselin's name.
Overstruck on Richard (4).

Joselin II (1131-1144)

18. AE. 2.92 g. Auctiones, A.G., 18, 363.
O: O / AΓ / I / O to l., ⊙ / OM / A / C r.
Facing bust of St. Thomas nimbate.
R: Four line Syriac Estrangela inscription:
YWS[LYN?] / BR YW[SL]YN / S[B] RH / B'LH'.
Legend translates, "Joselin / Son of Joselin / his hope / is in G-d."

THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

Cyprus, third in size of the Mediterranean islands after Sicily and Sardinia, was periodically disputed at intervals between the Byzantines and the Arabs in the early Middle Ages, until when, in 965, it was firmly incorporated into the Byzantine Empire for two centuries. In 1184, Isaac Ducas Comnenus, a Great-nephew of Emperor Manuel I, secured control of the island and proclaimed his independence, adopting the title of emperor himself. He signalized his independence by striking an extensive coinage of silver, billon, and bronze, which included at least seven different types. On the obverses, Isaac is usually depicted standing alone facing, and once accompanied by the Virgin, or by St. George, with the legend ICAAKIOC, sometimes followed by ΔE or ΔECΠOTI. On the reverses we find a figure of Christ or the Virgin, enthroned or standing.

In 1191, while the fleet of Richard Coeur de Lion was sailing from Sicily to Palestine to join the other forces on the Third Crusade, two ships were separated from the rest and wrecked on the south coast of Cyprus, and the survivors were robbed and maltreated. Richard landed at Limassol to avenge their wrongs; within a month he had defeated and captured Isaac and conquered the island. In June, 1191, Richard sailed for Acre and soon afterwards sold Cyprus to the Templars for a down payment of 40,000 dinars, with 60,000 more to follow from the revenues of the island. The Templars were obliged to suppress a revolt in April 1192, and deciding to dispose of their acquisition, they handed over the island to Guy of Lusignan, who had previously lost the throne of Jerusalem and who assumed responsibility for the Templars' debt to Richard.

Guy of Lusignan (1192-94), the founder of the dynasty which was to rule the island for nearly three hundred years, styled himself lord of Cyprus, according to most sources, despite the regal title on his coinage. His younger brother Aimery (1197-1205) obtained his own recognition as king from Emperor Henry VI in 1197, and in the same year also secured the crown of Jerusalem. The two kingdoms were separated on the death of Aimery, his son Hugh I (1205-18) inheriting the crown of Cyprus. For the first five years of his reign Hugh was a minor, under the regency of his brother-in-law Gautier de Montbéliard, until he attained his majority in 1210 at the age of fifteen. Hugh' successor, Henry I (1218-53), also ascended the throne as a minor, aged only eight months. Until he came of age in 1232, Henry was in turn under the regencies of his mother Alice and of her uncles Philip and John d'Ibelin, although he was crowned in 1225 at the age of eight, by Eustorgue, the

archbishop of Nicosia. In 1228 Emperor Frederick II invaded Cyprus and captured Henry, who was held prisoner until he was released in 1230. The island was peaceful for the rest of his reign. Hugh II (1253-67), like his father Henry I, came to the throne aged less than a year. His mother, Plaisance, acted as regent until her death in 1261 when she was succeeded in this role by Hugh II's cousin, Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, who also became regent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1264.

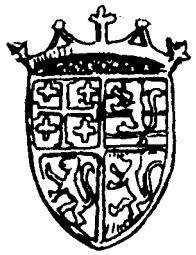
Hugh II died in 1267, before he attained his majority, and was succeeded by his cousin and regent, Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan (as Hugh III 1267-84), who acquired the throne of Jerusalem after the death of Conradin in 1268. Thereafter the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem were permanently united in the possession of the Lusignans. Hugh III's eldest son, John I (1284-85) died a year after his accession and was succeeded by his younger brother Henry II (1285-1306 and 1310-24). In 1291 the last Frankish possessions in Syria were lost, and many refugees from the mainland settled in Cyprus, especially at Famagusta, on the east coast of the island which became one of the most thriving ports in the East. For about eighty years, the island enjoyed unparalleled prosperity. Henry II was an epileptic and often in poor health, and on April 26, 1306 a party of the barons elected as rector and governor of Cyprus (1306-10), the king's younger brother, Amalric, prince of Tyre. Early in 1308, Amalric and his party compelled the king to invest him with the governorship of Cyprus for life, but Henry continued to oppose the usurpation and in January, 1310 he was exiled to Armenia and imprisoned there. On June 5, 1310 Amalric was assassinated, and Henry II was released and restored to the throne. During the rest of his reign (1310-24) and that of Hugh IV (1324-59), son of his younger brother Guy, the island enjoyed comparative peace and reached the zenith of its prosperity under the Lusignan dynasty.

Hugh' son Peter I (1359-69), who was of a warlike disposition and dreamed of reviving the Crusades, spent much of his reign visiting the monarchs of Europe, trying to arouse enthusiasm for his plans. In 1359 he acquired the Armenian port of Gorhigos, which Cyprus was to hold until 1448, and in 1361 the Turkish city of Adalia, which was occupied until 1373. The emirs of Alaya and Monovgat also submitted to him. In October, 1365 Peter, leading a crusade with contingents from Cyprus, Rhodes and Europe against Alexandria, captured and sacked the city but evacuated it four days later.

Peter I was assassinated on January 17, 1369 and was succeeded by his son Peter II (1369-82), who was placed under the regency of his uncle John, constable of Cyprus, until his coronation in 1372. At this period it was customary for the kings to receive the crown of Cyprus in the cathedral of Nicosia, that of Jerusalem in the cathedral of Famagusta; at the latter ceremony, on October 10, 1372, a quarrel broke out between the Genoese and the Venetians, concerning which one of them should take precedence and hold the right-hand rein of the king's horse when he rode in procession from the cathedral. In the ensuing brawl, several Genoese were killed. In revenge, in 1373 the Genoese sent an expedition under the admiral Pietro of Campo Fregoso, which overran the island and took the king prisoner. The expedition

was financed by a company called the Mahona, later known as the Old Mahona of Cyprus, and dividends to shareholders were paid out of the results. Under the terms of a treaty concluded in October, 1374, the Genoese exacted from the Cypriots a war indemnity of 2,012,400 gold florins (to be paid in installments over twelve years), a perpetual tribute of 40,000 florins a year, and 90,000 florins for the expenses of the expedition; they also retained Famagusta as security for payment. Furthermore, the Genoese took a number of hostages, including the king's uncle and successor James, constable of Cyprus, and imprisoned them at Genoa.

The island was much impoverished by the war, and at this period Paul Marshal, the bailie of the Queen Mother Eléonore, struck an exceptional copper coinage of small denomination. The Genoese held Famagusta, the island's chief port, until 1464 and demanded that all ships sailing to Cyprus, except those coming from Turkey, should call there. The virtual stranglehold thus imposed on the island's trade, as well as the crippling indemnities which the Cypriots could not discharge in full, further impoverished Cyprus and stifled its economy. Famagusta itself declined under the Genoese monopoly; and the island's economic decline is reflected in its silver coinage, which is comparatively plentiful from the reign of Henry II to that of Peter II, but is extremely scarce thereafter, while billon and copper deniers or *carzias* provide the bulk of the currency.



Peter II died childless in 1382 and was succeeded by his uncle James I (1382-98), who was still held prisoner at Genoa whence he returned to the island in 1385. After the death at Paris in 1393 of King Levon V of Armenia (of whose state nothing now remained in Christian hands except the Cypriot-held port of Gorhigos), James assumed the Armenian crown which had previously been offered to Peter I; and the arms of Cyprus henceforth included in its quarterings the cross of Jerusalem, the lion of Lusignan, the lion of Cyprus, and the lion of Armenia.

James I's son and successor, Janus (1398-1432), tried to throw off the Genoese yoke and to evict them from Famagusta, which he intermittently besieged from 1403 to 1406, without success. In order to relieve the city, Genoa sent an expedition under the command of marshal Boucicaut, which was financed by a new Mahona. The war was costly to Cyprus; to defray expenses the king, imposed a tax of two carzias — a carzia was a small coin worth one forty-eighth of a bezant — per bezant on everything which was sold, and he minted carzias and six-carzia copper pieces named *sizins*. In 1408, all the rights of the Mahona were vested in the Office or Bank of St. George, and in the same year the Genoese government authorized the raising of a loan for the defense of Famagusta.

Later in the reign of Janus, Cyprus suffered from attacks from another quarter. In 1425, after several desultory Cypriot privateering raids on the Syrian coast, the Mamlūk Sultan Barsbay retaliated by sending a force which landed on the

island and withdrew after some minor engagements. In the following year the sultan despatched a much larger force which landed in Cyprus, and on July 7, 1426, at the battle of Khirokhitia, defeated the Cypriots, taking the king prisoner. The invaders then sacked and looted Nicosia, burning many of its buildings, and evacuated the island, taking many prisoners including the king with them to Cairo. In the king's absence, his brother Hugh, archbishop of Nicosia, acted as regent until Janus returned in 1427 after eight months in captivity, on payment of a ransom of 200,000 ducats, and an annual tribute of 5,000 ducats. Janus returned broken in spirit and soon afterwards placed his affairs in the hands of his brother, Hugh. The king suffered a stroke in 1431, from which he never recovered, but died in 1432.

John II (1432-58), like his father Janus, was continually in arrears in the settlement of the debts to the Genoese, who were importunate in their demands. In 1441 the Genoese complained that many payments had been made in bezants of inferior alloy, and they stipulated, under the terms of a treaty concluded in that year between Cyprus and the Bank of St. George, that heavy fines were to be exacted if the payments were not made in good coin and punctually. In 1447 Genoa ceded Famagusta to the Bank of St. George to administer; but, despite the change of government the city's prosperity continued to decline and it fell into decay.

King John II was married twice: first, to the partly-Greek daughter of the marquis de Montferrat, Medea, who died soon after their marriage at Nicosia in 1440; and second, to Helena, the wholly-Greek daughter of Theodore II Paleologus, despot of the Morea, in 1442. Helena dominated her husband, who gave himself up to a life of pleasure, and with his consent she was officially invested by the High Court with the government of the kingdom. As a Greek, she promoted the interests of the Greeks in the island against those of the Latins. By Helena, John had a daughter, Charlotte, who was married in 1456 to Juan of Coimbra, a grandson of Juan I, king of Portugal. After his marriage Juan of Coimbra was appointed regent of Cyprus, but he died in mysterious circumstances in the summer of 1457. King John II then negotiated the marriage of Charlotte and her first cousin Louis, son of the duke of Savoy, and the contract was concluded on October 10, 1458. By a Greek mistress, Marietta of Patras, John II had an illegitimate son, James. When James was aged about fourteen, his father nominated him as archbishop of Nicosia, although the appointment was not confirmed by the Pope.

Queen Helena died in April 1458, and King John II in the following July. The princess Charlotte succeeded as queen of Cyprus and was crowned on October 15, 1458. Charlotte soon quarreled with her half-brother James, and in December he fled to the court of the Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, Aynal, from whom, as the nominal suzerain of the island since the reign of King Janus, obtained recognition as king of Cyprus, in preference to Charlotte.

Louis of Savoy arrived in Cyprus in 1459, and his marriage to Charlotte was celebrated at Nicosia on October 7 of that year. On September 18, 1460, James reached the island with an Egyptian force, and occupied Nicosia eight days later, taking most of the rest of Cyprus within a short time. Charlotte and Louis and their

adherents took refuge in Kyrenia Castle, which held out until the autumn of 1464, after which they lived in exile in Europe. James, when he arrived in Cyprus, is said to have had no money for his expenses. For three years he struck copper carzias and sizins out of copper fittings taken from the baths. Thereafter, he struck silver gros, with an effigy of himself on horseback. In January 1464, after a long, siege, James recovered Famagusta from the Genoese, thus reuniting it with the rest of the island; but the occupation had done irreparable harm to the Cypriot economy. James, facing serious financial difficulties and needing to meet expenses, imposed a twenty per-cent tax on what was left of incomes after the payment of already existing taxes.

In July, 1468 Catherine Cornaro, daughter of a Venetian nobleman Marco Cornaro, was betrothed to James, was formally adopted as a daughter of St. Mark, and was proclaimed queen of Cyprus. In November 1472 she sailed for Famagusta, where the marriage was celebrated, and was afterwards crowned at Nicosia. James II died on July 6, 1473, seven weeks before the birth, on August 28, of his posthumous heir, James III, who was to die a year later, on August 26, 1474. Meanwhile, after the death of her husband, Queen Catherine also ruled in her own name. During her reign, the Venetians gradually secured the key posts in the administration; and on January 24, 1489 they obliged the queen to abdicate and to hand over Cyprus to the Republic. She retired on a pension of 8,000 ducats a year, to the castle of Asolo, to the north of Venice, and lived there until shortly before her death in 1510. Cyprus, nominally still a kingdom, remained in the hands of the Venetians until they lost it to the Turks in 1571.

THE COINAGE OF THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

Guy de Lusignan (1192-94)

Guy de Lusignan, lord of Cyprus (1192-94) and the founder of the dynasty, struck scyphate electrum bezants, bearing on the obverse the ruler standing facing, holding a long cross in his right hand and an orb in his left hand; and on the reverse, Christ enthroned and the letters IC XC[1] a standard design of all the Cypriot bezants which were minted until the reign of John I (1284-85). The prototype of Guy's bezants was a *nomisma* of Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118); and the legend on the obverse is REX GVIDO DE CIPRO. From Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *La pratica della mercatura*, which was probably compiled *circa* 1340, we learn that the Cypriot bezant weighed 22 carats of Cyprus and contained 3¾ carats gold, 14 carats silver, and 4¼ carats copper; and it was called a white bezant because of its pale color.[2] The bezants usually weigh *ca.* 3.84 g.

Guy also minted copper pieces, with an eight-pointed star and a cross with pellets in the angles as types and the legends ✠REX GVIDO and ✠DE CIPRO; and billon deniers with similar legends, and a gateway and a cross with crescents, pellets

or annulets in alternate angles. The billon deniers contain about 20.3% silver and normally weigh about 0.80g. The denier was valued at one forty-eighth of a bezant.

Aimery (1194-1205)

To the reign of Aimery (1192-1205) probably belong billon deniers similar to those of Guy, bearing a gateway and a cross with pellets and crescents in alternate angles, but with the anonymous legend ✠DE CIPRO on both obverse and reverse. It is likely that they were struck before Aimery was granted the royal title by Emperor Henry VI and crowned in September, 1197. Cox considers that the deniers in the name of Guy were also minted by Aimery between 1194 and 1197, as he was ambitious for the kingly title which he could not then adopt if his own name appeared on the coins.[3] Possibly these deniers were struck during both reigns.

Cox also maintains that the billon deniers of Aimery bearing a cross and the Holy Sepulchre, which are normally ascribed to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, were in use and minted both in Cyprus and on the mainland.[4] They average 0.50 - 0.55 g in weight and contain about 32.3% silver; compared with the 0.8 g weight and 20.3% silver of the deniers of Guy, these coins exhibit a similar silver content of *ca.* 0.16 g. The theory, however, awaits proof.

Hugh I (1205-18)

Hugh I resumed the striking of electrum bezants, begun in the reign of Guy. On the earlier bezants of Hugh, as on those of his predecessor, the king is represented wearing a tunic and mantle, but on a later type he wears a tunic and scarf; on the reverse, Christ is seated on a low-backed throne on the earlier bezants, but on a high-backed throne on the later ones. The obverse legend is hVGO REX CYPRI.

Hugh also minted billon deniers, bearing a cross with pellets and crescents in alternate angles, and a gateway. The legends are either VGONIS REX and ✠DE CIPRO; ✠REX hVGO and DE CIPRO or ✠CYPRI; or ✠hVGO REX and ✠CYPRI. Cox has plausibly suggested that the first of these, with the possessive form of the name and a similar reverse legend to that of earlier deniers, might belong to the first part of Hugh I's reign when he was under the regency of Gautier of Montbéliard (1205-10); and the others to the later part of his reign (1210-18).[5] Deniers of Hugh I average *ca.* 0.76g in weight and contain about 21.2% silver.

Henry I (1218-53)

Henry I continued to strike electrum bezants, similar to the later type of Hugh I, except that in addition to the tunic and scarf, the king wears a collar. On one type, inscribed hENRICVS REX CYPRI, the king holds an orb surmounted by a patriarchal cross in his left hand; on others inscribed hENRICI REX CYPRI, the orb has a plain cross. Coins of the second group are often of crude workmanship. An annulet, three pellets, or a crescent appear as symbols in the field; or a cross or bar on the long cross in the king's right hand. On the reverse, stars or annulets are

sometimes placed on the back of the throne and on Christ's knee.

The coinage of billon deniers, with a cross and a gateway as types, also continued under Henry I. One rare type has ✠ HENRICVS and a gateway, on the obverse, and ✠REX CYPRI and a cross on the reverse; normally we find ✠hENRICVS and a cross on the obverse, and ✠CYPRI or ✠REX CYPRI and a gateway, on the reverse. The Kessab hoard, which was deposited *ca.* 1221, contained seven deniers of Henry I: six of these were of the first type; the seventh was of the second type, with reverse legend CYPRI. These types evidently belong to the first part of Henry's reign, when he was under regencies (1218-32); probably the deniers with ✠REX CYPRI and a gateway, with one battlement, on the reverse belong to the later part of his reign (1232-53).

Copper issues were also struck, exceptionally, during Henry's reign. They are of two main types. On the first, we find on the obverse the king's head facing, wearing a small or a large crown; on the reverse a cross sometimes with pellets in the angles, and the legends ✠HEПRICVS and ✠REX CYPRI. On the second, a cross and a large gateway appear, with the legends ✠hENRICVS and REX. A variety with a smaller cross and gateway usually weighs about half that of the larger one, and seems to be a half denomination.

Hugh II (1253-67)

No coins are known to have been struck in the Kingdom of Cyprus during the reign of Hugh II.

Hugh III (1267-84)

Hugh III resumed the striking of electrum bezants, which are on the same weight standard as those of previous reigns. They are of similar general design, but on the obverse the legend is h' REI D' IRL'M ED' hIP, and the king wears a tunic and a dalmatic. On later examples, the fold in the dalmatic and the king's head with its crown become progressively larger. There is a rosette or a cross in the field to the right of the king. On the reverse, there is an ornate, square-backed throne on one type; on another, the throne is higher and more elaborate. Schlumberger attributed these bezants to Henry II.[6] Metcalf has leaned in favor of his attribution, while recognizing the lack of certainty necessary at this point. He has cited its use of French, as opposed to Latin, legends as a supportive argument. However, Hugh III's more certainly attributed denier is also inscribed in French. Slocum has pronounced in favor of an attribution to Hugh III, citing both the title to Jerusalem and Henry's less pressing need for a bezant. A third theory, suggested by Berman, is that this was a *type immobilisée.* The two reigns were in fact almost contiguous. Moreover the two varieties, which do bear stylistic differences in addition to field marks may indicate the brief interruption for the reign of John I. One the whole, because of the development of their style, the present authors believe that both varieties of this bezant should precede the bezants of John I (1284-85). For this reason we have

ascribed them to Hugh III.

Billon deniers of a new design were also struck during this reign. On the obverse there is a cross; and, on the reverse, a lion rampant to left, with an S-shaped tail curled outwards — different from the lion's tail on deniers of Hugh IV, which curls inwards. The legends on Hugh III's deniers are ✠hVGVE REI DE and ✠IRL'M ED ChIPRI'.

John I (1284-85)

John I also struck electrum bezants, which are among the rarest coins in the Lusignan series. On the obverse, the legend is IOh' REX IRLM' E CYPR, and the king wears a crown and robes of more western style than those of his predecessors. There is a small six-pointed star in the field to his right. On the reverse, Christ is seated on an elaborate, high-backed throne similar to that on one type of Hugh III, but the panels in the back are arched, not rectangular as on the earlier type. The three bezants of John I which have been examined were all struck from the same pair of dies.

Henry II, First Reign (1285-1306)

During the reign of Henry II, which was interrupted from 1306 to 1310 by the usurpation of Amalric, prince of Tyre, a major change took place in the Cypriot coinage. Electrum bezants do not seem to have been minted after the reign of John I; bezants formerly ascribed by Lambros and Schlumberger to Henry II must, in view of the progressive development of their types, undoubtedly precede the bezants of John I and belong to Hugh III. The bezant continued in general use as a money of account, and a copper coin of this denomination struck in 1570, at the end of the Venetian occupation of Cyprus. Early in Henry's reign, a new coinage was introduced consisting of gros and half gros of 11/12 (i.e. 91.66%) pure silver, valued respectively at a half and a quarter of a bezant. Gros, and sometimes half gros, formed the normal Cypriot currency of large denomination until the end of Lusignan rule in 1489. There was a slight reduction of the silver content in the coinage during the fifteenth century.

Henry II's first coinage of gros and half gros bore as the obverse type the king seated on a large, ornate throne and the legend hENRI REI DE (or D'); and on the reverse, the legend ✠IERVSALEM (or IERVSAL'M less frequently) E DE' ChIPR' (or DE ChIPRE), and the lion of Cyprus rampant left, sometimes with a pellet within the curl of the tail. The gros usually weigh between 4.72 and 4.77 grams; the half gros, about half this amount. In Henry II's second coinage, the weight standard was slightly reduced, so that the gros usually weigh between 4.61 and 4.71 grams, without any reduction of the silver content of 11/12 fine. This weight standard, except for an apparent temporary reduction during the usurpation of Amalric, with the same silver content, continued until the reign of Janus (1398-1432).

Amalric, Prince of Tyre, Usurper (1306-10)

Amalric, prince of Tyre, during his four years' usurpation of the throne from his elder brother Henry II, struck three series of gros and half gros. The first of these bears the cross of Jerusalem and the legend ✠hEIIRIC' IRh'M E CIPRI REX on the obverse; the lion of Cyprus rampant left and the legend ✠AMALRIC' GVB'IIATOR CIPRI on the reverse. The second and third series bear, on the obverse, the lion of Cyprus rampant left and the legend in two concentric lines ✠AMALRIC' TIREIISIS DOMINUS / CIPRI GUB'IIATO' E' RETOR (sometimes abbreviated); and on the reverse, a shield with the arms of Jerusalem impaling Lusignan and the legend left ✠IRL'M ET CIPRI REGIS FILIUS (sometimes abbreviated). The third series is differentiated from the second by the addition of scrolls around the shield on the reverse. Well-preserved gros of the first series weigh between 4.48 and 4.63 grams and seem to be of the same weight-standard as the second and third coinages of Henry II; but gros of Amalric's second and third series usually weigh between 4.31 and 4.43 grams, while the silver content remained constant at about 11/12 fine. In these two series, therefore, the weight standard seems to have been slightly reduced.

On the first series of Amalric, Henry II's name and titles were retained, while the former styled himself governor of Cyprus. Probably this series was struck during the first two years of Amalric's usurpation from April 26, 1306 until early in 1308, when Henry was compelled to invest him with the governorship for life.

Amalric's second and third series, on which he styled himself "Governor and Rector of Cyprus" and "son of the King of Jerusalem and Cyprus" while omitting Henry's name and titles, were probably struck thereafter until June 5, 1310, when Amalric was assassinated. Soon afterwards, Henry recovered the throne.

Henry II, Second Reign (1310-24)

On the second coinage of Henry II, the legends are similar to those of the first, except that IERU(or V)SALEM is often abbreviated as IERUSAL'M, as well as ChIPRE abbreviated as ChIPR' (gros), ChIP (half gros), or ChIR (half gros). On the obverse the king is seated on a curule chair with the foreparts of lions at its sides, and his cloak is draped across his breast and fastened with a brooch on his right shoulder, instead of being held open as on his first coinage. The reverse type is the cross of Jerusalem. In the field on the obverse, we sometimes find a letter or symbols: an F (perhaps signifying Famagusta), a cross, a star, or a rosette, or three fleurs-de-lis (a rare variety). The last of these varieties may afford a transition to the third coinage of Henry II, being the only major variety of the type other than the usual plain field on the obverse (*cf.* nos. 51 and 60). Henry II's third coinage differs from his second in that the king's legs are wide apart instead of close together, while his cloak is held open as on his first coinage.

Henry II's first coinage was undoubtedly struck during his first reign (1285-1306), before the usurpation of Amalric, prince of Tyre (1306-10). The second coinage may have been initiated before the usurpation, whereas the third coinage was

certainly struck entirely during Henry's second reign (1310-24). Though evidence is at this point scanty, Metcalf has attempted an analysis of the second silver coinage of Henry II.[6A] He has suggested the possibility of at least two mints, the older, Nocosia, distinguished by the use of V for U, and Famagusta using a round U. The series may have been in production at Nicosia before 1306 and may have resumed there on Henry's restoration, when it was also begun at Famagusta. Certain field marks might also distinguish the mints. Metcalf's initial analysis is summarized in the following table:

V (Nicosia?)	U (Famagusta?)	Uncertain
none *	none F ✠ Cinquefoil	⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Metcalf further suggests that those gros lacking field marks, both with V and with U, can be divided into what he calls "early phase" and "late phase" issues. As the "early phase" issues are known for both "mints," however, it seems doubtful that even if these are chronological distinctions they could be used to distinguish issues from before and after the occupation of Amalric. The second and third issues of Henry II and the silver coinage of Hugh IV were minted at the zenith of the Lusignan kingdom's prosperity, and are now the commonest in the whole series.

Henry II also minted billon deniers bearing as types a cross and a lion rampant left, similar to those of Hugh III except that the lion's tail is curled inwards. Pellets sometimes appear in the four quarters of the cross, or a six-pointed star in the second quarter. The legends are ✠hENRI REI DE (sometimes with a Latin N) and ✠IRL'M E D' ChIPR' on the obverse and reverse respectively.

Hugh IV (1324-59)

Hugh IV minted gros and half gros similar to those of Henry II's third coinage, the obverse legend being hVGVE, (or hUGUE) REI DE, and of similar weight-standard and silver content. On the obverse we sometimes find B, $\overset{\circ}{B}$, or $\dot{c}$ in the field to the left; a quatrefoil in the field to the right; or one, three, or four quatrefoils below the throne. On the reverse, quatrefoils sometimes appear in the legend. The significance of these letters and symbols is not known. King suggested that the letters B and C might possibly indicate Baffo (Paphos) and Cerines (Kyrenia), whereas coins without these markings might have been struck at Nicosia and Famagusta.[7] The gros and half gros of Hugh IV are among the commonest in the Lusignan series.

Hugh IV also struck billon deniers with a cross and a lion rampant left as types, similar to those of Henry II except that the obverse legend is ✠hVGVE REI DE. A pellet is sometimes placed in the second quarter of the cross.

Peter I (1359-69)

Peter I, in his gros and half gros, maintained the weight standard and silver content of the coinage of Hugh IV. Peter I's silver coins also maintained a similar reverse type, except that there are four small incuse squares in the center of the cross of Jerusalem. On the obverse, the king is seated on a rectangular throne and has a shield with the lion of Cyprus rampant left in the field to his left. The throne is either small, with a projection on the left, or of simple rectangular design; or else large and elaborate with a Gothic arch in the front on the left. The king, who is represented as beardless or bearded, holds a sword in his right hand in place of the usual scepter, as a reminder of the Order of the Sword which he established before his accession with the recovery of the Holy Places in view.[8] One type has the letter I in the left field and one variety of gros, on which the king is represented as beardless, has a small bird in the left field and usually a quatrefoil on the left front of the throne. A reverse die which is used with this type is also used with an obverse-die of Peter II, who is always represented as beardless. The gros with a small bird in the field on the obverse, therefore, possibly were struck at the end of Peter I's series, perhaps after those on which he is represented as bearded which were presumably minted in the latter part of his reign. They might possibly have been the earliest issue of Peter II.[9]

The obverse legend on Peter I's gros is +PIERE PAR LA GRACE D' DIEV ROI, and on his, half gros PIERE ROI D'; and the reverse legend is +DE IERVSALEM 3 DE ChIPRE, with minor variations of letter style, spelling, and stops, on both the gros and the half gros.

Peter I also struck two types of gros and half gros with distinctive designs and legends. They have the same silver content as his ordinary coins, but were struck on a lighter weight-standard, the gros usually weighing between 3.95 and 4.00 grams. On one type of gros, the obverse depicts the king seated on a crude bench-like throne with a triangular projection on the left. The legends are, exceptionally, in Latin: +PETRUS DEI GRA REX and +IERUSALEM E ChIPRI, on the obverse and reverse respectively. On another type of gros and half gros, the king is seated on a rectangular throne with corner posts and with the letter P on its left front. Obverse and reverse legends are in French: +PIERE ROI DE GERUA and +IALEM E DE ChIPRE on the gros; +PIERE ROI and +ALEM E D CIPRE or + DE IERUSALEM E DE ChIP' on the half gros. The gros are similar in weight (*ca.* 3.96g.) to gigliati of Robert of Anjou, king of Naples (1309-43), which circulated widely in Turkey during, the fourteenth century and were extensively imitated there. Soon after Peter I ascended the throne, he acquired the Armenian port of Gorhigos on the Cilician coast, which the Cypriots were to hold until 1448; in 1361 he captured the coastal

fortress of Adalia, which was occupied until 1373; the emirs of Alanya and Monovgat also submitted to him. Piere I's light-weight gros and half gros might possibly have been struck for his acquisitions in southern Turkey.[10]

Peter II (1369-82)

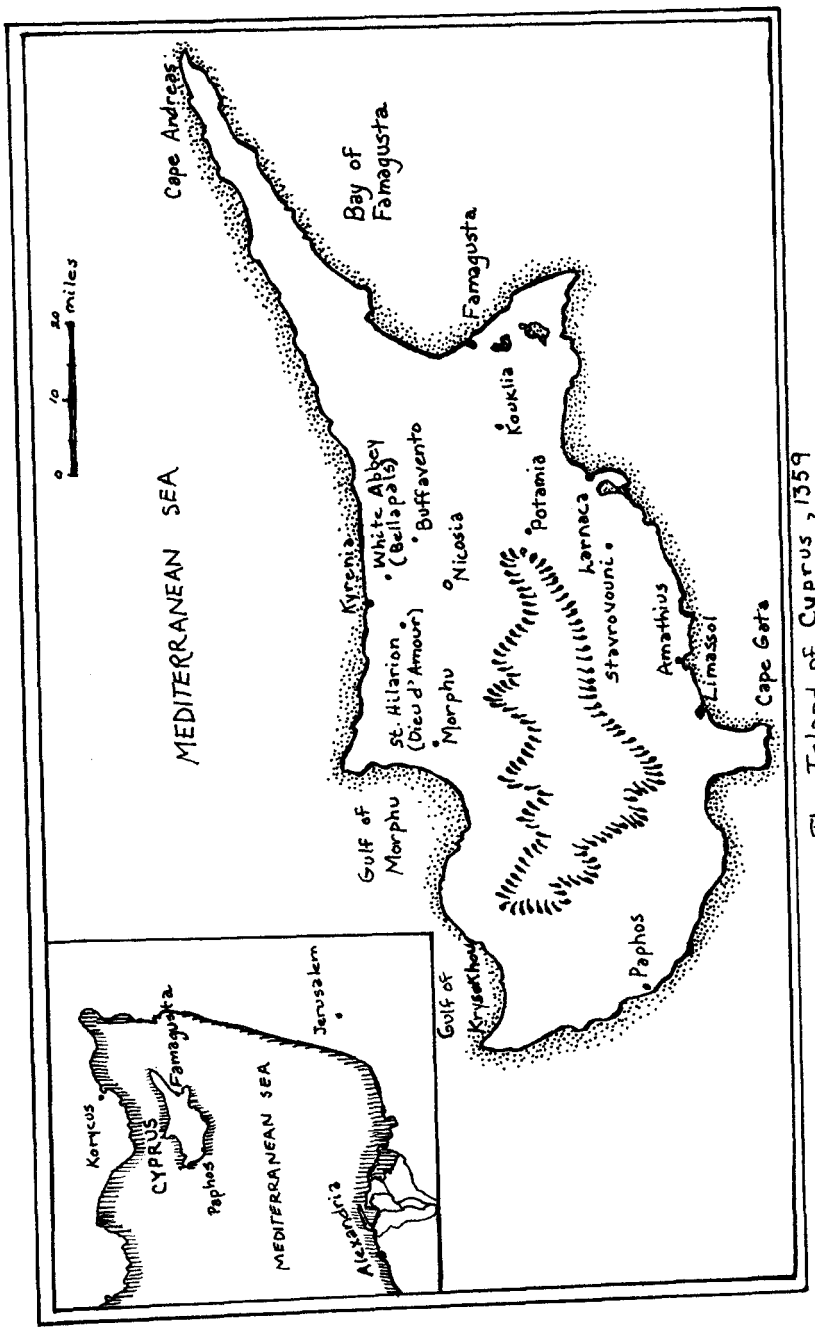
Peter II's gros and half gros resemble those of Peter I, except that on the obverse the king holds a scepter instead of a sword in his right hand, and on the reverse we do not find the four small incuse squares in the center of the cross of Jerusalem. The king is beardless and is seated on a simple bench-like throne. An R or a D occasionally appear in the left field on the obverse. Workmanship is generally cruder than that of the coins of Peter I. Peter II's coins are also scarcer than those of his predecessor. Light-weight gros with French legends, similar to those of Peter I, were also struck by Peter II. Two examples weigh 3.94 and 4.06 grams.

Billon deniers, bearing a lion rampant left on the obverse and a cross with pellets in the four quarters on the reverse as types, might have been struck either by Peter I or Peter II. The legends are ✠PIERE ROI D and ✠IERUALEM, or ✠PIERE ROI D IE: and ✠RUALEM E D Ch, on the obverse and reverse respectively. These deniers are extremely rare. Anonymous deniers ascribed by Schlumberger to Peter I or to Peter II are very closely linked in style with deniers of Janus (1398-1432) and probably belong to his reign, or possibly to that of John II (1432-58).[12]

Copper coins with similar types and the legends ✠PIERE ROI D and ✠IERUALEM, two examples of which weigh 0.60 and 0.68 grams, were almost certainly struck during the reign of Peter II, *ca.* 1374, by Paul Marshal (or Paolo Marage), the bailie of the Queen-Mother Eléonore.[11]

James I (1382-98)

During the reign of James I, the Cypriot silver coinage began to decline in volume, and later also in weight-standard. Four types of gros were minted in James I's reign, and their workmanship became progressively more barbarous; half gros also exist of the first two types. On the first type, which is comparatively well engraved and is usually struck on a large flan, on the obverse the king is beardless and is seated on a curule chair, and the design recalls that of Hugh IV's gros from which it is evidently copied. The cross of Jerusalem appears on the reverse. The obverse and reverse legends are IAQUE ROI D and ✠IERU3ALEM E D EhIPRE (*sic*), respectively, sometimes abbreviated. On James I's other types, the king is represented as being fatter and having a small forked beard, and the engraving is crude or barbarous. The legends of these are generally similar to those of the first type. During the first three years of his reign (1382-85), James was imprisoned at Genoa, where he had been held hostage since the Republic's defeat of the Cypriots in 1374. Possibly his first coin type, on which he is represented as beardless, was struck in his absence during the first three years of his reign; the other types, on which he is represented as having a forked beard and being fatter, might have been



The Island of Cyprus, 1359

minted later in his reign and have given a truer likeness.

The silver coins of James I are very scare. Much commoner are his deniers, also known as *carzias*, of very base billon or copper. They bear as types a lion rampant left and a cross, sometimes with a small cross in the second quarter, and the legends ✠IAQVE ROI DE and ✠IERV3ALEM (Ch).

Janus (1398-1432)

Janus continued to strike gros and half gros which, like those of James I, are comparatively rare. On the obverse, the figure of the king is smaller than on the coins of James I and is reminiscent of that of Peter II. He is seated on a bench-like throne, which usually has two or four corner posts, along with hatching in the front on the left. On the right there is a shield quartered with the arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus and Armenia. On one series, a reversed S appears in the field on the left. On the half gros, the king is seated on a simple bench-like throne, without ornamentation. The cross of Jerusalem on the reverse has an incuse depression in its center, usually a quatrefoil, or a square with five pellets. In the legend, the title of Armenia is adopted for the first time on the coinage. The obverse and reverse legends on the gros are ✠IANVS PAR LA GRACE DE DIE ROI and ✠D' IERV3ALEM D' ChIPRE E D' ARMENI, and on the half gros, IANVS PA and ✠R LA GRACE DE DIE ROI, with minor variations. During the reign of Janus, the weight-standard began to decline slightly, the majority of the gros weigh between 4.37 and 4.46 grams. Their purity however remained constant.

As in the case of the reign of James I, the commonest coins of Janus were base billon or copper deniers or *carzias*. On one series of these, a lion rampant left is placed on the obverse, and a cross on the reverse, as on the deniers of James I; and on another series, the relative positions of these are reversed. On a variety of the second type the cross on the obverse is replaced by a cross of Jerusalem.

The legends of the last variety are ✠IAИVS ROI DE Ch and ✠DE ChIPR E D ERI (another type has the legends ✠IAИUS ROI D and ✠IERV3ALEM; and still other varieties exist). A similar billon denier, with a cross of Jerusalem and a lion rampant left as types, has the anonymous legends ✠·S·DE IERV3ALM and ✠·S·DE ChIPRE. Possibly the letter S might stand for *sigillum, stemma,* or *sceau*;[13] or perhaps for *Seigneur* or *Secrète*,[14] the *Secrète royale* being the central office of the Treasury. Perhaps these anonymous deniers might have been struck while Janus was a prisoner in Cairo in 1426-1427, after the Cypriot defeat at the battle of Khirokhitia, or during the last year of his reign (1431-32), when he was incapacitated after a stroke. Janus was at war with Genoa between 1403 and 1406. In order to defray expenses he imposed a tax of two carzias (or deniers) on everything which was sold, and he minted carzias and six-carzia copper coins (called *sezins*). Some of Janus' deniers or carzias were evidently struck at this period; as also his exceptional issue of copper sezins, which bear on the obverse a lion rampant left, a cross of Jerusalem on the reverse, and the legends ✠IAИVS ROI DE and ✠IERLM E DE CIP, with

minor variations. A pellet is sometimes placed to the right or to the left of the lion; or an I below the lion, and another in the third quarter on the reverse.

John II (1432-58)

John II struck silver gros; no half gros are yet known of his or of later reigns, except that of James II. The coinage of John II is the most complicated in the whole Lusignan series. Twelve distinct series, one of which is linked by dies with an anonymous coinage, were struck in his name. Their chronological order is conjectural, but tentatively I suggest that it may be as follows:

Type 1. *Obv.* King seated on bench-like throne with hatching on front at left. Shield with lion rampant l. at right. Design in circle of dots. Long French legend. Good style.
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem. Incuse quatrefoil in center. *(Die link of no. 124 with Janus' type no. 114 with reversed S on obverse.)*

Type 2. *Obv.* Similar, but throne without hatching. Style similar to that of Janus' gros, but cruder. Long French legend.
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem. Incuse depression in center.

Type 3. *Obv.* Similar, but only two corner posts of throne visible on left.
Rev. Similar.

Type 4. *Obv.* Similar, but corner posts on left larger. P in right field. Very crude style. French legend.
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem.

Type 5. *Obv.* Similar. Large corner post on left. Below throne, zig-zag pattern. No circle of dots.
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem. Four rays at center.

Type 6. *Obv.* Similar, but forepart of lion replacing corner post on left. Below throne, branch-like ornament. Short French legend.
Rev. Similar.

Type 7. *Obv.* Similar, but forepart of lion on both sides of throne. No shield on right. P in left field. Below throne, large eye.
Rev. Similar.

Type 8. *Obv.* King seated on curule chair with foreparts of lions at sides. Cross in left field. Neater style. French legend.
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem, small square at center.

Type 9. *Obv.* Similar, but A in left field.
Rev. Similar. Depression in center of square.

Type 10. *Obv.* Similar, but cauldron in left field. Latin legend.
Rev. Similar, but no depression in center of square. Latin or French legend. *(Die-link of type with French legend, no. 133, with type of Charlotte bearing shield with scrolls on obverse, no. 138.)*

Type 11. Obv. Similar. No symbol in field. Very neat style and block lettering. Latin legend.

Rev. Similar. Latin legend.

Type 12. Obv. ✠IOhANES:DEI:GRACIA. Cross of Jerusalem. X-shaped crosslets in quarters.

Rev. ✠REX:DE ChIPR$^{\Omega}$. King seated on curule chair with foreparts of lions at sides. No cross on orb. *(Same die as type 13 infra.)*

Anonymous Issue

Type 13. Obv. ✠REX:CIPRIE: Cross of Jerusalem.

Rev. ✠REX:DE ChIPR$^{\Omega}$. King seated on curule chair with foreparts of lions at sides. No cross on orb. *(Same die as type 12 supra.)*

It is noteworthy that type 10 has a die link with the coinage of Charlotte (1458-59), which suggests that it might have been struck near the end of John II's reign; and that types 11 and 12, die-linked with the anonymous coinage of type 13, are of completely different style and much neater in execution than all the other coinages of John II. Possibly they might have been posthumous and struck by James II, the bastard brother of Charlotte who usurped the throne from her with the support of Egyptian Mamlūk troops in 1460. His title to the throne therefore was also illegitimate; and possibly he preferred to strike coins in his father's name, and similar anonymous coins, until he felt secure enough to do so in his own right. It is perhaps also significant that the X-shaped crosslets in the cross of Jerusalem on type 12, on which the normal arrangement of types and legends is reversed, is a peculiarity of one group of James II's coinage; and that the form GRACIA of type 12 only elsewhere appears on Lusignan coins on those of Louis of Savoy (1459-60). It is therefore tempting to ascribe types 11 to 13 to the beginning of James II's reign, possibly during the period from his landing in Cyprus in 1460, until his capture in 1464 of Kyrenia Castle (which was still held for Charlotte and Louis) and of Famagusta (which was occupied by the Genoese).

On other types of John II, types 4 to 10, we find the letters P and A, and the symbols of a cross and a cauldron. The significance of these is not known. During John II's reign, there was a marked decline in the weight-standard of the gros; but, as there is a wide range in the weights of surviving specimens and extensive clipping took place it, is often difficult to estimate the weight-standard of individual types accurately. A gros of types 1 weighs 4.31 grams; gros of types 2 and 3 range between 3.84 and 4.34 grams (even lighter on clipped specimens); of types 4 to 7 (with the letter P in field) between 3.60 and 4.15 grams; of type 8 (with a cross in field) between 3.69 and 4.18 grams; of type 9 (with the letter A in field) between 3.65 and 4.09 grams; of type 10 (with a cauldron in field) between 3.68 and 4.16 grams; and of types 11-13 (possibly posthumous) between 3.69 and 4.09 grams. The weight-standard seems to have been reduced gradually during the reign from *ca.* 4.20-4.31 grams to *ca.* 3.90-4.00 grams, or possibly less. Many surviving specimens,

however, show signs of clipping which makes it difficult to estimate the weight-standard. In 1441, the Genoese complained that Cypriot payments to them had been made in coin of inferior alloy. Analysis of the silver content of John II's gros has revealed that in most of his types it ranges between 88% and 92% silver, only slightly less than that of previous reigns. Gros of types 4 to 7 (with the letter P in the field) however are slightly lower, with a silver content of 87% to 88%; the Genoese might possible have been complaining about these. The Genoese demanded payment in good coins, doubtless of the quality of previous reigns. It might be significant that the coinages of types 8 to 10 (with a cross, an A, or a cauldron in the field) seem to be copies of the gros of Henry II and Hugh IV; possibly they were intended to give the impression that the earlier types were being revived, although the weight-standard was reduced. The silver content of Type 11 of John II (possibly posthumous) is erratic; one example is *ca.* 93% silver, two others are *ca.* 87%, and others *ca.* 82%, 73% and 63% each. (Examples with the content of between 87% and 63% are from the same pair of dies). The silver content of type 13 (anonymous) is consistently high, at *ca.* 93%. In silver content also, therefore, types 11 to 13 seem to differ from the other types of John II; possibly, as suggested above, they might have been struck at the beginning of James II's reign, perhaps with Egyptian financial support.

Apart from the series of gros of the reign of John II, no other coins are certainly attributable to him. The anonymous billon deniers, that resemble deniers of Janus and have been described above with his coins, might possibly belong to John II — for a time, after his marriage with Helena in 1442, he officially handed over the reins of government to her — but more probably belong to Janus. Deniers already in circulation seem to have sufficed for the needs of the island under John II.

Charlotte (1458-59)

Queen Charlotte struck silver gros, bearing on the obverse a crowned shield with the arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus, and Armenia, and on the reverse a cross of Jerusalem. On one variety, the shield is placed between scrolls; and a reverse die used with this type is also used with Type 10 of John II, with a cauldron in the field on the obverse, which suggests that it might be the first type of her reign. The obverse and reverse legends are ✠CARLOTA ⁝ DI ⁝ GRA ⁝ REGNA and ✠IERUSAI'M ⁝ E ⁝ D ⁝ ChIPR respectively.

Charlotte's coinage maintained the weight-standard and silver content of John II's issues. The majority of her gros weigh between 3.89 and 3.98 grams and contain about 88% silver.

No other coins of Charlotte are known.

Louis of Savoy (1459-60)

Louis of Savoy, like Queen Charlotte, is only known to have struck silver gros. Despite the shortness of his reign — he effectively controlled the island for

only one year — his coinage is the most complicated in the Cypriot series after that of John II. Six types of gros were struck in the name of Louis, as follow, possibly in this chronological order. All legends are in Latin.

Type 1.	*Obv.*	King seated on ornate bench-like throne. To right, shield with arms of Jerusalem (or doubtfully Savoy?), Lusignan, Cyprus, and Armenia. Very fine style.
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem. Small square in center.
Type 2.	*Obv.*	King seated on simple bench-like throne with corner posts sloping outwards at top. Head within circle of dots. Cruder style.
	Rev.	Similar. (Die-links with Type 3 and Type 4, *infra.*)
Type 3.	*Obv.*	King seated on simple bench-like throne with hatched panels in front and upright corner posts. Top of king's head outside circle of dots. Crude style,
	Rev.	Similar. (Die-links with Type 2 above, and Type 4 below.)
Type 4.	*Obv.*	Similar. Panels in front of throne without hatching.
	Rev.	Similar. (Die-links with Type 2 and Type 3 above, and Type 5 below.)
Type 5.	*Obv.*	Similar. In front of throne on right, shield with arms of Savoy.
	Rev.	Similar. (Die-links with Type 4 above.)
Type 6.	*Obv.*	King seated on simple bench-like throne with upright corner posts. In field left and right, S G.
	Rev.	Similar.

Type 1 is of much better style than any of the other types. The die seems to be the work of a foreign engraver or engravers, whom Louis may have brought with him when he came to the island in 1459. The other types are more characteristically Cypriot products. There are die-links connecting Types 2, 3, 4, and 5, which suggest that these form a homogeneous group; and an intermediate type between Types 4 and 5, which is represented by one die, indicates that these are consecutive. I have placed these four types in this order rather than in the reverse one, because a reverse die which is used with obverses of Types 3, 4, and 5 is in a much poorer state by the time of its use with type 5 than with types 3 and 4. Also, type 2, which has die-links with type 3, seems to be a semi-barbarous copy, with the shield of Savoy, of the probably foreign-made type 1 with the Cypriot arms.

Type 6 seems to stand apart from the other types. It is tempting to connect the letters S G on the obverse with St. George, patron of the Bank of St. George that administered Famagusta from 1447 to 1464, and openly sided with Louis of Savoy against the usurper James II, the enemy of both Louis and the Genoese. An indication that type 6 is perhaps of different origin than the other types is possibly afforded by the fact that examples are unusually regular in weight, compared with

others of the period which tend to be very erratic. Of sixty-four examples of type of type 6 above 3.70 grams (disregarding obviously worn or clipped specimens), 51 weigh between 3.87 and 3.96 grams, with a peak at 3.91 grams, a far higher proportion within a small range than in any of the other types, whose weights are much more variable. Types 1, 2, 3, and 4 seem to have been intended to weigh between *ca.* 3.91 and 3.98 grams, whereas examples of type 5 are somewhat lower, usually between 3.68 and 3.73 grams. The silver content of types 1 to 5 is about 87% to 88% silver, but that of type 6 is a little higher, at least 90% silver. It is therefore tempting to attribute type 6 to a different source: might the Genoese in Famagusta possibly have struck gros in Louis' name differentiated by the letters S G, to further their joint cause against James II? In any case, it is odd that Louis minted six types if they were all struck within the year 1459-60; possibly he continued to strike gros at Kyrenia Castle, which was held until 1464; and perhaps the Genoese, who held Famagusta until the same year, might also have helped him. It would indeed be more reasonable if his types were in fact struck during a longer period, and if minting continued after 1460 when he lost all Cyprus, excepting the Genoese enclave of Famagusta, apart from Kyrenia Castle.

The reading of a sezin of Louis of Savoy reported to have been in the Stewart Collection remains unconfirmed.

James II (1460-73)

James II's first coinage of gros in his own name consisted of a type depicting himself enthroned and holding a sword instead of the usual scepter in his right hand (type 1). The design consciously recalls the coinage of Peter I, on whom James II seems to have modelled himself. Very few examples of this coinage survive. His second coinage bears on the obverse the king holding a sword in his right hand and galloping to the right; and on the reverse a hatched cross of Jerusalem, with X-shaped crosslets in the four quarters (type 2). Similar crosslets appear on type 12 of the possibly posthumous types of John II, an indication that these might have been struck by James II. The reverse design of James II's gros is later altered, first to a larger hatched cross with a square in the center and simple "block" (i.e. +) shaped crosslets in the quarters (type 3), and then to a thin cross of Jerusalem without hatching (type 4). After the introduction of the obverse type with the king on horseback galloping to the right, the design was modified to depict the horse as walking, with on the reverse, a large hatched cross (type 5) or a thin cross of Jerusalem (type 6). A reverse die of type 6 is die-linked with a gros of the first type of Catherine Cornaro, which suggests that it was the last of the series. The weight and silver content of James II's first type seems to have been comparatively low: *ca.* 3.70 grams in weight, and 86% silver. In his later types, both the weight and the silver content seem to have been raised, to *ca.* 3.77 to 3.81 grams, and 89% to 90% silver.

The historian George Boustronios tells us that when James II came to Cyprus

he had no money for his expenses, and that he struck copper carzias and sezins (six-carzia pieces) out of copper fittings taken from the baths and from private houses. He did this for three years and then stopped; he then began to strike silver gros, with an effigy of himself on horseback.[15] James II invaded Cyprus in 1460 and captured Famagusta and Kyrenia Castle in 1464. Possibly the introduction of this new type commemorates his triumphant entry into one or both of these; and possibly the latest (posthumous) type of John II and the associated anonymous group, and the first type of James II as well, belong to the period 1460-64.

James II also revived the striking of silver half gros. These are of two types, both of which bear his crowned bust to the right on the obverse; and on the reverse, either a hatched cross or a plain cross of Jerusalem, corresponding to the reverse types of the gros. Examples weigh 1.85 - 1.88 grams. The silver content of the half gros seems to be somewhat lower than that of the gros; three examples contain 82%, 83%, and 84% silver.

Besides his silver coins, James II also minted copper sezins (six-carzia pieces) and carzias, which bear on the obverse a lion rampant left, and on the reverse a cross of Jerusalem. The quality of workmanship of the sezins, which are among the commonest coins in the Lusignan series, is very variable, and there are many minor varieties in their legends. Examples of better quality often include in the reverse legend the title of king of Armenia, usually absent on examples of poor workmanship. Doubtless, the copper sezins and carzias are those which George Boustronios tells us were struck by James II during the first three years of his reign. The sezins survive in such comparatively large numbers that it is tempting to think that they might have been minted for a longer period.

James II struck in his own name silver gros and half gros, and copper sezins and carzias (previously known as deniers). Apart from the gros with Latin legends of John II, which were possibly posthumous, and their associated anonymous pieces which also may have been struck by James II, the latter minted gros of six main types, with minor varieties, as follows:

Type 1.	*Obv.*	King seated on bench-like throne with corner-posts, holds sword in right hand. To right, shield with lion rampant left. (Similar to type of Peter I.)
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem, four incuse circles in central square.
Type 2.	*Obv.*	King on horseback right, wearing long cloak and holding sword in right hand, horse galloping.
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem with narrow hatched arms and pellet in center. X-shaped crosslets in quarters (similar to posthumous (?) type 12 of John II).
Type 3	*Obv.*	Similar.
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem with broad hatched arms and central

		square. Block-shaped (+) crosslets in quarters. (Die-links with Type 5.)
Type 4.	*Obv.*	Similar.
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem with central square, no hatching.
Type 5.	*Obv.*	Similar, horse walking.
	Rev.	Similar to type 3. (Die-links with type 3.)
Type 6.	*Obv.*	Similar.
	Rev.	Similar to type 4. (Die-link with Type 1 of Catherine Cornaro.)

Catherine Cornaro (1473-89) and James III (1473-74)

James II died on July 6, 1473, and was succeeded on the throne by his consort, Queen Catherine Cornaro who reigned alone until the birth on August 28 the same year of her son, who was crowned as James III. Catherine Cornaro continued to reign jointly with him until the infant king's death on August 26, 1474, after which she reigned alone until her abdication in 1489. To the first two months of her reign, before the birth of her son, appear to belong the gros type 1, bearing her name and titles along with the arms of Cyprus. A die-link of this reverse with type 6 of James II seems to place it at the beginning of her reign. The obverse of type 1 of Catherine Cornaro has a die-link with the obverse of type 2, coupled with a reverse bearing name and titles of James III, the coinage of their joint reign (August, 28, 1473 - August 26, 1474). After the death of James III, in 1474, the queen introduced a new type, her figure enthroned, which recalls the design of earlier rulers. Type 3 bears the letters S P in the field on the obverse, and types 4 through 6 the letter P.

During the reign of Catherine Cornaro, the silver content of the gros maintained its previous level but their weight standard declined considerably. The silver content averages 88% - 89%. Insufficient unclipped specimens of type 1 survive to accurately judge its weight standard, but examples of type 2 weigh 3.77 - 3.80 grams, close to the weight of the preceding coinage of James II. Thereafter, however, there was a rapid decline. Examples of types 3, 4, and 5 usually weigh about 3.55-3.65 grams, while the heaviest surviving specimens of type 6 are 3.27, 3.32 and 3.34 grams, and others are between 3.02 and 3.12 grams. This rapid decline may well have been due to the influence of the Venetians, who were in virtual control of Cyprus during most of Catherine Cornaro's reign; they probably reduced the weight of type 6 to be equivalent to that of the Venetian marcello, at 3.26 grams.

Catherine Cornaro, the last ruler of the Lusignan kingdom, struck silver gros of six main types, the second of which also bears the name and titles of her infant son James III, with whom she nominally reigned jointly from his birth in August 1473 until his death a year later. The gros are of six main types, as follow:

Type 1.	*Obv.*	Crowned shield with arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus, and Armenia. Name and titles of Catherine Cornaro. (Die-link with type 2.)
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem. (Die link with type 6 of James II.)
Type 2.	*Obv.*	Similar. (Die-link with type 1.)
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem. Name and titles of James III added.
Type 3.	*Obv.*	Catherine Cornaro seated facing on small throne, S in field left, P in field right.
	Rev.	Cross of Jerusalem.
Type 4.	*Obv.*	Catherine Cornaro seated facing on wide beach-like throne with corner-posts. Queen's head and scepter within circle of dots, P in field left. Large flan.
	Rev.	Similar.
Type 5.	*Obv.*	Catherine Cornaro seated facing on bench-like throne with hatching in front, and without corner-posts. Top of queen's head and scepter outside circle of dots, P in field left. Smaller flan.
Type 6.	*Obv.*	Similar, but sides of throne slope outwards.
	Rev.	Similar.

Genoese Occupation of Famagusta (1373-1464)

During their occupation of Famagusta from 1373 to 1464, the Genoese struck billon deniers with a Genoese gateway and a cross as types, similar to those minted at Genoa, but bearing the legends ✠CIVIT.FAMAG and ✠DVX.IAnVEN. Examples weigh between 0.55 and 0.78 grams.

Guy de Lusignan (1192-94)

1. Electrum bezant. 3.38-4.05g. Warren, *NC*(1891), V,17.

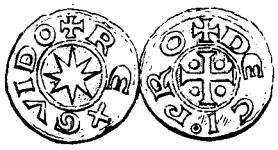
O: RЄX GVIDO DЄ CIPRO

King standing facing, holds long cross in r. and orb in l. hand.

R: IC XC

Christ enthroned.

1



2

2. AE denier. 1.20g. Schl. VI,2.

O: RЄX GVIDO

Eight-pointed star.

R: ✠DЄ CIPRO - or variant stops.

Cross, pellets in quarters.

3c

3d

3a. Billon denier. 0.80g. Lam. A,9.

O: RЄX GVIDO

Gateway with three battlements, star inside.

R: ✠DЄ CIPRO

Cross, crescents in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.

b. O: Similar.

R: ✠DЄ CIPRO

Cross, pellets in first and fourth, crescents in second and third quarters. Lam. A,10.

c. Similar. Reverse legend retrograde. Lam. 11.

d. O: Similar.

R: ✠DЄ CIPRO

Cross, pellets in first and fourth, annulets in second and third quarters. Schl. VI,1.

Other minor variations in arrangement of pellets or annulets on reverse exist.

4a. Billon denier. 0.80g. Lam. A,8.

O: RЄX GVIDO, or variant with stops.

Cross, crescents in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.

R: ✠DЄ CIPRO, or variant with stops.

Gateway with three battlements, star inside.

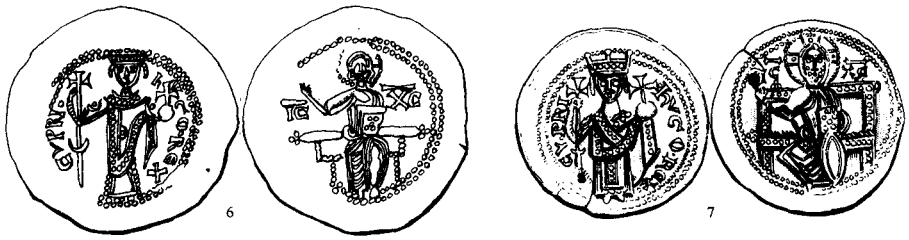
b. Similar to 3b; with dot or annulet in gateway on obverse. Cox, VI,1.
c. Similar to 3a; on obverse, gateway filled with grille. Cox, VI,2.

4 5

Aimery (1194-1205)

5. Billon denier. 0.80g. Cox, VI,3.
O: ✠DЄ CIPRO
Gateway with three battlements, star inside.
R: ✠DЄ CIPRO
Cross, crescents in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.

Hugh I (1205-18)



6 7

6. Electrum bezant 3.74-3.81g. Lam._; Schl._;
O: hVGO · RЄX · · CYPRI Stewart Coll. 4 examples.
King standing facing, wearing tunic and mantle; holds long cross with crescent in r., orb in l. hand.
R: $\overline{\text{I}}\text{C}$ $\overline{\text{X}}\text{C}$
Christ seated on low-backed throne.

7. Electrum bezant. 3.76-3.83g. Lam. B,12; Schl. VI,3.
O: hVGO · RЄX· ·CY·PRI, or variant with initial stop.
King standing facing, wearing tunic and scarf; holds long cross with crescent in r., orb in l. hand.
R: $\overline{\text{I}}\text{C}$ $\overline{\text{X}}\text{C}$
Christ seated on high-backed throne.

9

8. Electrum bezant. 3.75-3.80g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar; no crescent on long cross; patriarchal cross on orb.
R: Similar; stars on back of throne or on Christ's knee.

9a. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.80g. Lam. B,14; Schl. VI,5; Cox, VI,4.
O: VGONIS RE✠
Cross, crescents and pellets in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.
R: ✠DЄ CIPRO, varying stop marks, usually a single pellet.
Gateway with three battlements and door.
b. Similar, but no pellets in first and fourth quarters of obverse cross. Cox, *TH*, pp.45-46; Lam._; Schl._.
Cox attributed this type to Hugh's regency under Gautier de Montbéliard.

11

12

10. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.80g. Lam._; Schl._; Cox, p.46
O: ✠RЄX hVGO
Cross, crescents in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.
R: ✠DЄ CIPRO
Gateway with three battlements and door.

11. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.80g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar to last.
R: ✠ CẎPRI, or variant with stops.
Gateway with three battlements and door.

13

12. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.80g. Lam. B,13; Cox, p.46.
O: hVGO RЄ✠
Cross, crescents and pellets in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.
R: Similar to 11.

13. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.80g. Cox, VI,5; Metcalf, *MN*(1975), XVIII,30.
O: ✠hVGO RЄX
Cross, crescents in first and fourth, stars in second and third quarters.
R: Similar, ·CẎPRI·, or var.

14a. Billon denier. *ca.* 0.80g. Lam._; Schl._; Cox, p.47.
O: ✠hVGO RЄX
Cross, crescents in first and fourth, pellets in second and third quarters.
R: CẎ.PRI·, sometimes with annulet stops.
Gateway with two battlements and door.
b. Similar, but with crescents in first and fourth, annulets in second and third quarters. Cox, p.48
c. Similar to 14a, but star above gateway on reverse. Cox, VI,6.

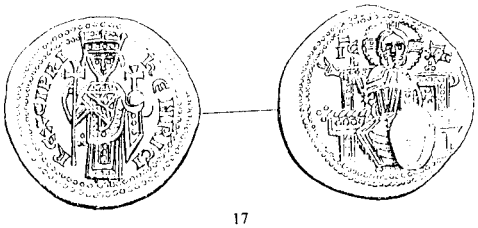
15a. Billon denier. Cox, VI,7.
Similar to 14a, but gateway has three battlements, fleur-de-lis below.
b. Similar, with pellets in angles. Gateway has three battlements. Cox, p.48; Metcalf, *MN*(1975), p.144.

Henry I (1218-53)

16

16. Electrum bezant. 3.76-3.86g. Lam. B,15; Schl. VI,6.
O: hЄNRICVS RЄX CYPRI
King standing, facing, wearing a tunic with collar and scarf; orb has patriarchal cross; annulet below l. arm.
R: IC XC
Christ seated on high-backed throne; stars on back and on Christ's knee.
Variant forms of Y occur throughout Henry I's coinage.

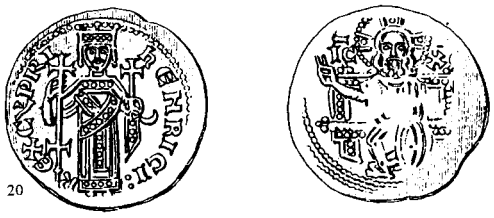
17. Electrum bezant. 3.78g. Schl. VI,7.
O: hЄNRICI RЄX CIPRI
Similar, no annulet below l. arm, three pellets in triangle below r. arm.
R: Similar.



17

18. Electrum bezant. 3.82g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: hЄNRICI RЄX CYPRI
Similar, no triangle of pellets, cross on long cross.
R: Similar.
No stars on back of throne or on Christ's knee.

19. Electrum bezant. 3.77-3.85g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: hЄNRICI: RЄX CYPRI
Similar, plain cross on orb, bar replacing cross on long cross.
R: Similar.
Annulets on back of throne and on Christ's knee.



20

20. Electrum bezant. 3.77-3.85g. Lam. B,16.
O: Similar, crescent in r. field.
R: Similar.

21. Electrum bezant. 3.79-3.86g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: hЄNRICI R:ЄX CYPRI
Similar, annulet at base of long cross.
R: Similar.

24

22. Billon denier. 0.75-1.20g. Longuet, VI,13; Pavlou, NCirc., 1988 *(1218-32).*
O: ✠HЄПRICVS
Cross, annulets in first and fourth, crescents in second and third quarters.
R: ✠CYPRI
Gateway with two battlements.

23. Billon denier. 1.01g. Longuet, "Kassab," *RN*(1935), VI, 14-15. *(1218-32)*
O: ✠HЄNRICVS, with stop variants.
Gateway with two battlements.
R: ✠RЄX CYPRI
Cross, crescents in first and fourth, annulets in second and third quarters.

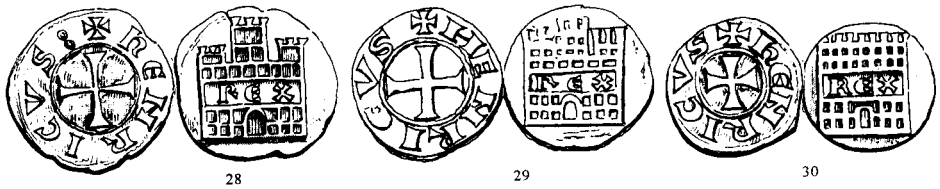
24. Billon denier. 0.53g. Schl. VI,12.
a. O: ✠hЄNRICVS, with stop variants.
Cross, annulets in quarters.
R: ✠RЄX CYPRI, with stop variants, often annulets.
Gateway with one battlement.
b. Similar, but with obverse inscription ending with two pellets (✠hЄNRICVS:) and with pellets in the first and fourth quarters of the cross.
0.79g. Lam. B,20.
c. Similar to b, but on obverse, pellets in second and third quarters.
Lam._; Schl._.
d. Similar, annulet possibly in first angle, reverse legend retrograde.
Jacobowitz Coll.

25

25. Billon denier. 0.6- 0.75g. Lam. B,19.
a. O: ✠hЄNRICVS, with stop variants.
Plain cross.
R: Similar to last type, 23b
b. Similar, but with annulet in doorway on reverse. Lam._; Schl._.
c. Similar, but with pellet in doorway on reverse.
0.65g. Lam._; Schl. .

26. AE fractional denier. 2.65-3.16g. Lam._; Schl._.
a. O: ✠HЄПRICVS
King's head facing, wearing small crown.
R: ✠RЄX : CYPRI
Cross.
b. Similar, but with a pellet in each quarter of reverse cross.
2.62g. Lam. B,17; Schl. VI,8.

27. AE fractional denier. 2.57-2.67g. Lam. B,18; Schl. VI,9
a. O: ✠HЄПRICVS:
King's head facing, wearing large crown.
R: ✠RЄX CYPRI
Cross.
b. Similar, but with a pellet in quarter of reverse cross.
3.10g Lam._; Schl._.



28 29 30

28. AE fractional denier. 2.00-2.61g. Schl. VI,10.
O: ✠hЄNRICVS:
Cross.
R: RЄX (across gateway).
Triple-towered gateway.

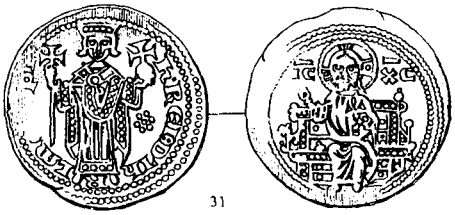
29. AE fractional denier. 1.20-1.43g. Saulcy, X,6.
O: Similar, but no terminal pellets.
R: Similar, but central tower smaller.

30. AE fractional denier. 1.26-1.83g. Schl. VI,11.
O: Similar to 28.
R: Similar, without central tower.

Hugh II (1253-67)

No coins are known to have been struck in the Kingdom of Cyprus during the reign of Hugh II.

Hugh III (1267-84)



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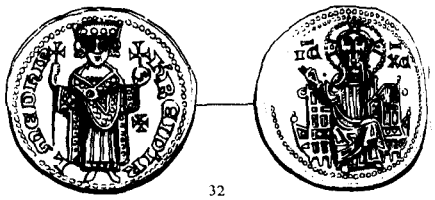
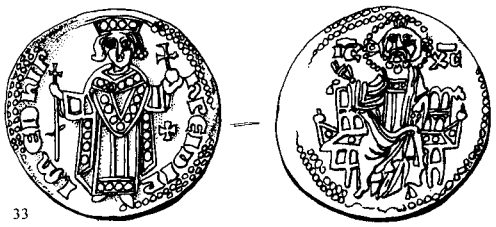


32

31. Electrum bezant. 3.77g. Lam. B,21.
O: h:RЄI:D'IhRL'ffl:ЄD'hIP'
King standing, facing, wearing tunic and dalmatic, holds long cross in r. and orb in l. hand. Rosette in field r.
R: IC XC
Christ seated on ornate high-backed throne.

32. Electrum bezant. 3.74-3.88g. Schl. VI,14.
O: h'RЄI D'IRL'ffl ЄD'hIP'
Similar, king has larger head and thicker hair, and wears larger crown and dalmatic. Small cross in field r.
R: IC XC
Christ seated on high-backed gothic throne.

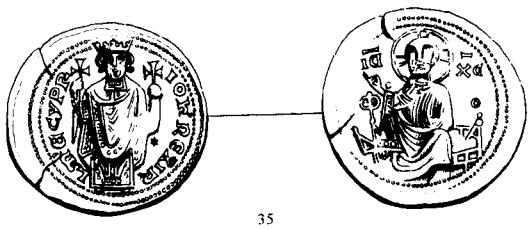


33

33. Electrum bezant. 3.74-3.84g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar, fold of dalmatic larger.
R: Similar

34. Billon denier. 0.74-0.78g. Schl. VI,26.
O: ✠hVGVЄ:RЄI:DЄ
Cross.
R: ✠IhRL'ЯI:ЄD ChIPR':
Lion, with S-shaped tail curled outwards, rampant l.

John I (1284-85)



35

35. Electrum bezant. 3.59, 3.84g. Schl. VI,13.
O: IOh'RЄX IRLЯI' Є CYPR
King standing, facing, wearing tunic, long dalmatic, and small crown; holds long cross in r. and orb in l. hand. Small six-pointed star in r. field.
R: IC XC
Christ seated on Gothic throne.

Henry II, First Reign (1285-1306)

36 38

36. AR gros. 4.63.-4.83g. Lam. Γ,22; Schl. VI,15.
O: HЄПRI'·RЄI:DЄ
King seated on gothic throne, with bars in side panels, holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand
R: ✠IЄRVSALЄⅯ Є D' ChIPR'
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

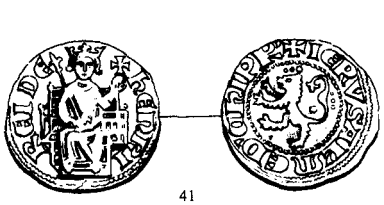
37. AR half gros. 2.29-2.38g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, but legend abbreviated and with stop variants.

38. AR gros. 4.65-4.84g. Lam. Γ,23.
O: HЄПRI··RЄI DЄ (or D')
Similar.
R: Similar, pellet in loop of lion's tail.

39. AR half gros. 2.14g.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, but legend abbreviated and with stop variants.

40. AR gros. 4.61-4.86g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar, pellets in side panels of throne.
R: Similar.

41. AR half gros. 2.25-2.39g. Lam. Γ,24; Schl. VI,16.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, but reverse legend abbreviated and with stop variants.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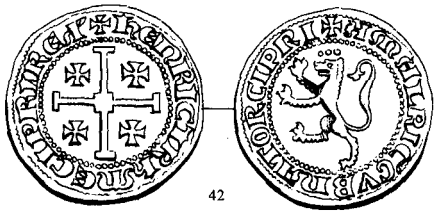
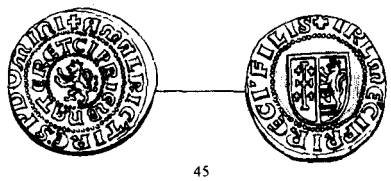

42

Amalric, Prince of Tyre, Usurper (1306-10)

42. AR gros. 4.35-4.66g. Lam. Γ,25; Schl. VI,17.
O: ✠hЄПRIC' IRh'M Є CIPRI RЄЯ'
Cross of Jerusalem.
R: ✠AMALRIC' GVB'ПATOR CIPRI
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

43. AR half gros. 2.22-2.38g. Lam.._; Schl._.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.

44. AR gros. 4.33-4.48g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠AMALRIC' TIRЄ'SI' DOMIПU / CIPRI GVB'ПATO' Є' RЄT'
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠IRL'M ЄT CIPRI RЄGI' FILIU
Shield with arms of Jerusalem and Cyprus.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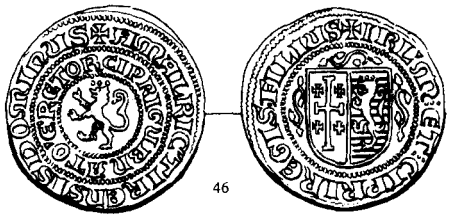

46

45. AR half gros. 2.19g. Lam. Γ,29; Schl. VI,18.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.

46. AR gros. 4.36-4.46g. Lam. Γ,27; Schl. VI,19.
O: ✠AMALRIC' TIRЄПSIS DOMIПUS / CIPRI (or CIPI) 'GVB'ПATO' Є'
RЄTOR, Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠IRL'M : ЄT : CIPRI RЄGIS FILIUS, or additional stop variants.
Shield with arms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. S-shaped tendrils above and beside shield.

47. AR gros. 4.31-4.63g. Lam. Γ,26,28.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, tendril on l. of shield reversed.

47

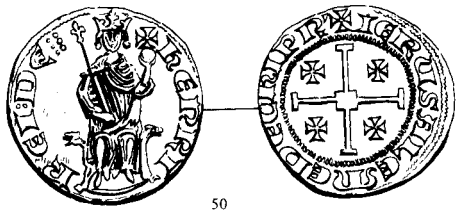
48

48. AR gros. 4.36g. Schl. XIX,8.
O: Similar.
R: Similar; legend reversed.

49. AR half gros. 2.07g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, normal legend.

Henry II, Second Reign (1310-24)

Second Series Silver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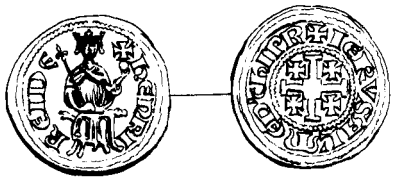
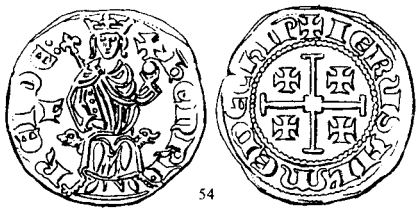

51

50. AR gros. 4.40-4.65 Schl. VI,21; Metcalf, *NC* (1982-83), 1-31.
O: hЄПRI RЄI DЄ, or with stop variants.
King seated on curule chair, with foreparts of lions at sides, his legs together, cloak fastened with brooch on r. shoulder; holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand.
R: ✠IЄRVSALЄ Є DЄ ChIPR', or with stop variants.
D' for DЄ, or ' for second Є, or additional I, in Jerusalem.
Cross of Jerusalem.

51. AR half gros. 1.84 g. Schl. VI,22; Metcalf, 32-34.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.

52. AR gros. Metcalf, 276-303.
Similar to 50 but round U.

53. AR half gros. Metcalf, 304-29.
Similar to 51 but round U.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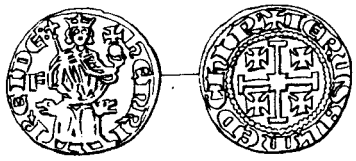
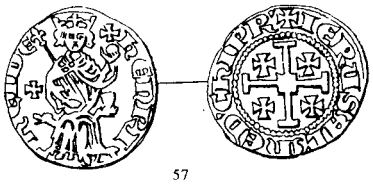

55

54. AR gros. 4.50-4.60g. Lam. Γ,30; Metcalf, 209-15.
O: Similar, F in l. field.
R: Similar.

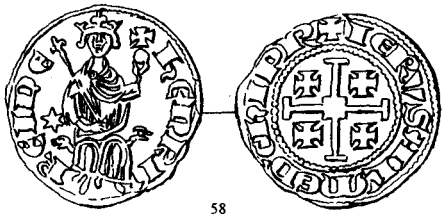
55. AR Half gros. 2.30g. Lam. Γ,33; Metcalf, 216-17.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, often abbreviated.

56

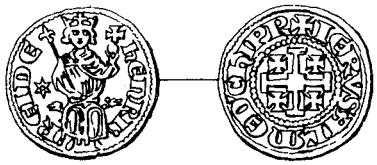

57

56. AR Gros. 4.52-4.66g. Saulcy, X,10; Metcalf, 240-69.
O: Similar, cross in l. field.
R: Similar.

57. AR half gros. 2.19-2.33g. Lam. Δ,35; Metcalf, 270-75.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, often abbreviated.



58



59

58. AR gros. 4.45-4.64g. Lam. Γ,32; Metcalf, 35-132.
O: Similar, six-pointed star in l. field.
R: Similar.

59. AR half gros. 2.13-2.22g. Lam. Δ,34; Metcalf, 133-46.
O: Similar, with star or spur-rowel.
R: Similar.

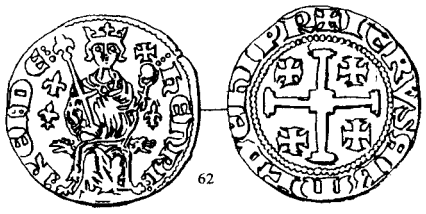
60

61

60. AR gros. 4.47-4.62g. Saulcy, X,12 (obv. only).
O: Similar, rosette or cinquefoil in r. field. Metcalf, 218-32; Stewart Coll.
R: Similar.

61. AR half gros. 2.13-2.22g. Lam._; Schl._; Stewart Coll.;
O: Similar. Metcalf, 233-39.
R: Similar.

62. AR gros. 4.40-4.48 Lam. Γ,31; Metcalf, 432-39.
O: Similar, two fleurs-de-lis in l., one in r. field.
R: Similar.



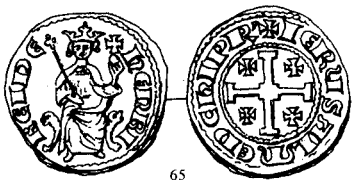
62

64

Third Series Silver

63. AR gros. 4.36-4.53g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: hЄПRI RЄI DЄ, or with stop variants.
King seated on curule chair, his legs wide apart, with foreparts of lions at sides, cloak open revealing undergarment, holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand, three fleurs-de-lis in fields.
R: ✠IЄRVSALЄ𝔐 Є DЄ ChIPR', or var.
Cross of Jerusalem.
and cloak open, revealing undergarment.

64. AR gros. 44.4-4.62g. Saulcy, X,13; Metcalf, 330-48, 361-97.
O: Similar, plain field.
R: Similar.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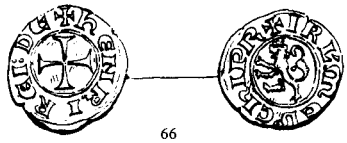
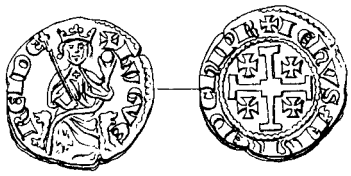

66

65. half gros 2.18-2.33g. Saulcy, X,14; Metcalf, 349-60, 398-431.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.

66. Billon denier. 0.65-0.82g. Schl. VI,23.
a. O: ✠hЄNRI·RЄI:DЄ, or with stop variants.
Cross.
R: ✠IRL'𝔐 Є D' ChIPR'
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
b. O: Similar, but with a six-pointed star in second quarter of cross.
R: Similar. 0.61-0.67g. Lam._; Schl._; Stewart Coll.
c. O: Similar, but with Gothic ℓℓ, and pellets in quarters of cross.
0.46-0.71g. Lam. Δ,36.

Hugh IV (1324-59)

67

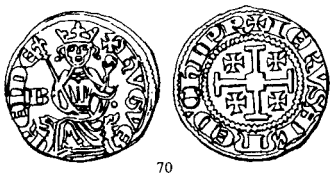


68

67. AR gros. 4.46-4.63g. Saulcy, XI,2.
O: hVGVЄ (or hUGUЄ) RЄI DЄ
King seated on curule chair, with foreparts of lions at sides, his legs wide apart, cloak open revealing under-garment, holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand; one, three or four crosslets sometimes below feet.
R: ✠IЄRVSAL'ℳ Є D' ChIPR'
Cross of Jerusalem.

68. AR half gros. 2.15-2.27g. Saulcy, XI,6.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, legend sometimes abbreviated.

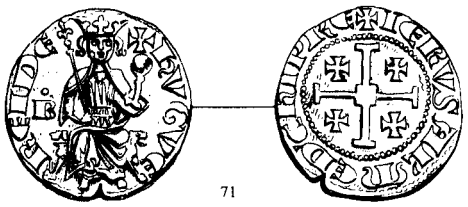
69



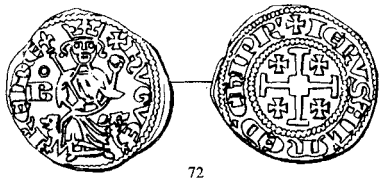
70

69. AR gros. 4.53-4.61g. Lam. Δ,37.
O: Similar, B in l. field, crosslet sometimes below feet.
R: Similar.

70. AR half gros. 2.20-2.29g. Lam. Δ,40.
O: Similar.
R: Similar.



71

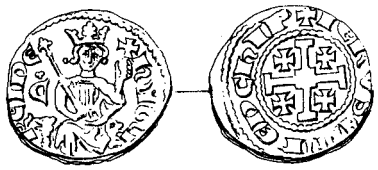


72

71. AR gros. 4.42-4.66g. Lam. Δ,38; Schl. VI,4.
O: Similar, but ○B or •B in l. field, quatrefoil or cross sometimes in r. field, crosslet sometimes below feet.
R: Similar.

72. AR half gros. 2.23-2.31g. Lam. Δ,41.
O: Similar, minor abbreviations possible.
R: Similar, minor abbreviations possible.

73

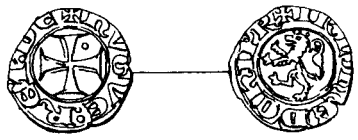


74

73. AR gros. 4.46-4.61g. Lam. Δ,39.
O: Similar, but ċ in l. field, crosslet usually below feet.
R: Similar.

74. AR half gros. 2.20-2.32g. Saulcy, XI,5.
O: Similar, no crosslet.
R: Similar.

Small crosses often appear below the throne and in the field r. on the obverses, and in the legends on the reverses, of the gros and half gros of Hugh IV. Quatrefoils sometimes occur in field or legend as well.



75b

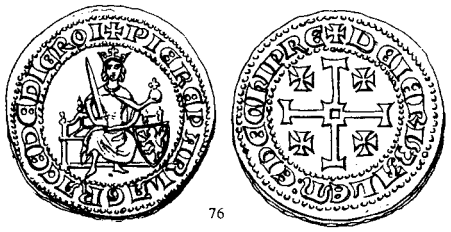
75. Billon denier. 0.66-0.73g. Lam._; Schl._; Vogüé, *RN*(1864), XIV,5.

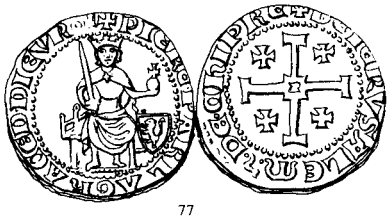
a. O: ✠hVGVЄ:RЄI:DЄ:, or variant stops.
Cross.
R: ✠IRL'ЯЄ D' ChIPR':, or variant stops.
Lion of Cyprus rampant l., tail ƨ-shaped, curled inwards.

b. O: Similar, with a pellet in the second quarter of cross.
R: Similar. 0.62-0.69g. Lam. Δ,42.

Peter I (1359-69)

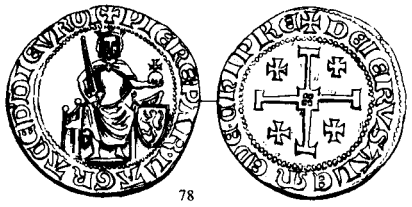
Standard Weight Silver

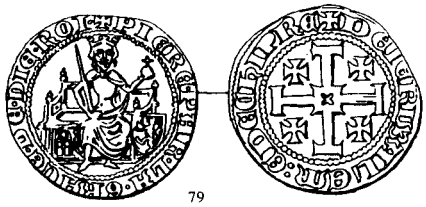

76


77

76. AR gros. 4.42.-4.67g. Saulcy, XI,8.
O: ✠PIЄRЄ PAR LA GRACЄ D' DIЄV ROI, or variant letter styles, spelling, and stops.
King seated on small throne which projects at l.; wears cloak fastened with cruciform brooch at neck; holds sword in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠DЄ IЄRU3ALЄЯ 3 DЄ ChIPRЄ, or variant letter styles and stops.
Cross of Jerusalem.

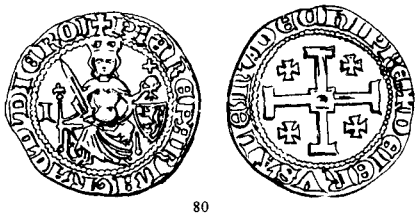
77. AR gros. 4.40-4.67g. Saulcy, XI,11.
O: Similar, throne at l. square-shaped.
R: Similar.


78


79

78. AR gros. 4.48-4.64g. Schl. VI,27.
O: Similar, king bearded and cloak spread over throne at l.
R: Similar.

79. AR gros. 4.43-4.65g. Lam. 44.
O: Similar, Gothic arch in throne l.
R: Similar.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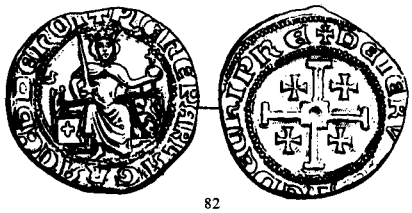
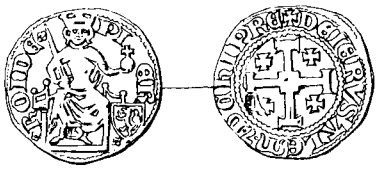

82

80. AR gros. 4.56-4.67g. Lam. 45.
O: Similar, king beardless, I to l. of throne.
R: Similar.

81. AR gros. 4.45-4.67g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar, small bird to l. of throne.
R: Similar.

82. AR gros. 4.40-4.64g. Schl. XX,12.
O: Similar, small bird to l. of throne and cross in throne.
R: Similar.

Often a quatrefoil is also found on front of throne at left. A reverse die of this type is also used with an obverse die of Peter II.


83

85

83. AR half gros. 2.10-2.38g. Lam. 48.
O: PIЄR ROI DЄ
King seated on small throne with projections at sides; wears cloak

fastened with quatrefoil broach at neck; holds sword in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.

R: ✠DЄ IЄRUSALЄ𝔐·7·D ЄhIPRЄ

Cross of Jerusalem.

84. AR half gros. 2.09-2.35g. Lam._; Schl._.

O: PI Є RЄ·ROI

Similar, cruciform brooch at neck, throne lower.

R: Similar.

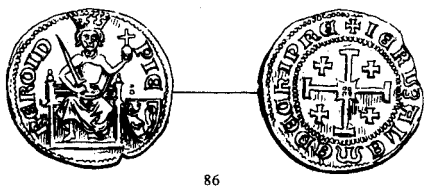
85. AR half gros. 2.15-2.36g. Schl. VII,2.

O: o o PI ЄRЄ ROI o

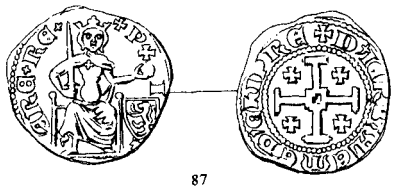
Similar, quatrefoil brooch at neck, throne has straight sides and back.

R: ✠DЄ IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐:Є DЄ ЄhIPRЄ, or varient letter styles.

Cross of Jerusalem.



86



87

86. AR half gros. 2.16g. Schl. VII,3 (incorrectly beardless).

O: PIЄ RЄ ROI D, or variant.

Similar, king beardless, throne has two bars at back.

R: ✠ IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є DЄ ЄhIPRЄ

Cross of Jerusalem.

87. AR half gros. 2.10-2.38g. Lam. 49.

O: ✠PI ЄRЄ RЄ, or variant.

Similar, king beardless, throne lower.

R: ✠D' IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є D' ЄhIPRЄ

Cross of Jerusalem.

88. AR half gros. 2.12g. Lam._; Schl._.

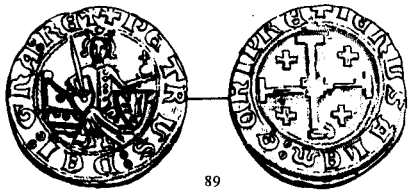
O: ✠P I ЄRЄ RO

Similar, I in l. field.

R: ✠DЄ IЄRUSALЄ𝔐 Є D' ЄhIPRЄ

Cross of Jerusalem.

Light-weight Coinage



89

89. AR gros. 3.79-3.99g. Schl. XX,14.

O: ✠PЄTRUS:DЄI:GRA:REX

King seated on crude, bench-like throne, with triangular design at l.; king holds sword in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.

R: ✠ IЄRUSALЄM Є ChIPRI

Cross of Jerusalem.

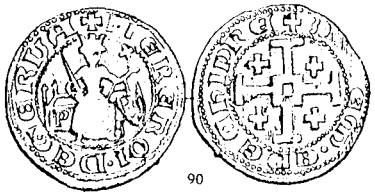
90. AR gros. 3.83-4.01g. Schl. XX,15; VI,28.

O: ✠PIЄRЄ ROI·DЄ GЄRUA

King seated on rectangular throne with corner posts, P in l. side of throne, king holds sword in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.

R: ✠IALЄM Є DЄ ChIPRЄ

Cross of Jerusalem.



90

91. AR half gros. 2.04g. Seltman, *NC*(1966), XX,9.

O: ✠PIЄRЄ ROI

King seated on simple throne with corner posts, P in l. side of throne; king holds sword in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.

R: ✠ALЄM Є D ChIPRЄ·

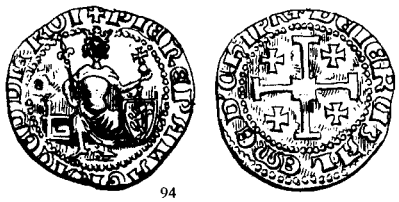
Cross of Jerusalem.

92. AR half gros. 1.95-1.99g. Seltman, *NC*(1966), XX,10.
O: Similar, cruder style.
R: ✠DЄ IЄRUSALЄ𝔐 Є DЄ CЋIP'
Cross of Jerusalem.

For billon deniers possibly struck during this reign, see listing under Peter II.

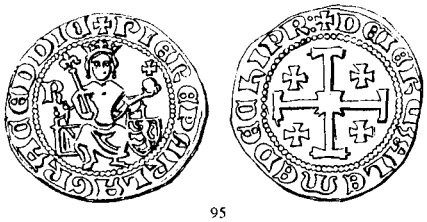
Peter II (1369-82)

93


94

93. AR gros. 4.45-4.65 Lam. E,50.
O: ✠PIЄRЄ PAR LA GRACЄ D DIЄ RO, spelling and stops vary.
King seated on plain, bench-like throne, wears cloak fastened with cruciform brooch at neck, holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠D IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є DЄ CЋIPRЄ
Cross of Jerusalem.

94. AR gros. 4.45-4.64 g. Schl. VII,4.
O: Similar, but throne cruder, without line at back.
R: Similar.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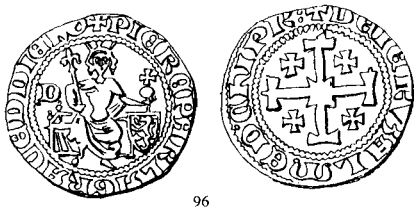

96

95. AR gros. 4.38-4.55 g. Lam. E,52.
O: Similar, R in l. field.
R: Similar.

96. AR gros. 4.47-4.54 g. Lam. E,51.
O: Similar, D in l. field.
R: Similar.

97

99

97. AR half gros. 2.17-2.36 g. Lam. E,53.
O: PIЄ RЄ ROI
King seated on small, low throne, wears cloak fastened with cruciform brooch at neck, holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є D' ЄhIPR
Cross of Jerusalem.

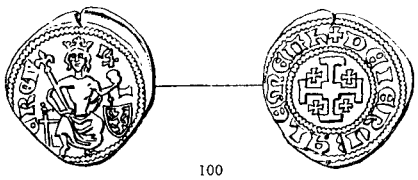
98. AR half gros. 2.18-2.33 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠PIЄR ROI
Similar, king bearded.
R: ✠D IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є D ЄhIPR
Similar.

99. AR half gros. 2.27 g. Schl. VII,6; Lam. E,55
O: ✠PIЄ RЄ RO I
Similar.
R: ✠D IЄRUSALЄ𝔐 D' ЄhIPRЄ, or variant legend.
Similar.

100. AR half gros. 1.44 g. (pierced and worn) Lam. E,54.
O: P I ЄRЄ R(O)
Similar.
R: ✠ DЄ IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є Єh
Similar.

101. AR half gros. 2.15 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: PIЄR Є ROI D
Similar.
R: ✠ DЄ IЄRV3AL𝔐 Є hI
Similar.

102. AR half gros. 2.10-2.25 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: PIЄ RЄ RO
Similar, D in l. field.
R: ✣ DЄ IЄRV3ALЄM Є hI
Similar.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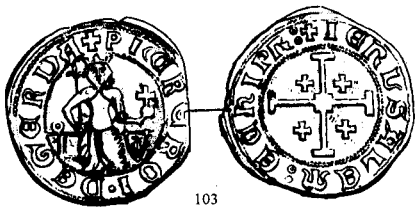

103

Light-weight Coinage

103. AR gros. 3.94-4.06 g. Sch. XX,17.
O: ✣PIЄRЄ ROI·DЄ GЄRUA
King std. on rectangular throne with corner post on l. side, holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✣IЄRUSALЄM:Є ЄhIPR:
Cross of Jerusalem.

Peter I (1359-69) or Peter II (1369-82)

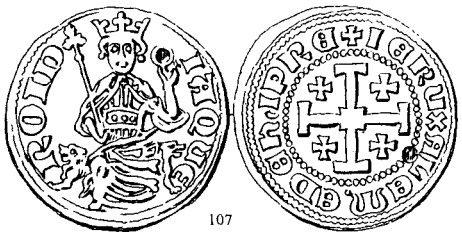
104. Billon denier. 0.66 g. Seltman, *Num.Circ.* (Feb.1968), p.37, fig. 1.
O: ✣PIЄRЄ ROI D
Lion of Cyprus, rampant l.
R: ✣IЄRUALЄM
Cross, pellets in quarters.

105. Billon denier. 0.43-0.47 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✣PIЄRЄ ROI DЄ IЄ:
Similar.
R: ✣RUSALЄM Є D Єh
Similar.

Peter II (1369-82)

106. AE fractional denier. 0.48-0.68 g. Seltman, *Num.Circ.* (Feb.1968), p.37, fig.2.
O: ✠PIЄRЄ.ROI D
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠IЄRUALЄ𝔐
Cross, pellets in quarters.

James I (1382-98)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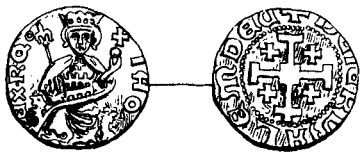
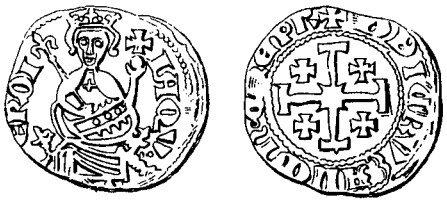

110

107. AR gros. 4.40-4.56 g. Lam. E,56.
O: IAQUЄ ROI D
King, beardless seated on curule chair, with foreparts of lions at sides, wears cloak fastened with cruciform broach at neck, thrown open revealing under-garment. Holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand.
R: ✠IЄRU3ALЄ𝔐 Є D ЄhIPRЄ
Cross of Jerusalem.

108. AR half gros. 2.30 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: IAQ UЄ RO
Similar.
R: ✠IЄRUALЄ𝔐 Є D ЄhIPR
Similar.

109. AR gros. 4.38-4.58 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: IAQVЄ ROI D
Similar, king fatter and bearded, fine style.
R: Similar.

110. AR half gros. 2.22-2.29 g. Lam. 59; Schl. VII,8.
O: IAQ Є ROI
Similar.
R: ✠DЄ IЄRU3ALЄ𐌌 DЄ C, or variant misspellings.
Similar.



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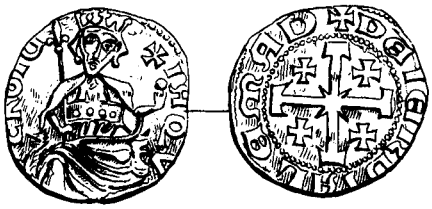
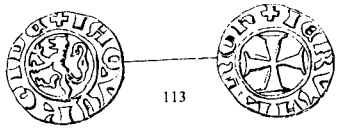


112

111. AR gros. 4.38-4.57 g. Lam. E,57-58.
O: IAQV Є ROI
Similar, rougher style.
R: ✠D Є IЄRUSALЄ𐌌 D Є CPR, or variant spellings.
Similar.

112. AR gros. 4.36-4.58 g. Schl. VII,7.
O: IAQV Є ROI C
Similar, barbarous style.
R: ✠DЄ IЄRU3ALЄ𐌌 Є D, or variant spellings.
Similar.



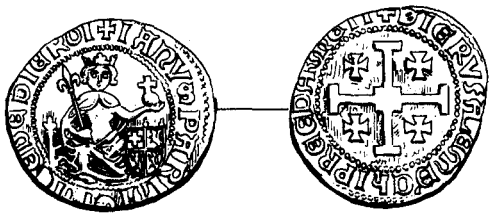
113

113. Billon denier. 0.58-0.78 g. Lam. ,60-61.
a. O: ✠IAQVЄ ROI DЄ
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

R: ✠IЄRV3ALЄM Ch
Cross.

b. O: Similar.
R: ✠IЄRV3ALЄM
Cross, small cross in first or second quarter.
0.55-0.75 g. Lam. 62; Schl. VII,9;
Stewart Coll. (1st quarter).

Janus (1398-1432)



115

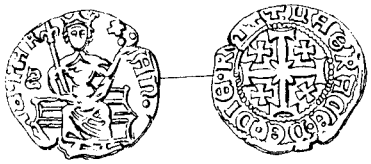
116

114. AR gros. 4.35-4.39 g.
O: ✠IANVS PAR LA GRACЄ DЄ DIЄ ROI
King seated facing on throne formed of straight lines and arcs projecting at left. Holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus and Armenia.
R: ✠D' IЄRV3ALЄM D' ChIPRЄ Є D' ARMЄNI
Cross of Jerusalem.

115. AR gros. 4.32-4.54 g. Lam. 64; Schl. VII,10.
O: ✠IANVS PAR LA GRACЄ DЄ DIЄ ROI
Similar, but king seated on bench-like throne with hatching on front at l, and four corner-posts.
R: Similar.

116. AR half gros. 2.09-2.21 g. Schl. VII,11; XX,10.
O: IAN VS PA
King seated on bench-like throne with low back; holds scepter in r. and orb in l. hand.
R: ✠R LA GRACЄ DЄ DIЄ ROI, or minor variants.
Similar.

117



118

117. AR gros. 4.23-4.53 g. Lam. 63 (Ȣ omitted).

O: Similar to 112 but throne projects at l., and has no corner-posts at r. In l. field Ȣ.

R: ✠D' IЄRV3ALЄM D' CIPRЄ Є' ARMЄNI

Similar.

Die linked with one variety of Type 1 of John II (cf. no. 124). Schlumberger, citing Vogüé, reported a variety with the cross of Jerusalem in both the first and fourth quarters of shield.

118. AR half gros. 2.10 g. Lam. 65.

O: IAn VS PA

Similar to no. 113, in l. field Ȣ.

R: ✠R LA GRACЄ DЄ DIЄ ROI

Similar.

119. Billon denier. 0.57-0.90 g. Lam. 67-69.

a. O: ✠IANUS ROI D

Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

R: ✠IЄRV3ALЄM

Cross.

b. O: Similar.

R: Similar, but with an annulet in first quarter of cross.

0.59 g. Lam._; Schl._; Stewart Coll.

120. Billon denier. 0.56-0.72 Lam._; Schl._;
O: ✠IAИUS ROI DЄ ЄCh Dolley, *NC* (1953), p. 1.
Cross, six-pointed stars in second and third quarters.
R: ✠ IЄRV ƷALЄMЯ Є
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

121. Billon denier. 0.55 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠IAИVS ROI DЄ
Cross, S in second quarter.
R: ✠ DЄ ЄRV...
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

122. Billon denier. 0.66 g. Lam. 70; Schl. VII,13.
O: ✠IAИVS ROI DЄ ЄCh
Cross of Jerusalem.
R: ✠ DЄ ЄChIPR Є D ЄRI
Similar.

122

123

125

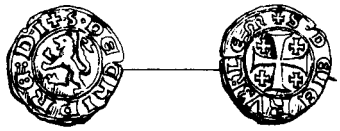
123. AE sezin. 1.86-2.00 g. Lam. 66; Schl. VII,12.
O: ✠IAИU·S· ROI DЄ
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠IЄRLMЯ Є DЄ ЄIP
Cross of Jerusalem.

124. AE sezin. 1.58-1.66 g. Lam._; Schl._.
a. O: ✠IAИVS ROI DЄ
Similar, pellet to r. of lion's head.
R: Similar to last.
b. O: Similar, but with a pellet to l. of lion.
R: Similar. 1.83 g. Lam._; Schl._.

125. AE sezin. 1.50-1.82 g. Schl. XX,21-22.
O: ✠IAИVS ROI DЄ IЄ
Similar, I below lion.
R: Similar to previous type, but with I in third quarter.

Anonymous Denier possibly struck by Janus (1398-1432) or John II (1432-58)

126. Billon denier. 0.56-0.66 g. Lam. H,95; Schl. VIII,2.
O: ✠·S·DЄ IЄRV3ALЛ
Cross of Jerusalem.
R: ✠·S·DЄ CҺIPRЄ·:·, or variant.
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.

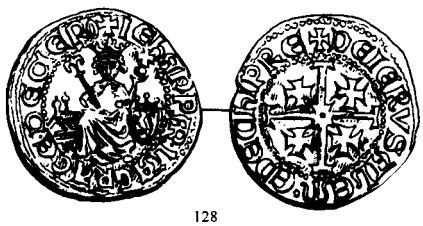


126

John II (1432-58)

127. AR gros. *Type 1.* 4.31 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠IOҺAЛ PAR LA GRACЄ DЄ DIЄ ROI
King std. on bench-like throne with hatching on front at l., and low corner posts; cloak fastened with annular broach at neck; holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠DЄ IЄRLЛ DЄ CҺIPRЄ Є D' ARI
Cross of Jerusalem. Incuse quatrefoil in center.

Types 1 through 4 have a circle of dots around obverse design. One variety of type 1 reverse is die-linked with Janus' type having ƨ on obverse, no. 114 above. Only type one has the Armenian title.



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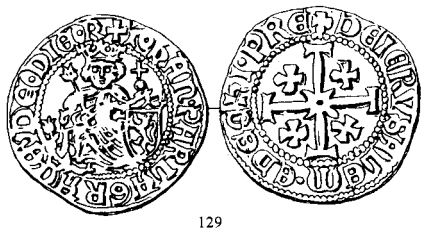
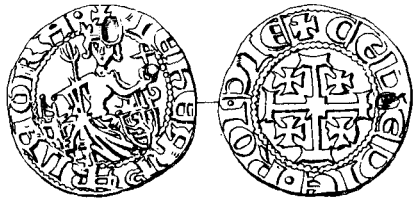


129

128. AR gros. *Type 2.* 4.08-4.34 g. Lam. Z,78; Schl. VII,17.
O: ✠IЄhAΠ·PAR LA GRACЄ DЄ DIЄ RO
Similar type in cruder style; throne without hatching in front at l., and corner posts at l. higher. King smaller.
R: ✠DЄ IЄRVSALЄ𝔐·Є DЄ ЄhIPRЄ
Similar.
Smaller flan and cruder style.

129. AR gros. *Type 3.* 3.84-4.31 g. Lam. Z,76.
O: ✠IЄhAΠ·PAR LA GRACЄ·DЄ·DIЄ·R
Similar, throne at l. smaller.
R: Similar, cruder style.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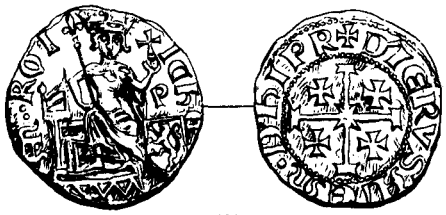

131

130. AR gros. *Type 4.* 3.91-4.02 g. Lam. Z,77.
O: ✠·IЄhЄAΠ PAR LA GRA·
Similar, one corner post at l., with two projections at top; P to r.
R: ✠ЄЄ DЄ DIЄ·ROI·D' IЄ.
Similar.
Very crude style.

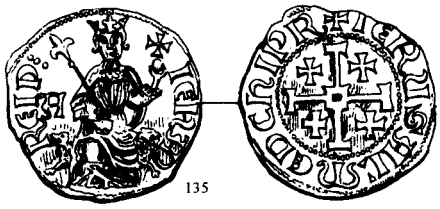
131. AR gros. *Type 5.* 3.68-4.15 g. Lam. Z,75; Schl. VII,16.
O: IЄhЄ AΠ· ROI
Similar, corner post at l. larger; zig-zag pattern below throne.
R: ✠D'IЄRVSALЄ𝔐·D' hIPRЄ
Similar.

No circle of dots appears around obverse design on Types 5 and following.

132. AR gros. *Type 6.* 3.65-4.11 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: IЄAΠ ROI
Similar, but l. side of throne formed of forepart lion. Below throne, branch-like pattern.
R: Similar.

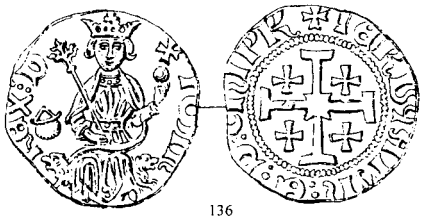
133. AR gros. *Type 7.* 3.60-3.72 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar, but forepart of lion on each side of throne; below throne, eye; no shield of arms to r.; P to l.
R: Similar.

134


135

134. AR gros. *Type 8.* 3.69-4.18 g. Lam. Z,74.
O: IЄhA ℿ RЄI D
King std. facing on curule chair with foreparts of lions at sides, wears cloak open at front, with undergarment, collar and belt. Holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. Cross to l.
R: ✠IЄRUSAL'ℿ Є D' ЄhIPR
Similar.
Neater style.

135. AR gros. *Type 9.* 3.65-4.09 g. Schl. VII,15.
O: IЄhAℿ RЄI D⁝
Similar, A to l.
R: Similar.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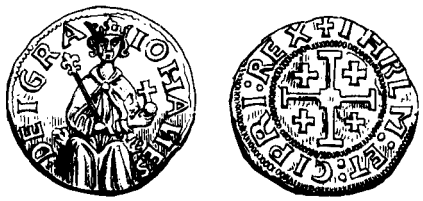

137

136. AR gros. *Type 10.* 3.68-4.16 g. Lam. ,73.
O: IOAℿ RЄX⁝D
Similar, cauldron to l.
R: ✠IЄRUSAI'ℿ⁝Є⁝D⁝ЄhIPR, or variant. Legend in Latin or French.
Similar but no depression in center of square.
Die-link of variety with French reverse legend to type of Charlotte bearing shield with scrolls on obverse, no. 141.

137. AR gros. *Type 11.* 3.69-4.05 g. Lam. 71-72; Schl. VII,14.
O: IOHAИES:DEI GRA
King std. facing on curule chair with foreparts of lions at sides; wears cloak fastened with brooch at neck. Holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. No symbol in field.
R: ✠IHRLM:ET:CIPRI(or CIPRI):REX
Similar.
Type 11 bears block lettering and is of very neat style.

138. AR gros. *Type 11.* 3.96 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠IOHANE S:DE GRA
Similar.
R: ✠REX:·CIPRIE:
Similar.

139. AR gros. *Type 12.* 4.09 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠IOhANES:DEI:GRACIA
Cross of Jerusalem, X-shaped crosslets in quarters.
R: ✠REX:DE ChIPRΩ
King std. as on obverse of 137, but orb without cross in l. hand.

Type 12 and type 13 have a common reverse die. Note that the cross has become the obverse type, instead of the usual reverse position.

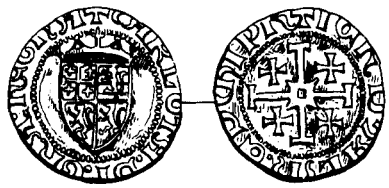
Anonymous Gros

140. AR gros. *Type 13.* 3.72-3.91 g. Lam._; Sch._.
O: ✠REX:CIPRIE:
Cross of Jerusalem.
R: ✠REX:DE ChIPRΩ
Known with same die as reverse of 139.

Charlotte (1458-59)

141. AR gros. 3.82 g. Lam._; Schl._;
O: ✠CARLOTA : DI : GRA : REGИA Stewart Coll. (2 ex.)
Crowned shield with arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus, and Armenia, between scrolls.
R: ✠IЄRUSAI'ЯM : Є : D : ЄhIPR, or variant.
Cross of Jerusalem.

The obverse of the previous coin is die linked with a reverse of John II's type 10 (no. 136).



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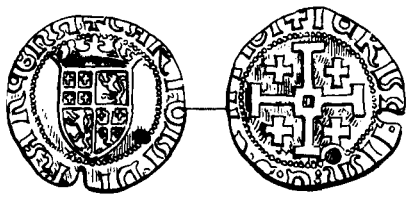
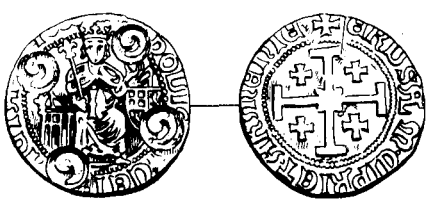


143

142. AR gros. 3.68-4.07 g. Lam. Z,79-80; Schl. VII,18-19.
Similar, shield without scrolls.

143. AR gros. Schl. VII,8 (presently Fitzwilliam Museum, *unique*); Slocum, MS.
Similar, but cross of Jerusalem in both first and fourth quarters of shield.

Louis of Savoy (1459-60)



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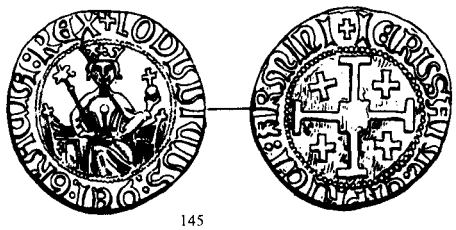

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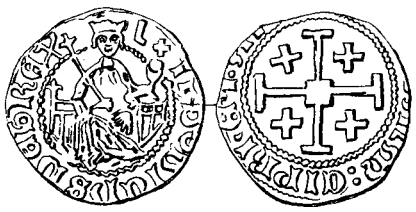
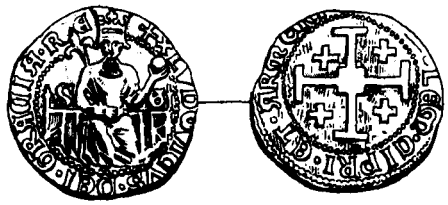
144. AR gros. *Type 1.* 3.71-4.04 g. Lam. Z,85; Schl. VIII,13.
O: ✠LUDOUICUS DEI GRACIA REX
King seated facing on ornate bench-like throne with corner posts; wears cloak fastened with annular brooch at neck. Holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with arms of Jerusalem (or Savoy?), Lusignan, Cyprus, and Armenia.
R: ✠IERUSALM·CIPRI·ET·ARMENIE
Cross of Jerusalem, small square in center.
Very fine style. Countermark swirls on illustrated specimen are Venetian.

145. AR gros. *Type 2.* 3.61-3.73 g. Lam. Z,82; Schl. VII,20.
O: ✠LODUUICUS : DEI : GRACIA : REX
King std. facing on plain bench like throne, with corner posts sloping outwards towards top; wears cloak open in front, and collar at neck. Holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. Head within circle of dots.
R: ✠IERUSALM : CIPRI : ET : ARMIN
Similar.
Cruder style. Reverse die links with Types 3 and 4.

146. AR gros. *Type 3.* 3.62-4.04 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠LUDOUICUS : DEI : GRA : REX·D
King std. facing on bench-like throne with hatched panels in front, and vertical corner posts; holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. Top of king's head outside circle of dots.
R: ✠IERUSALM:CIPRI·ET·ARM
Similar.
Crude style. Reverse die-links with Types 2 and 4.



147



149

147. AR gros. *Type 4.* 3.62-4.09 g. Lam. Z,83.
O: LUDOUICUS DE G REX
Similar, panels in front of throne without hatching; King's head and top of scepter outside circle of dots.
R: ✠IERUSALM:CIPRI·ET·ARMI
Similar.
Reverse die-links with various specimens of Types 2, 3, and 5.

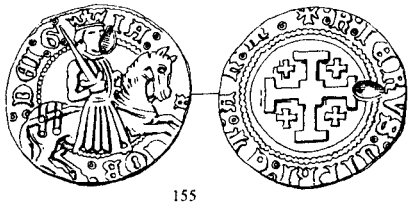
148. AR gros. *Type 5.* 3.65-3.91 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: LUDOUICUS DI GRA REX
Similar, in front of throne r., shield with arms of Savoy.
R: Similar.
Reverse die-links with Type-4.

149. AR gros. *Type 6.* 3.75-3.96 g. Lam. Z,84; Schl. VII,21.
O: LVDOVICVS·DEI·GRACIA·RE
Similar, no shield in front of throne, S to l., G to r.
R: ✠IERV3ALEM·CIPRI·ET·ARMENIE·
Similar.

James II (1460-73)

150. AR gros. *Type 1.* 3.62-3.70 g. Warren, *NC*(1892), XVII.11 (incorrectly attributed to Peter I).
O: ✠IACOBUS✠DEI✠GRAIA✠XX✠REX✠IhE
King std. facing on plain, bench-like throne with high corner posts. Wears Cloak fastened with cruciform brooch at neck. Holds sword in r., orb in l. hand. Below r., shield with lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠RVSALEM✠CIPRI✠ET✠ARMENIE
Cross of Jerusalem. Four incuse circles in central square.
Recalls the coinage of Peter I.

152


155

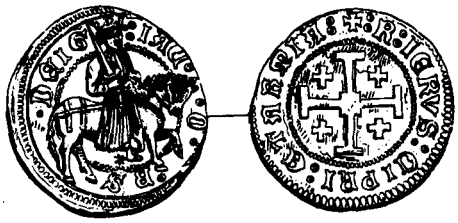
151. AR gros. *Type 2.* 3.44 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: :IA: :CIOBO° :DEI: G:
King on horseback, galloping to r., wears long cloak and spurs, holds sword in r. and reins in l hand. To r., small R.
R: ✠:R:IERV:CIPRI:ET:ER:MI:
Cross of Jerusalem with narrow hatched arms, and pellet in center; X-shaped crosses in quarters.
Similar to possibly posthumous type 12 of John II.

152. AR gros. *Type 3.* 3.77-3.87 g. Schl. XIX,10.
O: Same die.
R: ✠:R:IERVS:CIPRI:ET:ARMIN:, or variant.
Similar, arms of cross thicker, and square depression in center, + shaped crosslets in quarters.

153. AR gros. *Type 3.* 3.79 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Same die.
R: ✠:R.:IЄRVS:CIPRI:ЄT:ARMINI:
Similar, no pellet in center of cross; square in center enclosed in lines.
Die-linked to type 5 (same reverse die as no. 157.)

154. AR gros. *Type 3.* 3.81 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Same die.
R: ✠:R:IЄRVSALЄM:CIPRI:ЄT:A:
Similar, square in center of cross larger.

155. AR gros. *Type 4.* 2.98 g. (clipped) Lam. H,87.
O: :IA: COB: :DEI:G:
Similar.
R: ✠:R:IЄRVS:CIPRI:ЄT:AR:M:
Cross of Jerusalem, without hatching, square in center.



159

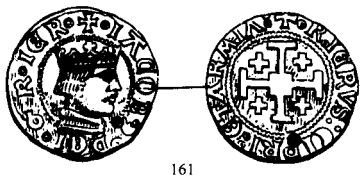
156. AR gros. *Type 5.* 3.74 g. *Munzen und Medaillen 30* (1965), pl.51, no. 833.
O: :IAC:°:O BO°°:DEI:GR:
King on horseback, walking to r., wears long cloak and spurs, holds sword in r., reins in l. hand.
R: ✠:R:IЄRVS:ALЄM:CIPRI:ЄT:
Cross of Jerusalem, with hatched arms, and square depression and pellet in center.

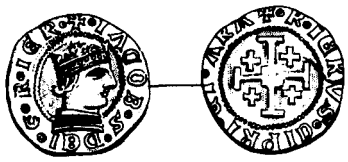
157. AR gros. *Type 5.* 2.89 g. (clipped). Lam._; Schl._.
O: Same die.
R: ✠:R:IЄRVS:CIPRI:ЄT:ARMINI:
Similar, no pellet in center of cross, square at center enclosed in lines.
Same reverse die as that of no. 153.

158. AR gros. *Type 5.* 3.79-3.81 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar.
R: Similar, square in center of cross larger.

159. AR gros. *Type 6.* 3.66-3.85 g. Lam. H,86; Schl. VII,22.
O: :IAC o o O o o BS o DEI G
Similar.
R: ✠:R:IERVS:CIPRI:ET ARMIA:
Cross of Jerusalem, arms without hatching, square in center.
Die-linked with Type 1 obverse of Catharine Cornaro.

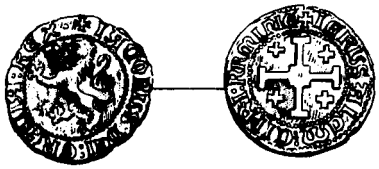
160. AR half gros. *Type 1.* 1.74 g. (pierced) Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠ o IACOBS o DEI o G o REX o IERV o CIP o
Crowned head r. within circle of dots.
R: ✠ o R o IERVS o A o CIPRI o ET o ARMINIA o
Cross of Jerusalem, with hatched arms.

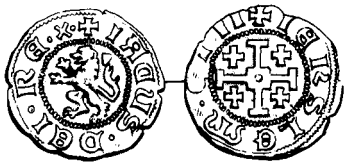

161


162

161. AR half gros. *Type 2.* 1.88 g. Lam. H,88; Schl. VII,23.
O: ✠ o IACOB o S o DEI o G o R o IER o
Similar, but base of neck outside circle of dots.
R: ✠:R:IERVS:CIPRI:ET ARMIA:
Cross of Jerusalem, arms without hatching, square in center.

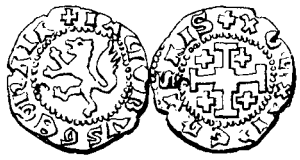
162. AR half gros. 1.85 g. Schl. XX,13.
O: Similar.
R: ✠ o R o IERVS o CIPRI o ET o ARM
Similar.


163


164

163. AE sezin. 1.73-2.06 g. Lam. H,89; Schl. VII,24.
O: ✠IACOBUS·DEI:GRACIA:REX·
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠IERUSALEM:CIPRI:ARMENIE
Cross of Jerusalem.

164. AE sezin. Lam. H,90; Schl. VIII,3.
O: ✠IACUS·DEI·RE·X·
Similar.
R: ✠IERSLEM·CIPRI
Similar.



165

166

165. AE sezin. 1.80 g. Saulcy, XII,6.
O: ✠IACOBUS DE GRAIA
Similar.
R: ✠X REX IDERUSAIS
Similar.

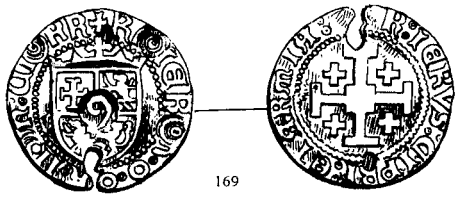
166. AE sezin. 2.00-2.33 g. Saulcy, XII,4.
O: ✠IACOBUS DE GRAIS XX
Similar.
R: ✠EX IDERUSALEM
Similar.

167. AE sezin. 1.82-1.94 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: ✠IACOBUS DE GRAIS XX R
Similar.
R: ✠EX IDERUSALEM CIPR
Similar.

Many other minor legend varieties of sezin exist.

168. AE carzia. 0.56-1.01 g. Saulcy, XII,13-14.
O: ✠IACOBUS DEI G
Lion of Cyprus rampant l.
R: ✠XX·IERUSALEM
Cross of Jerusalem.

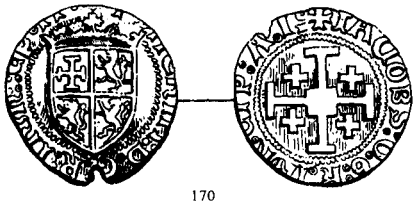
168


169

Catherine Cornaro, First Sole Reign, July-August 1473

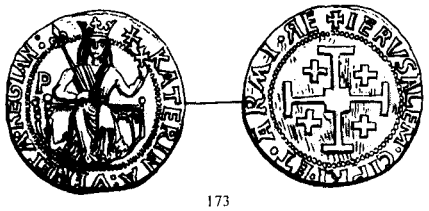
169. AR gros. *Type 1.* 3.54 g. Lam. H,92-93; Schl. VIII,1.
O: ✠KATERIA:D:G:R:IRM:CP:AR
Crowned shield with arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus. and Armenia. *Same die as no. 166.*
R: ✠:R:IERVS:CIPRI:ET ARMIA:
Cross of Jerusalem, square in center. *Same die as last type gros of James II.*

Catherine Cornaro and James III, August 1473 - August 1474

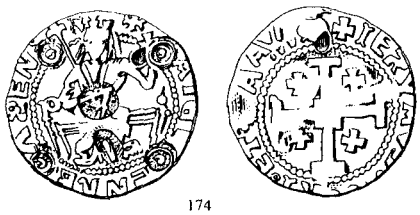

170

170. AR gros. *Type 2.* 3.73-3.81 g. Lam. H,91; Schl. VII,25.
O: ✠KATERIA:D:G:R:IRM:CP:AR
Crowned shield with arms of Jerusalem, Lusignan, Cyprus, and Armenia. *Known with same die as no. 165.*
R: ✠IACOB9:D:G:R:IRM:CIP:A:T9
Cross of Jerusalem, square in center.

Catherine Cornaro, Second Sole Reign (1474-89)



173



174

171. AR gros. *Type 3.* 3.51-3.65 g. *Munzen und Medaillen 30* (1965), pl. 52, no. 835.

O: ✠KΛTERINΛ:VENETΛ:REGINΛ:
Queen std. facing on small throne, holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand; to l., S ; to r., P.

R: ✠IERVSΛLEM:CIPRI:ET:ΛRMENIΛ
Cross of Jerusalem, square in center.

172. AR gros. *Type 4.* 3.46-3.63 g. *Munzen und Medaillen 30* (1965), pl. 52, no. 834.

O: ✠KΛTERINΛ·VENETΛ·REGINΛ·
Queen std. facing on bench-like throne with corner-posts. Queen's head and scepter within circle of dots. She holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. To l, P. Large flan.

R: ✠IERVSΛLEM·CIPRI·ΛRMENIΛ
Similar.

173. AR gros. *Type 5.* 3.49-3.66 g. Schl. VII,26.

O: ✠KΛTERINΛ:VENETĀ:REGINΛ:
Queen std. facing on bench-like throne, without corner posts, but hatching on front. Top of queen's head and scepter outside circle of dots. She holds scepter in r., orb in l. hand. P to l. Smaller flan.

R: ✠IERVSΛLEM·CIPRI o ET·ΛRMI·ΛE
Similar.

174. AR gros. *Type 6.* 3.02-3.34 g. Lam. H,94.

O: ✠°KΛTRΛ:VENΛETĀ REN:
Similar, but sides of throne slope outwards at top. To l., P.

R: ✠IERVΛVƎM ↄIRI o ET o VΛ o MIΛ
Similar.

Countermarks on illustrated specimen are Venetian.

Genoese Occupation of Famagusta (1373-1464)

175a

175a. Billon denier. 0.55-0.78 g. Lam. Θ,99; Schl. VIII,15.
O: ✠CIVIT·FAMAG
Genoese gateway.
R: ✠DVX·IANVEN·
Cross.

1b. Billon denier. 0.53 g. Lam._; Schl._.
O: Similar, but gateway larger.
R: Similar, though an X appears in first quarter of cross.

PSEUDO-BYZANTINE CRUSADER SCYPHATE COINAGES

THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

As the culmination of the Fourth Crusade, in April, 1204, Venetian and Frankish Crusaders seized and looted Constantinople and then attempted to transform Byzantium into a Latin Christian Empire. Economic rivalry and religious intolerance were factors which had brought about this fierce encounter between Eastern and Western Christianity; and though the union of the churches had been an ideal shared by certain devout Christians of East and West, both Pope Innocent III and Nicetas Choniates, a Greek historian who was witness to the siege and subsequent looting of the city, bitterly lamented the Crusaders' actions. In his private papers, Innocent expressed his feelings about the reports of the Latin invasion:

> These defenders of Christ who should have turned their swords only against the infidel have bathed in Christian blood. They have respected neither religion, nor age, nor sex. . . . They have dared to lay their hands on the wealth of the churches. They have been seen tearing from the altars the silver adornments, breaking them in fragments over which they quarrelled, violating the sanctuaries, carrying away the icons, crosses and relics.[1]

Nicetas Choniates also described the manner in which the Crusaders treated their conquered Greek Christian brethren and mourned the ruin of his country. In order to maintain their conquests and remain in possession of Constantinople, he said, the Crusaders melted down the ancient bronze statues to mint coins.[2]

Indeed, the Crusaders and Venetians were undertaking the well-nigh impossible task of establishing and maintaining an empire in the East. Their attempt to divide the spoils and territories and to establish Latin institutions there led to the imposition of Western customs and also the imitation of Greek ways. In May, Baldwin of Flanders was elected emperor, instead of the powerful and able Boniface de Montferrat, whom Venice was less likely to be able to control; and thus the Latin government was organized more along the lines of a Western feudal state at Constantinople, than the autocratic Byzantine Empire.[3] In October the Franks and Venetians also came to a final agreement on the division of their conquered territory.

The lands were divided into three major shares, one for the Latin emperor (which amounted to about one quarter of the territory by a previous treaty of March

1204) and one each (or about three-eighths of the territory) for Venetian and other Frankish factions. Each received a portion near Constantinople itself, and a portion farther away. Despite Baldwin's bitter disapproval, Boniface de Montferrat was eventually awarded the Kingdom of Thessalonica, which he had coveted in order to have lands bordering those of his wife, Marguerite of Hungary, the widow of Isaac II. The emperor received territory in eastern Thrace, Constantinople, and along the Black Sea, while Venice acquired Aegean ports and strategic trade centers. The Frankish contingent received lands in Thrace and Asia Minor by the treaty. Each fief was evaluated at a certain amount of knights' fees, worth 300 livres of Anjou, and census takers were despatched to evaluate the local revenue.[4]

When the doge, Enrico Dandolo, died in May, 1205, the office of the Venetian podestà in Constantinople was created. This office further tied Constantinople to the Republic of Venice, and further encroached upon the emperor's power. The podestà and his council could, by a treaty concluded in October, 1205, conscript Venetians to fight for the empire, thus regularizing military service and to some degree stabilizing the emperor's position in the East.

The Greeks, however, soon rallied and planned retaliation. The Comneni took Trebizond in April, 1204; Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law of Alexius III, set up an empire at Nicaea by 1208; and Michael Comnenus, bastard son of a high Byzantine official, deserted the ranks of Boniface de Montferrat and fled to southern Epirus where he established a third empire. The Bulgarian Tsar Ioannitsa became hostile toward the Latins at Constantinople, when they rejected him as an ally, and he allied himself with Greeks in Thrace. From the outset, then, the Latins were surrounded by enemies.

In a battle against Ioannitsa in 1205, Emperor Baldwin of Flanders was captured. His brother Henry, arriving from Asia Minor with auxiliaries, saved the battle; and, in 1206, he assumed the throne. Ioannitsa died soon after, thus temporarily removing the Bulgarian threat. Even with the death of Boniface and increasing Epirote power, Henry continued skillfully and energetically to protect the empire against the Greek states. The Greek historian Acropolitas praised Henry's political abilities, and stated that the inhabitants of Constantinople gladly accepted his reign, for he installed many Greeks in high office and treated the populace fairly. He gave them freedom of worship, despite papal legates' decrees, and allowed them to open their churches.[5] However, Henry found it difficult to maintain his army for lack of funds, and the rate of desertion was very high for that reason. When Henry died suddenly in 1216, the barons chose as emperor Peter of Courtenai, husband of Yolanda, sister of Baldwin and Henry. En route to Constantinople, Peter was captured by Theodore of Epirus and presumably died in captivity.

Yolanda arrived safely and soon gave birth to a son, the future Baldwin II, and ruled as empress until her death in 1219. To secure peaceful relations with Nicaea, Yolanda married her daughter Marie to Theodore Lascaris. This alliance was strengthened by a five-year treaty concluded in August, 1219, between Lascaris and the Venetian podestà, Giacomo Tiepolo. This treaty opened the territory of each

empire to the subjects of the other, freeing Venetians from tolls and fees in Nicaean lands, but requiring Nicaeans in Venetian lands and Constantinople to pay legal customs dues. Lascaris promised not to send warships to Constantinople nor to enlist Venetian mercenaries without the consent of the podestà.[6] The treaty also stipulated that Theodore should not copy Venetian coins, not Constantinopolitan hyperpyra, *manuelati* (silver trachea), or *stamena* (copper trachea), and that the Venetians should not copy Theodore's.[7]

Another son of Yolanda, Robert de Courtenai, accepted the throne in 1219; but under his rule, in a succession of battles, the Latin Empire suffered severe losses. Theodore of Epirus, who had taken Thessalonica in 1224, continued to take most of Thrace; while John Ducas Vatatzes (1222-54), who had succeeded Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea, continued winning decisive battles near Constantinople. Just as it seemed that the demise of the Latin Empire was imminent, in 1225-26 Ioannitsa's son Ivan Asen arranged a truce between the Latins and Theodore of Epirus, encouraging trade across the borders of the empires, since the Latins still held territory in Thrace. Furthermore, because he had married the daughter of Andreas of Hungary, Ivan Asen had become the nephew-in-law of Robert de Courtenai and thus hoped to take over the empire for himself. However, when the incompetent Robert was expelled by the barons in 1229, John of Brienne, former king of Jerusalem, was elected regent for the youthful Baldwin II over the bitterly disappointed Ivan Asen. With a very small and underpaid army, John of Brienne was able in due course to repulse the relentless assaults of Vatatzes and his newly-discovered Bulgarian ally, Ivan Asen.

Though Vatatzes had been attempting since 1232 to open negotiations with Rome, promising to recognize papal supremacy in order to get its support, nothing came of his attempts; in 1235 the Greek-Bulgarian assault on Constantinople recommenced. When Baldwin II came of age and succeeded to the throne in March, 1237, he visited France and England to appeal — in vain — for money and aid. At this time, most of the French nobles refused to fight any enemy in the East other than Muslims; and Pope Innocent IV, still hoping to end the schism between the churches, prevented the Latin clergy from supplying funds to their brethren in the East. Other barons in outlying fortresses of the empire were little concerned with the fate of the capital. Only Venice finally despatched a fleet that saved the city from succumbing to siege; and battles between the Greek states of Epirus and Nicaea further delayed the fall of the Latin Empire. Pope Innocent IV and Vatatzes renewed negotiations concerning the reunification of the churches between 1249 and their deaths in 1254; the Pope was actually willing to abandon the bankrupt and desperate Latin Empire in hopes of ending the schism and subjecting the Greek Church, re-established at Constantinople, to papal supremacy.

Vatatzes' successor, Theodore II Lascaris, was hostile to Rome, however, and his reign was cut short by an intricate conspiracy devised by Michael VIII Palaeologus, a descendant of the Byzantine imperial family, who became emperor of Nicaea in 1258. Michael, who was equally hostile to the idea of papal supremacy,

secured his rule mainly by establishing diplomatic relations with the Bulgars, Seljuqs, and Mongols. Also a brilliant general, he captured Michael II of Epirus and William of Achaea and, in 1260, put Latin Constantinople under final siege. In the spring of 1261, the Byzantines overran the city nearly unopposed, and Michael VIII Palaeologus was soon afterwards crowned as the Greek emperor of Byzantium.

The Latin seizure of Constantinople left the Greek Christians with a legacy of bitterness and hostile resentment toward Latin Christendom that would prevent the union of the churches for centuries. Even though union might have provided political support for Eastern Christianity against Islam, the Greek populace would never forgive the atrocities of the Fourth Crusade and the subjection of Orthodox Christians under the Latin Empire.

COINAGE OF THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Theories concerning the coinage of the Latin Empire of Constantinople have come full circle in the past century. In his 1878 edition of *Numismatique de L'Orient latin,* although he did speculate that Venice might have established an auxiliary mint at Constantinople in order to issue Venetian grossi and deniers, Schlumberger stated that the Latin Constantinopolitans issued no anonymous or imitative coins. In *Coinage and Money of the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261* (1969), Hendy argues that the Latins of Constantinople did issue imitations of Byzantine billon and copper trachea and tetartera. Moreover, although the opinions of these two scholars are contradictory, each based his theory on the same documentary evidence.

In *De Signis Constantinopolis,* Nicetas Choniates stated: "that which cost immense treasures (bronze statues) were changed by the Latins, upon their arrival, into pieces of money of little value."[8] Schlumberger discredited the passage as an amplification; but Hendy takes the contemporary witness at his word. The above-mentioned passage[9] from the treaty of 1219 between the podestà Giacomo Tiepolo and Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea indicated, Schlumberger felt, that either the Venetians had considered imitating the coinage of Nicea, or that Lascaris had considered copying the silver grossi and billon deniers of the Republic of Venice. Hendy, however, points out that the terms of the treaty are quite specific, and that there is no mention of Venetian coinage. The podestà and the Venetians of Constantinople agreed not to copy Lascaris' hyperpyra, manuelati, and stamena, and Lascaris agreed, in turn, not to copy theirs.

Taking a wider interpretation, Schlumberger assumed, because the treaty was drafted between Lascaris and the podestà directly, with no reference to Yolanda or her son, Robert, the youthful emperor of Constantinople, that the Venetians controlled the revenues of the empire, and furthermore, struck the coinage of the Republic of Venice at Constantinople. On the other hand, Hendy suggests that the document proves the existence of a faction among the Latins of Constantinople, possibly the

Venetian faction, which was striking coins in imitation of traditional Byzantine types; and also the existence of another unknown provincial mint, which by the year 1219 may have been minting imitations of the Nicaean coinage itself. Deploring this activity, Lascaris sought to insure by treaty with the podestà that the Constantinopolitan mint would not follow suit. Hendy has amassed evidence in attempting to prove that the Latin Empire of Constantinople issued many types of trachea and tetartera of Byzantine style at Constantinople, Thessalonica, and at least one other unofficial provincial mint, possibly in mainland Greece.

A dissenting voice has been heard since the publication of Hendy's theories.[11] Metcalf feels that hoard evidence from the Balkans, especially Bulgaria, proves that many of the later types may belong to the tsars of Bulgaria. He does not doubt, however, that the first three types which Hendy isolates are Crusader issues, and he suggests that the excavations at the Kalendarhane Camii in Istanbul where a chapel was built to St. Francis of Assisi by the Latins during the fifth decade of the thirteenth century, which have yielded numismatic finds, may provide definitive evidence about the trachea and tetartera of Constantinople. Metcalf's arguments have, however, failed to convince Grierson, who has maintained the validity of Hendy's attributions.[13] Until more systematic research is published, our task must simply be to present Hendy's theories and Metcalf's alternatives concerning these coins.

Hoards discovered in recent years have indeed revealed a group of coins which are related in terms of their crude style, irregular, debased fabric, and blundered inscriptions. These billon and copper trachea and tetartera, which must date from the beginning to perhaps the sixth decade of the thirteenth century (coinciding with the era of Latin rule over Constantinople), cannot belong to the products of the metropolitan mint between 1092 and 1204, because they are quite distinct in metallic composition, module, weight, style, and fabric. They fluctuate in diameter between 15 and 25 mm, and rarely exceed 3.00 grams; whereas the Byzantine coins issued earlier, particularly before 1092, rarely fall below 25 mm and about generally about 4.00 grams in good condition. The coinages of the Empire of Nicaea (1208-61) and the Empire of Thessalonica after the Greek reconquest of 1224 are also of a contrastingly elegant style and competent manufacture.[14] The imitative coins which Hendy assigns to the tsars of Bulgaria (*ca.* 1195 and after) also differ from the Latin coinage, for they are direct copies of the Byzantine coins in circulation at the time.[15] Crusader imitations, on the other hand, which are of a great variety of types, are more hybrid imitations than strict copies.

The Latins of Constantinople imitated the coins of twelfth century emperors of Byzantium, deliberately changing some details, since the Latin's coins were of much lower value, but often retaining the original inscriptions. This quality of allusion to former regimes, rather than to the contemporary administration, would have been both commonplace from Frankish *"types immobilisés"* and convenient for the Latin minting authority, which needed a coinage that would be politically unexceptionable to a hostile Greek populace. One can well imagine that the

Crusaders were in increasingly desperate need of an acceptable coinage, in order to maintain their established empire.[16] Moreover, it was not only astute politically, but convenient economically, for a foreign government to continue a coinage familiar to the majority of the population.[17]

In 1969, Hendy ascribed twenty "large module imitative" types to the mint of Constantinople; and, in 1971, George Bates of the Harvard excavations at Sardis published three more types, which he calls "Latin imitative." Of the latter three, one trachy (Bates, no. 1231)[18] was quite probably struck at Constantinople; while the other two perhaps represent the Latin mint at Thessalonica and a third, unofficial, mint according to Hendy's theory, which issued smaller module imitations.[19] Each of these three coins, although Bates describes them only very briefly and does not stipulate the details of their origins, seems to provide a new variety for each Crusader mint. Metcalf's publication of a large hoard from Bulgaria, the "Peter and Paul" hoard, has also provided two or three new varieties which are late in date and associated with coins from the end of the series. More types and varieties are likely to surface in future hoards. At this point, therefore, let us describe the twenty-four Latin imitative coin types attributed to the mint of Constantinople.

Sequence of Types

Of the coins which Hendy classifies as "Constantinopolitan large module," Type A seems to be an imitation of the third billon coinage of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-80). On the obverse of the original types, however, the Virgin is seated upon a backless throne, rather than the backed throne of the Latin imitation. The billon coinage of Isaac II Comnenus (1185-95) shows the Virgin in the same dress and pose seated upon a throne with a back. On the reverse of the Latin coin, the emperor carries in his left hand an anexikakia,[20] rather than the globus cruciger of Manuel's coins. On Isaac's coins the emperor does carry the anexikakia, but holds in his right hand a scepter cruciger, instead of a labarum. Just such differences in detail and confusions of previous issues characterize these as a distinct, hybrid coinage. Moreover, on this type the shaft of the labarum that the emperor carries is decorated with dots, which on the coins of Manuel I indicated strict officina distinctions, but which on the Latin imitations have become purely decorative. The inscriptions of Types A and B, either MΛNOVHΛ ΔЄCΠOTHC or ΠORΦVROГЄN [NHTOC] are often blundered, retrograde, or incomplete.

Coin no.1231 found in the Sardis excavations is quite similar on the obverse to this large module Type A, but rather dissimilar on the reverse, which bears the inscription ... K/Δ to the left and ...Π to the right. It may be a mule between a Type C obverse and a Type D reverse, as we shall see. The emperor holds a scepter cruciger in his right hand and a globus cruciger in his left, in imitation, according to Bates, of the coinage of Isaac II.[21] The reverse of Hendy's Type B bears the full-length figure of the emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys in the same arrangement as on the reverse of the electrum trachy of Andronicus I (1183-85). The depiction is very similar to that on Latin Constantinopolitan Type F, and that on the

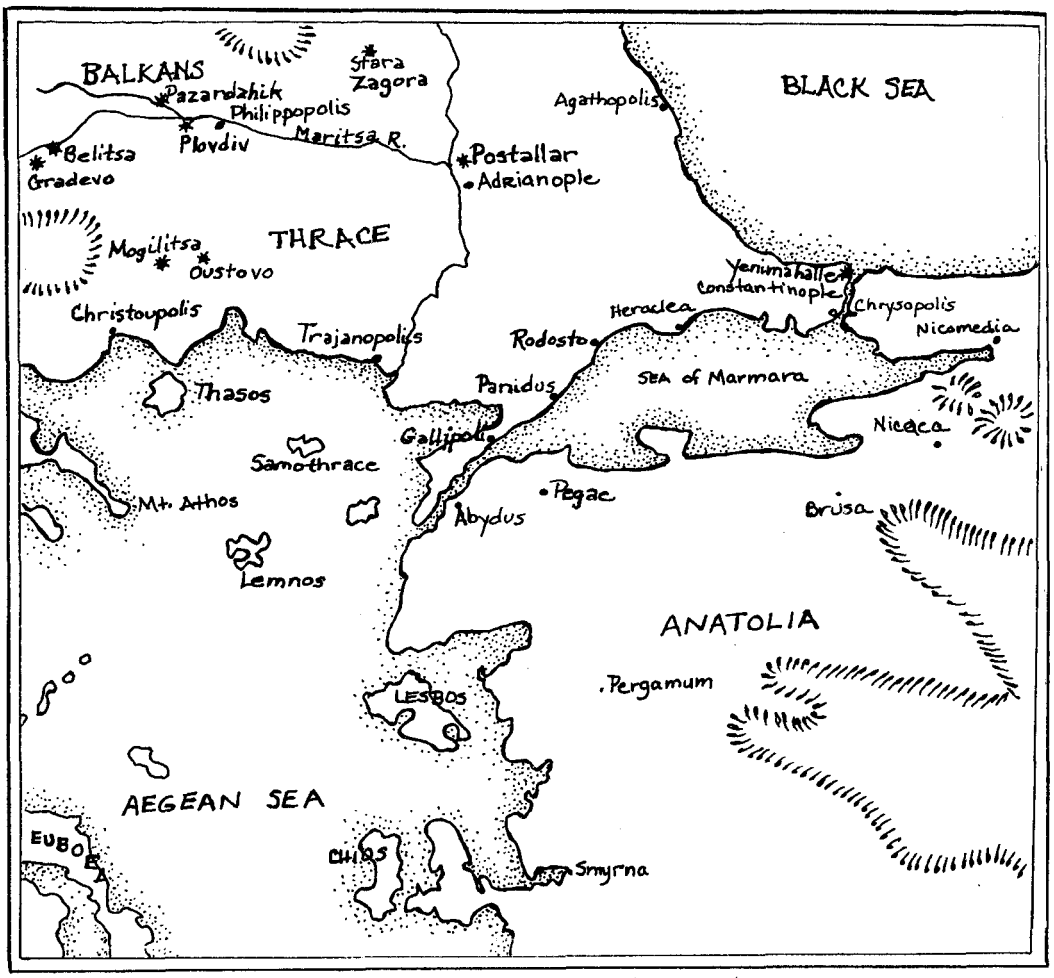
electrum cup-shaped pieces of Guy de Lusignan, king of Cyprus (1192-94), and his successors. On the third issue of the electrum trachy of Manuel I, the emperor, accompanied by a saint, holds in his right hand a sword with point towards the ground; but on the Latin Type B, the emperor, in a similar pose stands alone. A specimen of Type C is overstruck onto Type B, thus proving the sequence. Type C's reverse, moreover, with enthroned emperor, is quite unusual for the period.

The production of these coins began at Constantinople at about the same time as, or perhaps a little earlier than, the coinage of Nicaea (*ca.* 1208). Types A and B appear in large numbers in hoards concealed during the first two decades of the thirteenth century; and Type C, which is rare, seems to belong to a later period (*ca.* 1220-30), according to hoard evidence.[22] The remaining types cannot be placed in strict chronological order, except in accordance with what can be deduced from hoard evidence. Type D, for example, is early in the hoard sequence of the thirteenth century, and can be dated to the third decade,[23] or even earlier, although Wroth had attributed the coin to Manuel Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica (1230-37).[24] Grierson in fact supports the earlier dating, citing hoard evidence for all four types, A through D, being dated to the period *ca.* 1204-14.[25] The reverse of Type D is based on that of the first billon coinage of, Isaac II, although the emperor on the Latin coins wears a simplified loros and holds a globus with patriarchal cross in his left hand, instead of an anexikakia, and a labarum in his right hand. Also, the *Manus Dei* is absent, and a youthful Christ appears on the obverse, similar to that of the first billon coinage of Alexius III (1195-1203).

Types E, F, and H, like Type D, are attributable to the Crusader series, because of their blundered inscriptions and crude style. Type F seems to be a combination of the first and second electrum coinages of Manuel I: for on the obverse appears the seated, bearded Christ of the second coinage, while on the reverse appears the emperor crowned by the Virgin of Manuel's first coinage.

Types G and I are also attributable to this hybrid Latin series, for the reverse of Type G is similar to that of the electrum coins of John II, on which the emperor and a beardless saint (St. George on the Byzantine coins) hold a labarum between them, rather than a scepter with patriarchal cross. Types H and I, with Christ crowning the emperor, are both known from only one specimen each and seem to be imitations of the coins of Andronicus I.

Types J and K appear in hoards which date from the fourth through the sixth decades of the thirteenth century.[26] Bertelè attributed these coins to Constantine Ducas, sebastocrator of Thessaly (1285-1303), who is not otherwise known to have minted coins.[27] Type K, as well as L, are currently thought to be fifty years earlier, datable, according to Grierson by the Preslav Hoard.[28] The retrograde KωN on the reverse of these two types, Hendy feels, may identify the figure as St. Constantine, who would have been an acceptable iconographical personage to both Greeks and Latins. Since the figure appears without nimbus, however, it may have been intended as a pure stylization; for it was not based on any previous issues.[29] Metcalf, however,



Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261.

suggests that Type K is simply Type E with a blundered inscription.

Types L and M are known from only a few specimens. The obverse depiction of Type M, a full-length figure of the archangel Michael, is similar to the obverse of Type J and the reverse of Types P and Q. The archangel first appears on coins of Michael IV (1034-41) at Thessalonica[30] and is found on coins minted at Constantinople under Isaac II (1185-95). On these coins, St. Michael is almost always accompanied by the full-length figure of the emperor; he stands alone only on the billon and silver trachea of John II Vatatzes of Nicaea (1222-54) from the Magnesia mint and some billon coins of both Manuel and Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica (1230-37 and 1244-46). This indicates that new types of representations were evidently being shared by these rival empires, even if it cannot be assumed that the Latins introduced the type with St. Michael standing alone.

Type N reverse is based on that of the electrum issue of John II Comnenus (1118-43). A suggested alternative has been John III Vatatzes, although the emperor on Type N coins is portrayed with a rounded beard instead of the forked beard normally appearing on the coins of John III. Type O must also be attributed to the Latin series by a similar argument. The triangular-shaped object in the field to the left of the standing figure of Christ on the obverse may be a misrepresentation of the dais upon which Christ stands and which, in the copying process, has been completely misunderstood.[31] The reverse depiction was apparently taken from that on the first metropolitan billon coinage of John II Comnenus. Both of these types are, moreover, by hoard evidence, style, and fabric, thirteenth century Crusader imitations.[32]

Although Wroth attributed both Types P and D to the coinage of Thessalonica under the despots Demetrius and Manuel, both are so crude in style that it is unlikely that either belongs to the neat coinages of the latter.[33]

Type Q is unique, but clearly belongs to the Latin large module series, along with Types R, S, and T, in terms of its crude style and fabric.[34] Type T's obverse and Type S's reverse bear the unusual depictions of the full-length figure of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa who faces right, orans, toward the *Manus Dei.* The obverse of Type I has this depiction, but bears the inscription MP ΘV in the field rather than the MP ΘV HΛΓHOCOPITICΛ, which appears on Types S and T. The variety, Type I, is quite rare. The Virgin, orans, facing, with arms spread to either side and without the *Manus Dei,* appears on the coins of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica and bears the inscription MP ΘV HΛΓHOCωPHTHCΛ. The Virgin, who turns toward the *Manus Dei,* appears only on these Latin coins and on some tetartera issued by Manuel I (1143-80).[35]

On Type S, St. Peter appears holding in his right hand a scepter cruciger and in his left, two keys. This depiction is seen only on Latin Type S, and on Type J of the coinage of Vatatzes of Nicaea during the latter part of his reign (1246-54). The keys always symbolized the primacy of Rome, by way of the power conferred on St. Peter by Christ, and, therefore, are the distinct attribute of the papacy. Lathoud and Bertelè suggest that the appearance of St. Peter on the Nicaean coinage alludes to the

Table I: Hoards representing the billon trachea minted at Constantinople under Latin rule.

Hoards	*Types occurring in hoards*																					
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
Early Period (*ca.* 1208-20)																						
Arcadia	X																					
Assenovgrad	X			X																		
Bergama	X																					
Brestovo	X																					
General Nikolaevo	X																					
Gradevo I	X																					
Gradevo II	X																					
Istanbul B	X	X													X							
Kiustendil	X																					
Korten	X																					
Kounino I	X																					
Kounino II	X																					
Levkokhori	X						X															
Lom B	X																					
Momin Brod	X																					
Naousa	X																					
Pazardzhik	X			X																		
Pisaratsi	X			X																		
Pokrovnik	X																					
Thessaly	X																					
Troad	X	X			X																	
Uncertain	X																					
Yenimahalle	X	X																				
Zheleznitsa	X																					
Middle Period (*ca.* 1220-30)																						
Byaga	X	X	X																			
D.O. I	X																					
D.O. II	X		X																			
D.O. III	X	X	X	X												X						
Logodash	X	X																				
Lom A	X	X																				
Muglizh	X	X																				
Stara Zagora	X	X																				
Toulovo	X	X																				
Late Period																						
Dorkovo			X	X				X								X		X		X		
Mogilitsa						X										X				X		
Oustovo		X		X											X	X						
Peter/Paul				X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	etc.
Postallar	X	X	X													X		X				
Preslav					X			X		X						X		X				
Tri Voditsi	X	X	X	X		X		X		X					X	X		X		X		

negotiations between Vatatzes and Pope Innocent IV concerning the reconciliation of the churches.[36] The accolade of Saints Peter and Paul, the depiction that appears on Latin Type T, also alludes to the union of the Eastern and Western Christian churches. St. Paul also appears standing alone, facing, holding a labarum, and wearing similar garb on Metcalf's Type U.[37] Though hoard evidence is insufficient to specify a date for these three related types, it tends to assign them to the period 1243-48 or earlier, or roughly the same time that Vatatzes issued his St. Peter type. It seems strange that the Latin mint of Constantinople would issue these coins under the circumstances of such negotiations which threatened the very existence of the Latin Empire. Metcalf therefore suggests that the Bulgars, who also during the 1230's had started a policy of rapprochement with Rome, may have issued this and its immediately related types. Though this theory is quite reasonable, one is reluctant to separate individual coins arbitrarily from this series of similarly-made coins.

Metcalf also adds another new type to this series, showing St. Demetrius in military attire on the obverse and either a seated emperor or a standing emperor on the reverse. The latter coins are quite small, weighing between 1.50 and 1.90 grams, and are clearly attributable to the end of this series of coins.[38]

A copper tetarteron, formerly attributed by Hendy to Latin Constantinople has been reassigned by him to the second reign of Byzantine Emperor Isaac II (1203-04). The reasons for this include the fact that an Alexius IV tetarteron is known struck with a re-engraved reverse die for one of the former coins.[39]

Also from the evidence of hoards found in Greece and Bulgaria, it seems that, beginning in about the third decade of the thirteenth century, the practice of clipping the large module coins minted at Constantinople and Thessalonica to small module size and weight was carried out on a large scale. Hoards such as the Dorkovo, Mogilitsa, Oustovo, Pisaratsi, Preslav, and Tri Voditsi hoards, which date from the third to the sixth decades of the thirteenth century, consist of many of these clipped coins. More will be said about this phenomenon in the section concerned with the small module imitations from an unknown mint.

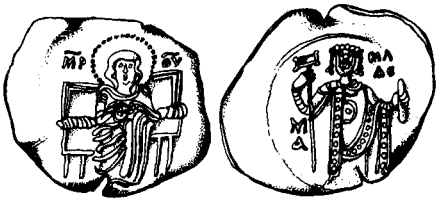
Bulgarian Imitative Trachy

It seems prudent at this point to specifically describe the main characteristics of the imitative trachea issued by the Bulgarian tsars after *ca.* 1195. While these are not within the scope of this work, their complete omission may cause confusion for those using this book for attribution purposes. The Bulgarian trachea fall into three basic types, based on their Byzantine prototypes: A. Manuel I (Christ seated on backless throne between stars/Emperor standing crowned by Virgin), B. Isaac II (Virgin seated on throne without back/Emperor standing with scepter cruciger and anexikakia, *manus dei* above right), and C. Alexius III (Bust of Christ, beardless, facing/Emperor standing with nimbate St. Constantine.) As stated above, they all more closely mimic true Byzantine issues. Like the Latin issues, they are usually

smaller and cruder, both in engraving and strike, than their proper Byznatine antecedents. More detailed diognostics can be found in Hendy (1969).

Early Period (ca. 1204-20)

Baldwin (1204-05), Henry (1205-16) of Flanders, and Peter de Courtenai (1216-19),



1

2

1. Billon aspron trachy. *ca.* 3.55 g. Hendy, Type A, pl. 25,6-10.
   O: MP ΘV
   Virgin nimbate std. on throne with back, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding nimbate head of Christ on breast.
   R: MΛNOVHΛ ΔЄΠOTHC or MΛNOVHΛ ΠOPΦVPOГЄN, or variant, frequently blundered and abbreviated.
   Emperor, stg., wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys, holding labarum in r. and anexikakia in l.

2. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.85 g. Hendy, Type B, pl. 25, 11-12.
   O: IC XC
   Christ, bearded, nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, std. on throne with back, holding Gospels in l.
   R: Similar legend, equally blundered.
   Similarly clothed emperor, holding sword in r., point towards the ground, and globus cruciger in l.

3

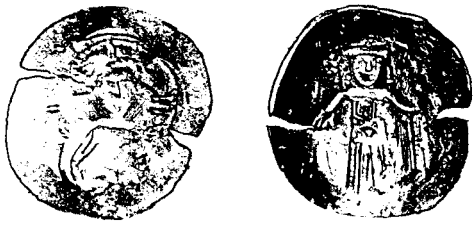
4

3. Billon Trachy. *ca.* 2.38 g. Hendy, Type C, pl. 25,13.
O: MP ΘV
Similarly depicted Virgin, as Type 1.
R: ΛΛЄ=IOC ΔЄCΠOT, or var.
Emperor, seated on throne without back, wearing stemma and loros, holding labarum in r. and anexikakia in l. *Manus Dei,* above, in r. field.

4. Billon trachy. *ca.* 4.10 g. Hendy, Type D, pl. 25,14-15.
O: IC XC
Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, holding scroll.
R: MΛNOVHΛ ΔЄCΠOTHC, or var.
Emperor, stg., wearing stemma and simplified loros as well as sagion, holding scepter cruciger in r. and globus cruciger in l.

Middle Period (ca. 1220-30)

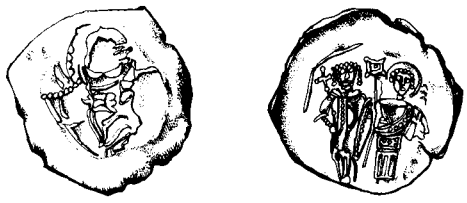
mostly Robert de Courtenai (1219-28)



5

5. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.43 g. Hendy, Type E, pl. 26,1.
O: IC XC
Similar bust of Christ.
R: Similar inscr. to previous rev.
Emperor in similar pose and attire, holding labarum in r. and globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross in l.

6. Billon trachy. *ca.* 2.72 g. Hendy, Type F, pl. 26,2.
O: IC XC
Christ bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, std. on backless throne, r. hand raised in benediction, holding Gospels in l. hand.
R: MΛNOVH ΔЄCΠ, or var.
Emperor stg., crowned by Virgin, holds labarum in r., anexikakia in l. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion; emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys.



7

7. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.21 g. Hendy, Type G, pl. 26,3.

O: MP ΘV

Enthroned Virgin, similar to Types A and C, nos. 1 and 3.

R: ΛHϑИΔM (?)

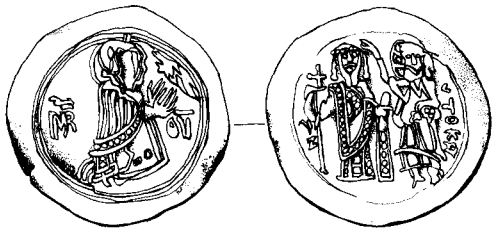
Emperor, l., military saint, r., holding labarum between them. Emp. wears stemma, divitision, chlamys; saint, military tunic and sagion. Emp. holds scepter cruciger.

8. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.28 g. Hendy, Type H, pl. 26,4-5.

O: Similar inscr. and type.

R: ΛNΔPONIKOC ΔЄΠOTHC, or var. IC XC, in upper r. field.

Emperor stg., crowned by Christ. Emp. wears stemma, divitision, collar, loros, and sagion; holds globus cruciger in l., and labarum in r. Christ wears tunic and colobion and holds Gospels.



9

9. Billon trachy. Hendy, Type I, pl. 26,6.

O: MP ΘV

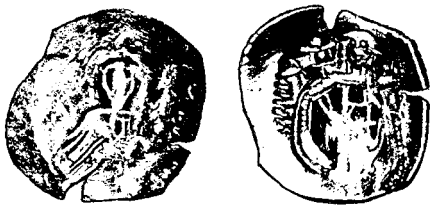
Virgin stg., orans, wearing tunic and maphorion, turned to r., on dais. *Manus Dei* above r. (*Hagiosoritissa* Type).

R: ΛNΔ TOKO. XC in r. field.

Similar, but Emperor holds long cross in r. and anexikakia in l.

Late Period (ca. 1230-60)

mostly Baldwin de Courtenai (1228-61)

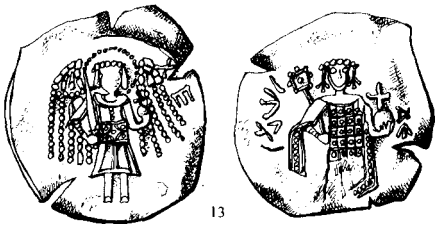


11

10. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.54 g. Hendy, Type J, pl. 26,7-9.
O: No inscr.
Archangel Michael (?) nimbate, wearing short military tunic and sagion, holding jewelled scepter in r., gl. cr. in l.
R: ИѠК ΔЄСΠ, or var., K retrograde.
Emperor stg., wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holding sword resting on shoulder in r., gl. cr. in l.

11. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.32 g. Hendy, Type K, pl. 26,10.
O: IC XC
Bust of Christ, similar to Type E (no. 5).
R: ИѠК (?), K retrograde.
Emperor stg., similar to Type E.

12. Billon trachy. *ca.* 1.99 g. Hendy, Type L, pl. 26,11.
O: IC XC
Christ std. on backless throne, similar to Type F (no. 6).
R: (?) KNOC
Emperor stg., wearing attire similar to Type 5, holding labarum in r. and sword with point resting on ground in l.
Grierson has suggested a date of ca. 1239-53 for the above two types.



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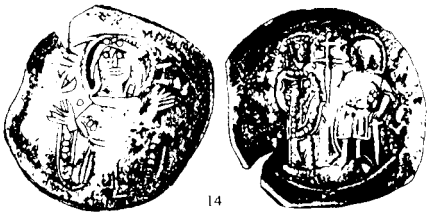
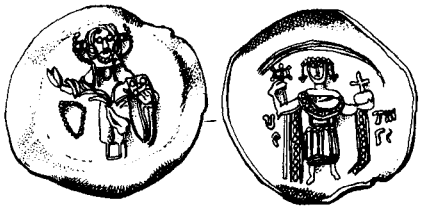


14

13. Billon trachy. *ca.* 2.92 g. Hendy, Type M, pl. 26,12-13.
O:X/P X/I T I
Archangel Michael stg., nimbate, wearing collar piece, simplified loros, and sagion; holding sword resting on shoulder in r., gl. cr in l.
R: X̲Ψ I ΔЄCΠOT
Emperor stg., wearing attire similar to last, holding labarum in r., gl. cr. in l.

14. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.70 g. Hendy, Type N, pl. 26,14-15.
O: MP ΘV, or similar.
Virgin, ¾ length, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.
R: Iω/Δ/ЄC/ΠO/T/HC O/Γ/Є, or var., in two columns, on l. and r.
Emperor and St. George, who holds patriarchal cross between them on three steps. Emp. wears stemma, etc. St. wears tunic, breast-plate, and sagion, holds sword, point downward in l.



15

15. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.62 g. Hendy, Type O, pl.27,1-2.
O: IC XC
Christ stg. on dias, fragmentarily engraved, r. hand raised in benediction, holding labarum in r. and gl. cr. in l.
R: Iω/ΔЄC/Π Ψ /ΠO/PΦ/V, or var., in two columns, on l. and r.
Emperor, wearing stemma, short military tunic, breastplate, sagion; holding labarum in r. and gl. cr. in l.

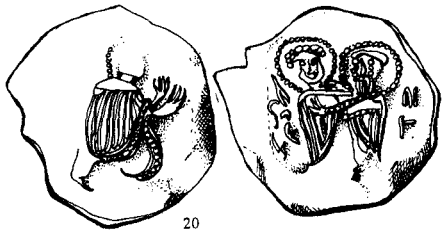
16. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.50 g. Hendy, Type P, pl. 27,3-4.
O: IC XC
Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, holding scroll in l.
R: X/Λ X/M
Archangel Michael, nimbate, stg., wearing short military tunic, breastplate, sagion, holding jeweled scepter in r. and gl. cr. in l.

17

17. Billon trachy. *ca.* 5.22 g. Hendy, Type Q, pl. 27,5.
O: MP ΘV
Virgin, std. on throne with back, holding nimbate head of Christ on breast. Similar to Type A (no. 1, *supra*).
R: ·· X/M
Archangel Michael, stg., wearing divitision and sagion, holding labarum (?) in r., globus cruciger in l.

18. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.50 g. Hendy, Type R, pl. 27,6-7.
O: IC XC
Christ enthroned in benediction. Similar to types F & L (nos. 6 & 12).
R: MP ΘV
Virgin, full-length, orans wearing tunic and maphorion.

19



20

19. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.65 g. Hendy, Type S, pl. 27,8-9.
O: OAΓIOC ΠЄTPOC in two columns.
St. Peter stg., nimbate wearing tunic and colobion, holding scepter cr. in r., and two keys in l.
R: MP ΘV HAΓIOCOPITCA in two columns.
Virgin *Hagiosoritissa,* orans, turned towards *Manus Dei* in upper r. field.

20. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.60 g. Hendy, Type T, pl. 27,10-11.
O: MP ΘV AAΓIOCOPITICA in two columns.
Virgin similar to last reverse.

R: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠЄΤΡΟC Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑVΛΟC in two columns.
SS. Peter and Paul (on r.), embracing one another, both wearing tunic and colobion. Peter has short beard, Paul, long.
The above two types may date from ca. 1243-48 or earlier.

21. Billon trachy. *ca.* 1.5 g. Metcalf, *NC*(1973), p. 163, pl. 8,29; Hendy._.
O: [. . .] C (?)
St. Demetrius (?), nimbate, stg., wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holding spear in r. and shield in l.
R: K O M N H N O C, or var.
Emperor std. on high-back throne, wearing stemma, divitision, and loros; holding labarum in r. and gl. cr. in l.

22. Billon trachy. Metcalf, *NC*(1973), p. 164, pl. 9,30; Hendy._.
O: Inscription and type similar to last.
R: No inscr.
Emperor, stg., similarly attired as last, holding labarum (?) and gl. cr. as last.
*The above two types are based on Magnesian trachy of John III. While their weights, particularly that of the former type, might tend to suggest their placement with the uncertain small module series (*vide infra.*), they are presently grouped here, following Metcalf's classification of the Peter and Paul Hoard.*

23. Billon trachy. *ca.* 1.80 g. Metcalf, *NC*(1973), p. 166, Type U, pl. 10,55-60; Hendy._.
O: [MP ΘV?]
Half-length figure of Virgin orans, similar to obverse of Hendy's Type N (no. 14).
R: O ΑΓΙΟC . . .
St. Paul, wearing long beard, tunic and colobion with jeweled border, holding patriarchal cross in r. and unidentifiable object in l.

24. Billon trachy. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins,* p. 270, Type U (*sic*).
O: O/AI/N
Half-length figure of St. Nicholas facing.
R: AII/IωO/OM
St. John Baptist facing.

25. Billon trachy. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, p. 270, Type V.
O: I C / N K
Cross on base.
R: Emperor stg. holding labarum (or spear?) and globus cruciger.

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF THESSALONICA

In 1204 the conquerors of Constantinople decided that the unsuccessful contender for the throne of the Latin Empire would be granted Asia Minor and the Peloponnese.[40] Boniface de Montferrat, who lost to Baldwin of Flanders in the contest, decided to exchange his allotted territory for lands in the Balkan peninsula, both because his brother Rainier had, some twenty years before, been granted the title of king of Thessalonica by Emperor Manuel, and because these lands also bordered on those of his wife and her brother, the king of Hungary. Though Baldwin strongly opposed this plan, doge Dandolo managed to avert open war between Boniface and Baldwin; in August of 1204, pledging his allegiance to the Latin emperor, Boniface sold Crete to the Venetians, in exchange for more territory in the western part of the empire.[41]

When he started out from Constantinople to conquer his territory in the fall of 1204, Boniface attracted many Greeks to his side, because of his marriage to Marguerite of Hungary, the widow of Isaac II, and also because of his generally wise policies toward the Greeks. With the aid of Lombard, Flemish, French, and German Crusaders, within three months Boniface conquered western Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, the Argolid, Corinthia, Boeotia, and part of Euboea.[42] His companions consolidated control of his kingdom, and he distributed land to them as his vassals. He also became suzerain of the Morea in 1205.[43]

Boniface was killed in 1207 in a skirmish with the Bulgarians, and his infant son, Demetrius, inherited the kingdom under the regency of his mother Marguerite and the suzerainty of the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders. The real power, however, lay in the hands of count Oberto de Biandrate and other Lombard barons, who, claiming William of Montferrat (Boniface's elder son by a former marriage) as their suzerain, attempted to assert their independence from the Latin Empire.[44] The German and French barons of Thessaly and Attica, however, remained loyal to Demetrius; and Emperor Henry, coming to Thessalonica, succeeded in subduing the rebellious Lombard barons by 1209.

Soon after Henry's return to Constantinople, Michael Comnenus-Ducas, despot of Epirus, began to threaten the kingdom. Having joined with a force of

Bulgarian mercenaries, Michael led an attack on the city of Thessalonica in the autumn of 1210 that was so menacing that Emperor Henry had to rush to its aid. Henry repulsed the attackers and left again in 1211. When Michael died in 1215, his successor, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, proved to be even more hostile toward the Latins and even more determined to conquer their territory.

In 1216 Henry was again forced to abandon his eastern campaign in order to protect Thessalonica; but he died in May soon after his arrival.[45] In 1217, on his way by land to Constantinople to be crowned emperor, Peter de Courtenai was captured and killed by Theodore, who then resumed his relentless intrigues and campaigns until, in 1221, he had encircled the city of Thessalonica itself. Meanwhile, young Demetrius of Montferrat, age fifteen, traveled to the West to seek aid for his shrinking kingdom. He petitioned Frederick II, emperor of Germany, for example; finally, alarmed by the Epirote invasion of Macedonia, Pope Innocent III officially took the Kingdom of Thessalonica under his protection.[46] A crusade was proclaimed, to be led by William of Montferrat and Oberto de Biandrate.

In 1222 Biandrate arrived with some reinforcements; but Theodore's siege continued. In 1223, Marguerite fled from the city, leaving Guy Palavicino, marquis of Boudonitsa, as bailie in charge; and finally, in the late autumn of 1224, Thessalonica succumbed to the siege.[47] The crusade disintegrated when, upon entering Thessaly, William fell ill in an epidemic and died. Thereafter, Demetrius fled from his kingdom to seek aid, in vain, from the courts of Germany and northern Italy. He eventually gave his title to Emperor Frederick II, who later abandoned his rights in favor of Boniface III, son of William of Montferrat. In subsequent years, the houses of Burgundy and Montferrat claimed title to Thessalonica.

Annexed to the Empire of Nicaea in 1246 and to the restored Greek Empire of Constantinople in 1261, the despotate of Thessalonica remained part of the Byzantine domain, except for an ephemeral Venetian occupation, until the Turkish conquest.

COINAGE OF THE KINGDOM OF THESSALONICA

The group of coins which Hendy assigned to the mint at Thessalonica during the Latin occupation (1204-24) consists of three types of trachea and two half-tetartera. These anonymous coins are distinguishable from coins struck at that mint during the twelfth century and after the Byzantine reconquest, for the coins of the Comnenus-Ducas dynasty (1224-46) are consistently of fine style and deeply cup-shaped fabric,[48] whereas the Latin coins of Thessalonica are of the same crude style and fabric as the Latin coinage of Constantinople. What distinguishes this group of coins is best explained by a consideration of the stylistic characteristics of the products of the Thessalonican mint which persisted throughout the decades of alternating Byzantine and Crusader rule.

For example, the long stem of the cross surmounting the globus had long been

a characteristic of the mint; the unusual form of pendilia ∴ ∴, which appears on Types A and B of this Crusader group, had been employed on hyperpyra of Alexius I struck at Thessalonica; and both the Christ Emmanuel and the half-length figure of the emperor had also previously appeared on coins of Manuel I from Thessalonica. Although the representation of the emperor and St. Constantine had first appeared on coins of Alexius III from Constantinople, the Crusaders used the same kind of depiction, but with Saints Helena and Constantine, for the reverse of Thessalonican Type C (no.3), in order to provide a politically unexceptionable issue. These saints were also used on the copper half-tetarteron Type B (no. 5) with St. Helena turned slightly to the right on the obverse and St. Constantine turned slightly to the left on the reverse. Furthermore, on the half-tetartera of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas (1224-1230), the emperor is represented turning slightly to the left on the reverse of some specimens, and to the right on others. Because the posture is so similar to that of SS. Helena and Constantine on the anonymous Latin coins, one must conclude that dies and copy books continued to be used at the mint, despite the major political upheavals. Before the Frankish conquest, the mint had been more active in the manufacture of tetartera than trachea. After the Greek reoccupation, it continued to be more lively in the manufacture of trachea, in order, presumably, to fulfill the monetary requirements of the former Latin Kingdom and its Greek populations.

Hendy's attribution of these coins to the mint of Thessalonica also depends upon the observation that in many instances Type B is found overstruck on Type A (no. 1), which would indicate that they came from the same mint, and, as distribution from hoard studies would indicate,[49] some mint other than that of Constantinople. Type B is also found overstruck on a billon coin of Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea (1208-22), providing a *terminus post quem* for the coins. No imperial personal name has been found on these Thessalonican coins, unlike the Constantinopolitan series, and, though sometimes on Type B the dynastic name Comnenus appears, "it would seem probable that this was the solution to the embarrassing problem of whose name to put upon the coinage."[50]

The obverse of Type A, with Christ enthroned, seems to be an imitation of that of the second billon coinage of Emperor John II (1118-43); and its reverse, with half-figure of the emperor, a copy of that of variant C of the fourth billon coinage of Manuel I (1143-80). Type B's obverse may have been based on the hyperpyron type of Manuel I, except that the Latin Christ Emmanuel wears a beard, a feature which never occurred on a Byzantine issue. The reverse of Type B of the Thessalonican coins with the emperor standing, facing, is based upon the hyperpyron type of Alexius I (1092-18); and that of Type C, with Saints Helena and Constantine, as has been pointed out above, is a version of the Constantinopolitan billon trachy of Alexius III (1195-1203).[51] Bates also cites a type found at Sardis, without indicating a mint. An imitation of this same trachy of Alexius III, it bears the emperor and Constantine on the reverse, and the Virgin on the obverse.[52] This is a new type, for the Latin imitative series and either a variant of Thesssalonican Type C or a new type

from Constantinople, as its Sardis provenance would indicate.[53]

Forming a compact series, the trachea of Thessalonica weigh between *ca.* 1.92 and 3.85 grams, fluctuating a great deal, with a mean range between 2.20 and 2.60 grams. As for the small denominations, the copper half-tetarteron, traditionally issued at the Thessalonican mint,[54] weighs only *ca.* 1.50 grams. Since this weight is about half that of the Constantinopolitan full-unit tetarteron (3.78-2.78 grams), and since the coins are slightly smaller in diameter, the half-tetarteron is easily distinguishable by direct comparison.

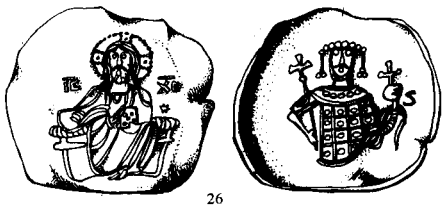
One half-tetarteron, known from very few specimens, portrays a bust of the Virgin in tunic and maphorion and a foliate patriarchal cross. Another type is similar to the reverse of the Thessalonican trachy Type C, portraying SS. Helena and Constantine. As though the original design unit had been split apart, St. Helena, turning slightly to the right toward the long patriarchal cross, appears on the tetarteron's obverse; and St. Constantine, in a symmetrical posture, appears on the reverse.

Hoards	*Types occurring in hoards*		
	A	B	C
Early Period (ca. 1208-20)			
Arcadia		X	
Dolni Vurbishta		X	
Gradevo II	X		
Istambul B	X	X	
Kiustendil	X		
Lom B	X	X	
Momin Brod		X	
Naousa	X		
Pokrovnik	X	X	
Troad		X	
Uncertain	X	X	
Yenimahalle	X	X	X
Middle Period (ca. 1220-30)			
Byaga	X	X	
D.O. II	X	X	X
D.O. III	X	X	X
Logodash	X	X	
Lom A	X	X	X
Muglizh II	X	X	X
Stara Zagora	X	X	
Toulovo	X	X	
Late Period (ca. 1230-60)			
Dorkovo	X		X
Postallar	X	X	
Tri Voditsi			X*

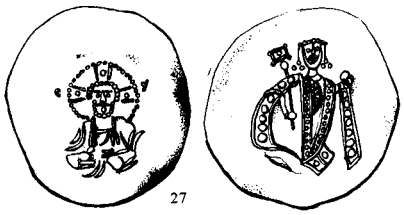
* *also tetarteron Type A*

Table II: Hoards representing billon trachea minted at Thessalonica under Latin rule

Boniface de Montferrat (1204-07) or Demetrius de Montferrat (1207-24)



26



27

26. Billon trachy. *ca.* 2.68 g. Hendy, Type A, pl. 28, 1-4.

O: IC XC

Christ, bearded and nimbate, seated on backless throne, holds Gospels in l. Asterisk above cushion on each side.

R: No inscription.

Emperor, half-length, wearing stemma, divitision, collar, and loros, holds scepter cruciger in r. and globus cruciger in l.

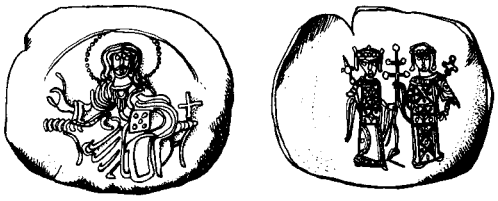
27. Billon trachy. *ca.* 2.23 g. Hendy, Type B, pl. 28, 5-8.

O: IC/O/ЄM/MΛ XC/NϏ/HΛ, or var., in two columns, to either side.

Bust of Christ Emmanuel, bearded (*sic*), nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, holds scroll in l.

R: RѠKOMN

Emperor, stg., wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys, holds labarum in r., gl. cr. in l.



28

28. Billon trachy. *ca.* 3.44 g. Hendy, Type C, pl. 28, 9-10.

O: IC XC

Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, std. on backless throne, r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Cross above cushion r.

R: HΛΓIΛ/ЄΛЄNЄ / ⊙KOT/ΛNT, or var.

SS. Helena and Constantine, stg., facing, turned slightly toward patriarchal cross they hold between. Both wear stemma, divitision, collar, and loros. Constantine on some specimens wears tri-peaked crown, holds scepter cruciger; Helena, jeweled scepter.

29. AE half-tetarteron. 1.85 g. Hendy, Type A, pl. 28, 11.
O: MP̄ Θ̄V
Bust of Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion.
R: No inscription.
Foliate patriarchal cross.

30

30. AE half-tetarteron. *ca.* 1.65 g. Hendy, Type B, pl. 28, 12-14.
O: Η ΑΓΙΑ ЄΛЄΝЄ, or var., in column on l.
St. Helena, stg. turned slightly r., holds patriarchal cross with flourish on shaft in l. hand. Similar to half the elements of the Thessalonica trachy Type C.
R: Θ/ΑΓΙΟC ΚΟΝΤΑΝΤ, or var.
St. Constantine stg., turned slightly l., wearing stemma, etc., holds patriarchal cross in r., anexikakia in l.

31. AE half-tetarteron. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins,* p. 270; *DO IV,* pl. LII, 29.
O: Christ standing
R: Emperor standing.

UNCERTAIN MINT

After the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire and the dispersal of its central minting authority, several Balkan states assumed the responsibility of minting the Byzantine coinage. As we have seen, Latin Constantinople and Thessalonica chose to mint imitations of Byzantine coins. Although the genuine Byzantine coins circulated widely in the areas of Serbia and Bulgaria, according to Hendy imitations of Byzantine coins were also actually minted by the Bulgarian tsars. On the other hand, Bavarian and Austrian coins, especially Friesacher pfennigs, greatly influenced northern Serbia, Slavonia (in the western part of the Balkan peninsula), central Hungary, and Syrmia; indeed, during the period 1210-40, some mints in Slavonia produced some imitations of Freisacher pfennigs.[55] The Franks who settled in southern Greece apparently depended at first on the Byzantine coins still circulating there, but after the middle of the thirteenth century showed their preference for

Western deniers, and issued imitations of French deniers tournois.[56] Still, it is quite remarkable that during the first half of the thirteenth century yet another series of imitations appeared, this time consisting of small module imitations of the Byzantine-type coins in circulation, some of which have distinctly Germanic characteristics. Whether this series was issued by Frankish Crusaders or by another Balkan power is an extremely difficult question to answer with so little information available. This small module coinage of uncertain provenance consists, moreover, of direct copies of some early trachea of Latin Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Greek Nicaea; both direct copies and hybrid imitations of some trachea of Greek Thessalonica after 1224; and some original interpretations of the pfennigs or bracteates of Bavaria and Austria after *ca.* 1230.[57] Despite the diversity of their models, these imitative coins are obviously interrelated by their small flans.

Struck on flans measuring no more than 15 mm and weighing no more than 1.45 grams, half the size and weight of the normal-sized trachea, these coins are also further blundered and debased, sometimes apparently without any silver content. The first three of these coins were modeled after the first three types issued at Latin Constantinople. These are the most abundantly represented of all the types in the known hoards, completely dominating the other coinages in circulation in Bulgaria, where hoards of thirteenth century trachea are most often found. The next three types are imitations of the trachea of Latin Thessalonica; a seventh type is modeled after an early trachy of Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea. We know from the evidence of early hoards, that these coins were issued just slightly later than their models and thus circulated contemporaneously. (See *Tables I and II*)

The second group of coins consists of copies of the issues of Thessalonican trachea of Manuel (1230-37)[58] and John Comnenus-Ducas (1237-42); the former were presumably issued after Theodore's (1224-30) coinage had become well-established. Hoards such as the Peter and Paul Hoard tend to indicate that this group of Thessalonican types of small module coins ceased being issued *ca.* 1245, with the fall of Thessalonica to the Nicaean Greeks.[59] A third group consists of coins which are further debased. These are hybrid imitations of Germanic types, displaying such images as the emperor holding a banner, wearing wings, or appearing above the city walls; a winged cross; a spread wing alone; or, finally, a winged arm holding a sword. As both Bertelè and Hendy have pointed out, the designs of some of these late small module coins deviate from the simple copying of trachea already in circulation, but bear decidedly original types inspired by Byzantine and German coinages.[60] The last group may be assigned to the period after *ca.* 1240, since examples of this series appear only in late hoards.[61].

These small module trachea are probably products of an unofficial mint or mints issuing copies of the contemporary coins in circulation. The mint therefore must have been located in an area that could absorb the influences of Constantinople, Thessalonica, and, to a lesser extent, Nicaea and Austria. As Hendy once proposed, they may have been minted at the same place by the same authority.[62] The places

where the hoards have been discovered are possible locations: Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, Albania, or Bulgaria. Grierson, however, has suggested a mint in central Greece, favoring Corinth specifically. This explanation would account for the monetary history of Achaea for the period preceding the introduction of the denier tournois, which occurred after 1250, and possibly even after 1260 according to some hoard evidence.[63] However, little is certain about this series and Hendy has recently suggested that more than one mint may have been involved.[64]

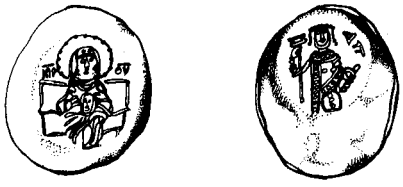
A characteristic of these small module coins, furthermore, is that in the end they had the effect of undermining their large module models. Early large module types, mainly from Latin Constantinople and Byzantine-controlled Thessalonica, have in fact been discovered in hoards concealed during the third through the sixth decades of the century systematically clipped to small module size and weight.[65] Though one would expect that the mints issuing large module coins would soon drop the size and weight of their issues to conform to the less expensive money, the major mints did not actually change their production methods. Doubt has therefore been cast on the theory that the Crusaders issued these coins officially at some location in central Greece, because it seems unlikely, as both Metcalf and Hendy point out, that either the Crusaders or the Greeks would produce small module copies of their larger coins, Only to clip the large coins down later. Metcalf may be correct in reasoning that the Bulgars minted these small module copies in order to subvert the Latin and Byzantine coinages. The theory that they are half denominations must likewise be rejected because of the wide diversity of their types and their frequent appearance in hoards side by side with clipped coins.[66] Hendy's explanation for these coins, however, is that they are products of an unofficial mint that issued coins in vast numbers as an emergency coinage to supplement the currency of the hinterland areas of the Latin Empire, presumably because the coins from the major mints failed to circulate sufficiently to these peripheral territories.[67] They were at least tolerated by the authorities of the main mints. As Hendy expresses it, might not the fact that the Latin imitations and the German types exist give a clue, to who produced the coins, or "for whose benefit they were produced?"[68]

Despite all the uncertainties surrounding these coins, all the types have been briefly noted in the Catalogue. More attention has been given to the hybrid and distinctly Western types than to the direct copies of Byzantine coins. It should also be mentioned that the German influence on these coins is probably a result primarily of economic concerns, and only secondarily, if at all, indicative of any iconographic interest on the part of German or Austrian Crusaders settling in Frankish Greece.[69] If, however, the idea that these are Crusader coins is ever proved, then the events may perhaps be connected in this way. Having settled in Greece after Boniface de Montferrat's march through his territories, a band of Crusaders began imitating the coins of their sovereigns, which did not circulate eastward in sufficient numbers to accommodate local trade. These Crusaders and their successors later changed to copying coins of the Greek conquerors of Thessalonica. At just about the time that the coins of the main mints began to be clipped, the unknown mint finally turned to

the coinage of Latin Christian Europe, partially because of a general familiarity and identification with the types and symbols, but, as one would guess, mainly because of the open trade routes to the West and the wide circulation of those Latin coinages in the northern and western Balkans. The Crusaders at Jerusalem or Antioch had chosen years before to issue some imitations of the most widely acceptable coinages despite their iconography, and the Crusaders at this unofficial mint may have done the same. We await further evidence, however, concerning these interesting coins.[70]

Billon or AE Trachea of Small Module from an Uncertain Mint

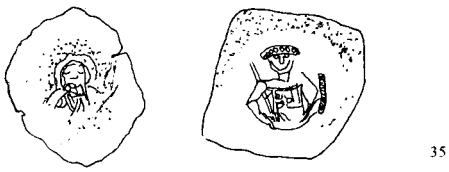
Latin and Nicaean Types



32

32. Billon small module trachy. 0.80-2.40 g. Hendy, Type A, pl. 29, 1-3. mean weight 1.45 g.
Both obverse and reverse as Constantinople Large Module Type A.

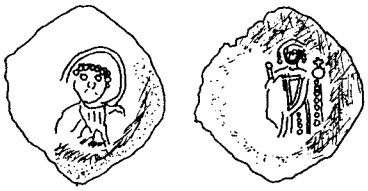
33. Billon small module trachy. *ca.* 1.56 g. Hendy, Type B, pl. 29, 4-6.
As Constantinople Type B.



35

34. Billon small module trachy. *ca.* 1.43 g. Hendy, Type C, pl. 29, 7-9.
As Constantinople Type C.

35. Billon small module trachy. *ca.* 1.40 g. Hendy, Type D, pl. 29, 10-12.
As Thessalonica Large Module Type A.

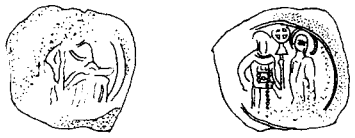


36

36. Billon small module trachy. *ca.* 1.42 g. Hendy, Type E, pl. 29, 13-15.
As Thessalonica Type B.

37. Billon small module trachy. *ca.* 1.53 g. Hendy, Type F, pl. 29, 16-18
As Thessalonica Type C.

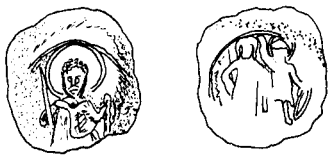
38. Billon small module trachy. *ca.* 1.31 g. Hendy, Type G, pl. 29, 19-20.
O: $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta}$V
Virgin nimbate, std. on throne without back, holds head of Christ on breast.
R: ΘЄOΔωPOC ⊙ΘЄOΔωPOC, or var.
Emperor and St. Theodore, holding patriarchal cross between. Emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar, and loros, holds labarum in r. Saint wearing short tunic, holds spear resting on shoulder in l.
As Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea (1208-22), first billon coinage.



39

Greek Thessalonican Types

39. Small module trachy. 1.24 g. Hendy, Type A, pl. 40, 12-13.
O: Γ/OΛ/ΔH
St. Demetrius enthroned.
R: IωΛNNIC ΔЄC
Emperor and Virgin, stg., holding cross within a circle between them.
After a trachy of Emperor John Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica (1237-42), Type A (Series I).



41

40. Small module trachy. Hendy, Type B, pl. 40, 14.
O: Γ/⟨⟩ Δ/ΘЄO
St. Theodore stg., in military garb, holding spear in r. and shield in l.
R: Iω
Emperor crowned by St. Demetrius (?).
After Thessalonica Type B (Series I).

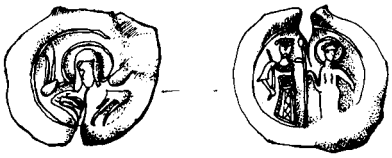
41. Small module trachy. 1.24 g. Hendy, Type C, obv. pl. 40, 15, rev., pl.41, 1.
O: Half figure of St. Theodore, holding sword resting on shoulder and sheath in l. hand.
R: As no. 40.
Obverse after Thessalonica Type E (Series I), but rev. as above no. 40.

43

42. Small module trachy. 1.07 g. Hendy, Type D, pl. 41, 2.
O: ⟨⟩ Δ/HM
St. Demetrius, half figure, in military garb, holding sword on shoulder, and its sheath in l. hand.
R: Iω.Δ M$\bar{P}$/$\bar{\Theta}$V
Emperor crowned by Virgin.
After Thessalonica Type F (Series II).

43. Small module trachy. Hendy, Type E, pl. 41, 3-4.
O: Eagle with outstretched wing, head l. No inscription.
R: IωΔ ⟨⟩ΔIM
Half-figure of emperor l., St. Demetrius r., holding patriarchal cross-crosslet on shaft on three-stepped base between them.
After Thessalonica Type G (Series II).

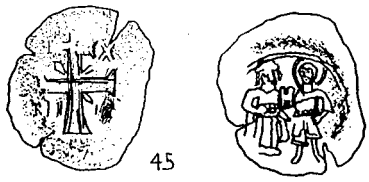
Original Types, some with Germanic influences



44

44. Small module trachy. 1.02 g. Hendy, Type F, pl. 41, 5-6.
O: Head of cherub nimbate, with four wings. No inscription.
R: Iω OΛΓ
Emperor l., Demetrius r., holding long cross surmounted by globule between them. Saint holds sword resting over shoulder in l.
No apparent prototype.

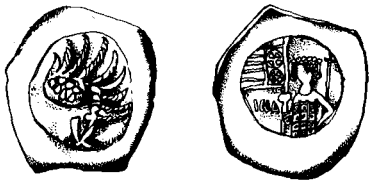
45. Small module trachy. 1.46 g. Hendy Type G, pl. 41, 7-8.
O: IC XC/NI KΛ in two vertical columns.
Radiate patriarchal cross on step.
R: Beardless emperor and St. Demetrius (?), holding castle with two towers between them.



45

46. Small module trachy. Handy, Type H, pl. 41, 9.
O: M$\bar{P}$/$\bar{\Theta}$V
Virgin seated on backless throne.
R: ΔЄCΠOT IωΛNNIC
Emperor holds scepter in r., anexikakia in l, *Manus Dei* above r.

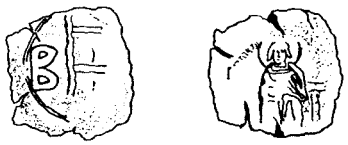
47. Small module trachy. 0.53 g. Hendy, Type I, pl. 41, 10.
O: Incuse, as reverse.
R: Beardless emperor stg., facing, wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys, holds labarum in r., and globus cruciger in l. hand.



49

48. Small module trachy. 1.12 g. Hendy, Type J, pl. 41, 11.
O: Radiate cross decorated with pellets. No inscription.
R: ΔЄ
Beardless emperor wearing military tunic, holds sword resting over shoulder in r., castle with three towers in l. hand.

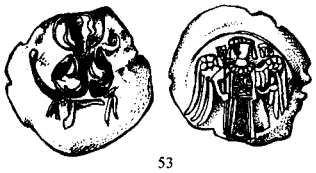
49. Small module trachy. 1.49 g. Hendy, Type K, pl.41, 12-13; Bertelè, *L'imp. alato,* III,38,38a.
O: Outstretched wing. No inscription.
R: Iω̄ Δ, left.
Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, loros, holds standard decorated with two crosses-within-circle in r., and long cross in l. hand.



50. Small module trachy. 0.94 g. Hendy, Type L.
O: Large letter B.
R: Reverse as last (no. 18).

51. Small module trachy. Hendy, Type M, pl. 41, 14.
O: Large letter B on l., and a standard with two crosses-within-circle on r.
R: M$\bar{P}$ $\bar{\Theta}$V
Virgin std. on backless throne, holds nimbate head of Christ on breast.

52. Small module trachy. Hendy, Type N, pl. 41, 15-16.
O: Incuse, as reverse.
R: Half-length figure of beardless emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, and collarpiece, holds labarum in r. and anexikakia in left hand.



53

54

53. Small module trachy. 1.04 g. Hendy, Type O, pl. 41, 17; Bertelé, *L'imp. alato,* I,1.

O: $\bar{M}\bar{P}$/* $\bar{\Theta}$V/* in two vertical columns.
Bust of Virgin orans.

R: Iω in upper r. field.
Winged emperor stg. facing, holds labarum in r., anexikakia in l.

54. Small module trachy. Hendy, Type P, pl. 41, 18.

O: Obscured. No inscription.

R: Winged, beardless imperial bust surmounting towered walls of a city.

55. Small module trachy. Hendy, Type Q.

O: Rosette. No inscription.

R: $\bar{M}\bar{P}$/* $\bar{\Theta}$V/* in two vertical columns.
Virgin std., nimbate, orans.

56. Small module trachy. *ca.* 1.31 g. Hendy, "Uncertain Thessalonican Attribution," pl. 41,19.

O: Wing with arm extending, holding sword; an asterisk above and below.

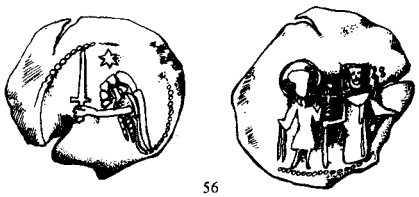
R: Emperor, bearded, and St. Demetrius (?) in military garb, holding partially sheathed sword between them. Emperor holds scepter in l., Saint holds spear in r.

Small Module Types found in the Peter and Paul Hoard

57. Billon small module trachy. 0.90-1.40 g. Metcalf, *NC*(1973) pl. 11, 106-9; also cf. pl.39, 6 (large module).

O: $\bar{M}\bar{P}$/* $\bar{\Theta}$V/* in two vertical columns. Half-length figure of Virgin, orans.

R: MANϒHΛ
St. Demetrius on r., presenting globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross to the emp., l. Emperor holds scepter cruciger in r. Saint holds spear in l.
After Type C of Manual Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica (1230-37).



56

58a. Billon small module trachy. 0.60-1.10 g. Metcalf, pl. 11, 114; also cf. Hendy, pl. 39, 10-11.
O: X/AP X/M in vertical columns.
Archangel Michael represented in act of unsheathing sword, holding sheath horizontally in l. hand.
R: MϴN
St. Demetrius and Manuel enthroned, holding model of city of Thessalonica between them.
After type G of Manuel of Thessalonica.

b. Variety with trefoil rather than model of a city, with ϑ above.

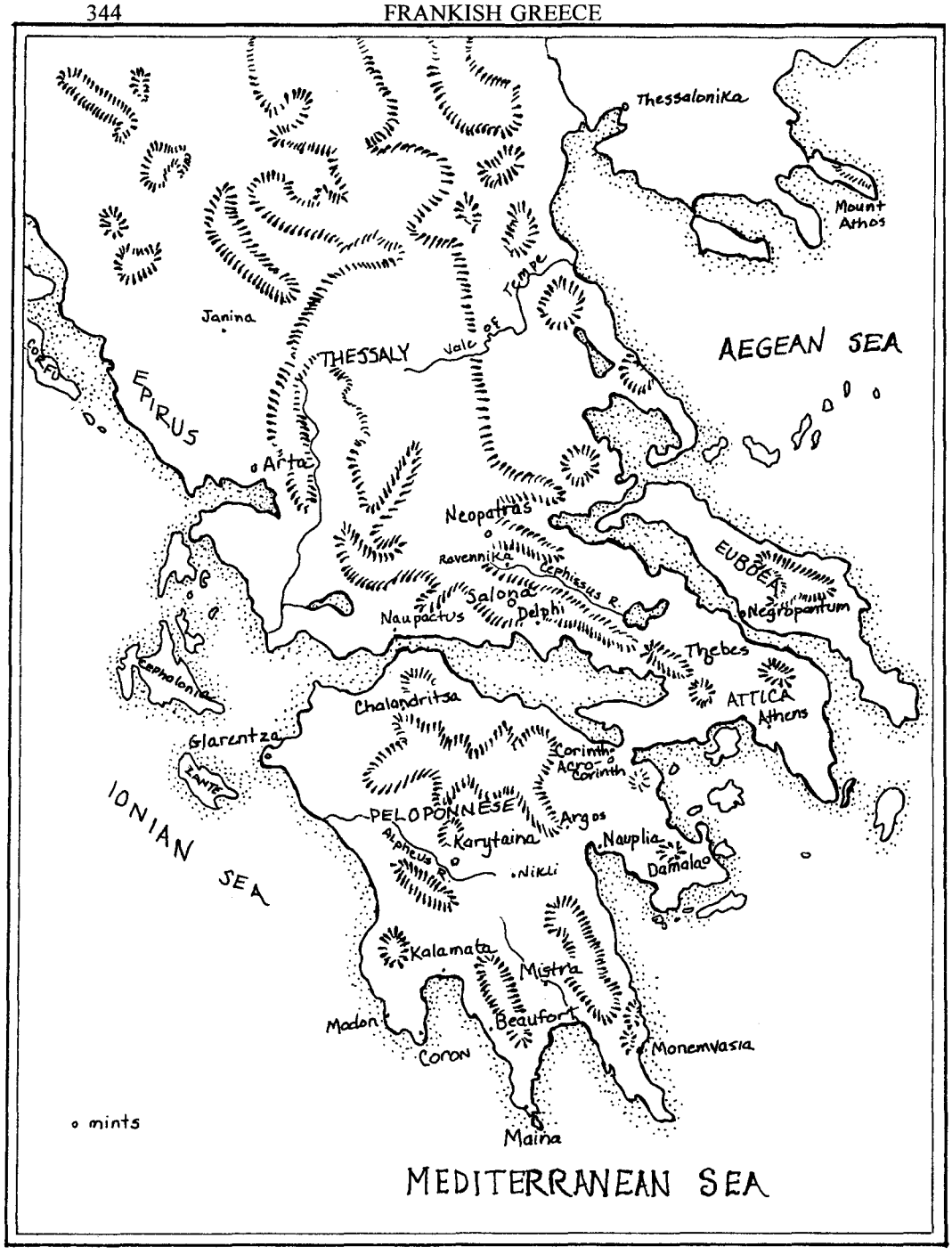
59. Billon small module trachy. 1.20 g. Metcalf, pl. 11, 121-22.
O: MP̄ Θ̄V
Virgin std. on high-backed throne.
R: Emperor wearing chlamys, l., and military saint r., both with hands raised and open, palms forward, with lance and shield between them.

60. Billon small module trachy. 1.1-1.8 g. Metcalf, pl. 9, 52-54.
O: Virgin r., orans.
R: SS. Peter and Paul, embracing one another.

61. Billon small module trachy. 1.1-2.0 g. Metcalf, pl. 10:55-60.
O: Virgin, orans.
R: St. Paul stg. holding patriarchal cross.

62. Billon small module trachy. 1.5 g. Metcalf, pl. 8:29.
O: Military saint stg.
R: Emperor *seated* facing (Sear "standing").

63. Billon small module trachy. 1.1-1.7 g. Metcalf, pl. 9:36-40.
O: Cross, blundered X - C / N - I in angles.
R: Emperor stg. holding lanceto l., globus cruciger r.


Thessalonika
Mount Athos
Janina
THESSALY
Vale of Tempe
AEGEAN SEA
CORFU
EPIRUS
Arta
Neopatras
Ravennika
Cephissus R.
EUBOEA
Salona
Delphi
Naupactus
Negropontum
Thebes
Cephalonia
Chalandritsa
ATTICA
Athens
Glarentza
Corinth
Acro-Corinth
ZANTE
IONIAN SEA
PELOPONNESE
Argos
Karytaina
Nauplia
Alpheus R.
Nikli
Damalao
Kalamata
Mistra
Beaufort
Modon
Coron
Monemvasia
Maina
o mints
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Frankish Greece and the Archipelago

The coinages minted in the Frankish states in Greece represent a departure from the Byzantine types of Constantinople and Thessalonica. Though the *Chronicle of the Morea* stated that Geoffroy I de Villehardouin was granted the right to strike coins ("*de faire batre monoye de petits tornoys en son pays*") by the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Robert de Courtenai (1219-28), scholars have doubted this assertion.[1] Not only had the chronicler often provided misinformation in other instances, but hoards have also revealed that the French tournois did not circulate to any great extent in either the Morea or the duchy of Athens at that time. The Corinth III hoard, concealed between the years 1220 and 1230, consists of small module billon trachea from an unknown mint in the Balkan area.[2] Other finds concealed between the years 1240 and 1260 reveal that the French deniers circulated widely in Greece, though the copper coinage of the Franks in these areas, which began to be issued during this period at Corinth and Thebes, are patterned after Genoese sliver deniers rather than French tournois. Furthermore, Sanudo related how William of Achaea was granted the right to strike deniers tournois in 1249 by the king of France himself. Whether this is an accurate account or fantasy, the issue of Frankish tournois probably did not begin at Glarentza, the new Western capital of the Morea, until at least after 1255; and not at Thebes in the duchy of Athens until *ca.* 1280. It is noteworthy that despite their embellishments the chroniclers were quite correct in recognizing the fact that, during the thirteenth century, the coinage of the Morea developed much closer ties to Western Europe than to Constantinople.

The Florentine merchant Pegolotti (*fl. ca.* 1340), in his *Practica della mercatura*, also gave some information about the mint set-up and operations at Glarentza.[3] The coinage system, it is not surprising to learn, included coins that the Frankish Crusaders discovered in circulation in Greece when they first began to settle there. As we have mentioned above in the Introduction, the gold hyperpyron was the basic unit, divided into twenty *sterlini*, an uncoined unit of account. Four *torneselli piccioli* made up one sterlino; three sterlini were worth one Venetian grosso; and seven grossi were worth one hyperpyron. Only the torneselli, or deniers tournois, as far as Pegolotti knew, had been minted at Glarentza. It is significant, however, that the whole Frankish system was based on the Byzantine bezant, which in Pegolotti's time weighed 23 carets. The evidence that Pegolotti provided is confirmed by a passage from Gautier II, titular duke of Athens in 1347, describing the coinage system of all of Frankish Greece: "*Quant aux yparprées* (hyperpyra), *la valeur en est fixée à vingt estrelins, comptes pour une yparprées et quatre tournois pour un estrelin.*"[4] The system is also confirmed by Uzzano, who repeated Pegolotti's statistics practically *verbatim* in 1442.[5] The *Registri Angioini,* now lost,

also provided information about the mint practices at Glarentza and the Angevin support of the mint operations. Though Schlumberger did not consult these sources himself, he gathered his information from Hopf's *Histoire de la Grèce au môyen age.* Pegolotti, followed by Uzzano, also provided an account of the salaries of the mint personnel at Glarentza and a bit about its organization.[6] Therefore, compared to the other areas of the Levant which the Crusaders conquered and where they began to mint coins, Frankish Greece is quite well documented.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, during the latter part of the reign of Robert of Taranto (1332-64), the last deniers tournois were minted at Glarentza. Lambros felt that 1350 was the date at which they were discontinued, though hoard evidence tends to prove that they were issued during the last years of his reign.[7] The Venetians under Andrea Dandolo (1343-54) began minting some copper "deniers tournois" for circulation in Greece, with the result that no other ruler of the Morea is known to have minted coins at Glarentza after Robert's reign. Though literary sources are silent on the subject, it seems that under Robert the mint turned to minting gold florins and thus probably broke with the traditional adherence to the Byzantine standard. Other coins have been assigned to Glarentza, such as Venetian soldini and grossi, but little proof, other than their appearance in hoards or stray finds in Greece, has been found to substantiate the attribution. Other vassal states of Greece, such as the duchy of Athens, the duchy of the Archipelago, and various lordships that owed allegiance to the duke of Athens or the prince of Achaea, also minted deniers tournois after those of Glarentza and Thebes. Though some theories concerning the continuance of the denier tournois by the Florentine dukes of Athens will be discussed in due course, these attributions also remain to be proved.

PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAEA

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the ancient Peloponnese, called under Frankish rule "the Morea," fell largely to the share of the republic of Venice, which contented itself with capturing Modon and Coron, two ports in the southwestern part of the peninsula. After the collapse of Byzantine rule there, the Morea was in a virtual state of anarchy. Geoffroy I of Villehardouin (1207-29) was able to conquer the Peloponnese and establish a short-lived but prosperous dynasty there, creating a highly-organized feudal system comprised of both Greek and Frankish barons.

Although William de Champlitte was at first named Lord of Achaea by Boniface de Montferrat, Geoffrey was elected bailie during his absence in France; and on William's death in 1207, the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders gave the rule of the lordship to Geoffrey. According to the treaty of June, 1207, Venice ceded all rights in the Morea to Geoffroy, except those over the ports of Modon and Coron; and in 1210, by papal decree, Geoffroy secured the title of prince of Achaea. In 1212, with the aid of Othon de la Roche of Athens, Geoffroy seized the territories

of Argos and Nauplia, which thereafter became part of the duchy of Athens, but under Villehardouin suzerainty. When Geoffroy I died in 1229, Geoffrey II (1229-45) inherited his father's title. His reign in the Morea was peaceful, although he did leave his principality on several occasions to undertake Crusading ventures (1239-43) in the Holy Land and Constantinople. When he died in 1245 with no heir, his brother William (1245-78) succeeded him.

After marrying Carintana dalle Carceri of Negroponte (Euboea) in 1245, William II was forced between 1246 and 1248 to combat some Slavic corsairs and Greeks who had established themselves at Monemvasia and terrorized the Frankish settlers. With the aid of Venice, the duke of Athens, and the triarchs of Euboea, William subdued them by 1249 and established three fortresses in Laconia at Monemvasia, Mistra, and Maïna. In the same year, William joined St. Louis in Cyprus to prepare for the French king's Crusade against Egypt; at this time, according to Marino Sanudo of Naxos, he received from St. Louis the right to strike coins after the French design of billon deniers tournois.[8]

When Carintana died in 1255, however, a dispute over the inheritance of Euboea led to a war between William and the triarchs along with their Venetian and Athenian allies, who objected to William's claims of sovereignty over them. In 1258 William defeated them. In 1259 he also sought to form an alliance with Michael II, the Greek despot of Epirus by marrying his daughter. During one of the despot's wars against Michael Palaeologus of Nicaea in which William became embroiled, he was captured by the Nicaean Greeks at Pelagonia in Thessaly in 1259. Refusing to surrender his title to the Morea, William remained captive for three years until, with the fall of Constantinople in 1261 threatening imminent danger to the Morea, he ceded all his rights to the Laconian area of the Morea to the Byzantine emperor.

During William's captivity, Guy de la Roche acted as regent in the principality of Achaea, until William was restored in 1262 at Thebes, the seat of the duchy of Athens. When in 1268 the Genoese provoked a new war with the Palaeologi, William, once again in a desperate position, swore allegiance to Baldwin II, titular Latin emperor of Constantinople, and Charles I of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily. By this *Treaty of Viterbo,* which was concluded in May, 1267, William received the aid of Neapolitan troops, and Charles received these new territories in Greece, which he hoped to use as a base of operations against the Palaeologi. In August of that year all the Franks in Greece recognized the overlordship of Charles I of Anjou. When William died in May, 1278, Charles began sending a succession of representatives who tended to estrange the Frankish barons with their autocratic policies. William de la Roche, the duke of Athens, best administered the Morea as appointed governor until his death in 1287. After some negotiations over the subject of the inheritance of the Courtenais cited by the Treaty of Viterbo, a prince was chosen to rule over Achaea in person. Florent of Hainaut, who was a relative of both the former emperor Baldwin II and the House of Anjou, married William's daughter, Isabelle of Villehardouin, in 1289, and gained the title of prince of Achaea. By 1294,

moreover, Charles II of Anjou controlled all of the Latin Orient by treaty and alliance, and then gave his son Philip of Taranto sovereign rights over Achaea, Athens, Albania, Corfu, and Epirus.

When Florent died in 1297, Isabelle betrothed their daughter Maud to Guy II de la Roche, duke of Athens. She then married Philip of Savoy in 1301, without the consent of the court of Naples, thus straining relations between the two families. In 1307 Charles II declared that, because the marriage of Isabelle had been illegal, the title to Achaea was revoked in favor of Philip of Taranto. Later, keeping his rights of suzerainty over the Morea, Philip, in a complicated diplomatic maneuver, ceded the principality to Louis of Burgundy in 1313. Louis then married Isabelle's daughter Maud; and though there was no question of independence from Naples, Louis and Maud continued to strike coins inscribed with their names as rulers of Achaea.

Meanwhile, in 1314, Marguerite of Villehardouin, sister of Isabelle, married her daughter Isabelle to Ferdinand of Majorca, bastard son of King James I and pretender to the rights of Achaea. Although he had influence with the Catalans of the northern Morea and Attica, he invaded Achaea, exerting much influence over the western coast, especially Glarentza; but he was unable to defeat Louis of Burgundy's troops and allies and died in 1316. In 1317 Louis died suddenly, probably by the ambitious hand of Giovanni II, count of Cephalonia. The twice-widowed Maud turned in desperation to Robert of Naples, successor of Charles II, who forced her to marry his brother John of Gravina (1318-1333), who received the title of prince of Achaea in 1318.

Actually taking over the Morea was a costly and difficult enterprise, for meanwhile, the Acciajuoli banking family of Florence lent money to the Angevins in exchange for certain baronies in Achaea; the Catalans in the duchy of Athens threatened Argos and other fiefs in the Morea; Andronicus Palaeologus Asen, a brother of the Greek emperor, threatened Arcadia; other pretenders, including duke Eudes IV of Burgundy, planned to beseige Achaea; and the Turks began to pillage the coasts. Most of the barons were beginning to look to the Greeks or Venetians for aid and security. Finally, in 1324, Robert of Naples and Philip of Taranto issued an ultimatum demanding that the barons of the Morea, continental Greece, and the Archipelago swear fealty to John of Gravina; but, in effect, the Morea had become an anarchical battleground for the opportunism of Italian merchants, internal jealousies among the feudal barons, and the ravages of foreign mercenaries. By 1331 both John of Gravina and Gautier II of Athens, the last of the original Frankish heirs, were forced to flee because of intrigues and disloyalties.

When Philip of Taranto died in Naples in 1331, Robert of Taranto (1333-64) inherited all his father's rights over Frankish Greece. His mother, Catherine of Valois, acting as regent (1333-47), appointed Giovanni di Donato Acciajuoli and Bertrand des Baux as bailies (1341-46), while Niccolò Acciajuoli handled her financial affairs. The barons of Coron, however, allied themselves with and began to court James II of Majorca, who sent Erard Mauro as his representative, although

because of events elsewhere James II never arrived in the Morea. In 1347, Robert of Taranto married Marie de Bourbon, a relative of Hugh IV of Cyprus; but in view of the invasion in 1349 of Turks from Ephesus, an alliance with Cyprus did not last. The only Latin baron who proved at all powerful in Greece during Robert's rule was Niccolò Acciajuoli.

Since all other pretenders to the principality were reluctant to inhabit the devastated and dangerous Morea, Pope Clement VI, afraid of the proximity of the Turks in the Morea, exerted pressure on the Knights of Rhodes to recover the Peloponnese. Pope Gregory XI renewed the plea and called a congress at Thebes for 1373 to seek unity in Latin Greece; but, unfortunately, certain individuals with financial interests in Greece, especially Nerio Acciajuoli, used the temporary truce for personal advantage. Philip II of Taranto succeeded his brother Robert, while the Genoese Centurione Zaccaria acted as his bailie. James II of Majorca's widow, Joanna of Naples, succeeded him in 1374, and she gave her rights to the Morea to her husband, Otto of Brunswick, who in turn pawned the Morea to the Hospitallers between 1377 and 1381. By 1380 Manuel Cantacuzenus had established a Greek dynasty at Mistra that included most of the baronies of the Morea; and it is significant to note that the inhabitants preferred Greek protection, since no Latin institution could offer effective aid to the inhabitants.

In 1381, with the aid of the Navarrese Company, Jacques des Baux, an Angevin prince and the last claimant to the throne of Latin Constantinople, gained title to Achaea; but upon his death in 1383, the Navarrese held the Morea, or what was left of it, completely independently, with Mahiot de Coquerel as ruler. In 1396, Bordo de San Superan, his successor, took the legal title of prince of Achaea (1396-1402) from Ladislaus of Naples, who posed as suzerain of Achaea. Centurione Zaccaria, baron of Kyparissia, who held the real power in Achaea was granted the title to the principality in 1404, although Ladislaus also granted Carlo Tocco, count of Cephalonia, autonomy for his county, whereupon Tocco laid siege to Glarentza. Such internal intrigues led the way to the reconquest of Achaea in 1415 by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. After over two hundred years of Latin rule, the Peloponnese was again Greek. As Constantinople waned, however, so did Mistra. By 1462, the Turks held nearly all of Greece and some of the islands in the Archipelago.

COINAGE OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAEA

The dating of the earliest Frankish-type coins produced in the Morea during the thirteenth century is somewhat uncertain, because of the ambiguous letter G in the legends of the coins, which could stand for either Geoffroy or William *(Guillaume)* of Villehardouin. The earliest were copper coins of two denominations, presumably deniers and oboles. They are also usually of fine style and excellent

manufacture and were minted at Corinth. One type bears the legends G.P.ACCAIE / ✠CORINTI, surrounding a cross pattèe and a *Genoese gateway.* A second early type bears a similar obverse legend and CORINTVϠ, along with the fortress of Acrocorinth represented on the reverse.[9] Both these coins have been found in stray finds at Athens and Corinth,[10] though, surprisingly, the type bearing the Genoese gateway has been found as far afield as Antioch and Jerusalem[11] and has been excavated in substantial numbers at Acrocorinth.[12] Because only one specimen of the fortress type had appeared at Acrocorinth, Bellinger felt that it should be assigned to the reign of Geoffrey and that the Genoese gateway type should be attributed to the early years of William's reign (1245-78), when he carried on a series of building and repairing campaigns there. Since the publication of the finds at Acrocorinth, however, the fortress type has also appeared in much greater numbers in stray finds from the Areopagus at Athens, probably lost during the wars between William of Achaea and Guy I of Athens (1258-59).[13] From this evidence, an argument may be made that the fortress type was minted after the Genoese gateway type. The latter may still belong to the early days of William's reign or even the very last part of Geoffroy II's. In the Catalogue, however, the coins are all assigned to the reign of William and the traditional sequence has been altered because of the evidence of the Areopagus finds. In either case, the copper issues do not extend past William's reign, as both the letter G and the hoard evidence indicate.

Another copper type bearing a facing portrait of the prince and the legend ✠.G.PRINCEPS. / ✠.AChAIE is also, in all likelihood, a coin struck by William. Its mint is uncertain, since the reverse legend is nonspecific; but because of the appearance of 94 of these coins at Athens and none so far at Corinth,[14] it has been suggested that the mint was that of Thebes. Guy de la Roche, duke of Athens, may have produced the coinage while he served as bailie for the principality during William's captivity with the Palaeologi (1259-61). The fourth and final copper type of Achaea is extremely rare. It bears a cross moline, forming the arms of Villehardouin, and the reverse legend ✠CLARЄNCIA, and was apparently issued at Glarentza. Thus it seems that both Corinth and Glarentza were minting copper deniers before the minting of billon deniers tournois began at Glarentza; and, unlike the situation at the mint of Thebes in the duchy of Athens, the copper oboles of Achaea were not continued as fractions of the billon denier, although they continued to circulate. The Corinth mint, moreover, seems to have been closed for the rest of the period of Frankish rule in Greece. Metcalf has suggested an explanation for this difference in the coinage systems of Athens and Achaea: the large industrial community manufacturing silk at Thebes perhaps required that there be a petty currency for everyday expenditure.[15] Corinth's Jewish population, for example, was quite a bit smaller than the large community at Thebes, which was comparable in size to that at Constantinople;[16] and Glarentza was primarily a port rather than a center of manufacture.

As for the billon coinage of the principality, the precise date of the first issue

of Frankish imitations of the billon denier of Tours in France is also controversial, for neither circumstantial archaeological findings nor literary sources, such Marino Sanudo's *Istoria del regno di Romania*, seem to suggest the same date. On the basis of Sanudo's account that William received the right to issue deniers tournois from St. Louis in 1249, Schlumberger assumed that the first deniers tournois of Achaea were minted about 1250. Recently, however, scholars have tended to question this date, because a few hoards deposited during the 1250's and 1260's reveal not only that French deniers tournois were still in wide circulation at that time, but also that Frankish imitations of deniers tournois were not in circulation with them. Whether these are travelers' hoards or not,[17] it is striking that they lack any Achaean billon deniers tournois at all, especially in view of the fact that later hoards, deposited during the 1280's and afterwards, contain many Achaean billon deniers and relatively few French ones.[18] It is possible, nonetheless, that Sanudo's account was correct,[19] but that William waited several years to begin his issue of the denier tournois. As Metcalf suggests, the historian, who wrote of this event seventy years after it was supposed to have taken place, may have been dramatizing the inception of the Frankish denier tournois from legend rather than fact, while at the same time indicating that the princes of Achaea had royal sanction for their minting of deniers tournois.[20] Hoard evidence so far places the beginning of the issue of the denier tournois of Glarentza between *ca.* 1255 and the early 1260's.

In the same passage from his *Istoria,* Sanudo related that in 1249 St. Louis fixed the silver content of William's new coinage at 3.5 ounces of silver to one pound of metal. What may be implicit here is that the first deniers of Achaea were based on the French royal standard of denier (as indeed they appear to be), so that they doubtlessly predate the Treaty of Viterbo (1267), when Achaea became the vassal state of Charles I of Anjou of Naples. Pegolotti in his treatise of *ca.* 1340 informed us, however, that the amount of silver was 2.5 ounces;[21] and the information that Schlumberger gathered from the no longer extent *Registri Angioini,* along with a recent metrological study of the coins,[22] has helped fill in gaps in the process of debasement of the Achaean denier. Let us therefore look at the various types of deniers tournois that were minted at Glarentza.

The earnest deniers of the tournois type minted at Glarentza may have been that bearing the legend ✠TVRONVS CIVI / D CLARENTIA. Experimental in character, the type shows the close connection between the royal French denier of Tours and the Achaean series minted at Glarentza.[23] A coin of this type has appeared in the Xirokhori Hoard, concealed *ca.* 1287, which also tends to establish its early date. The billon deniers tournois issued in the name, or at least with the initial, of William of Villehardouin are of two predominant types and several other rare, experimental varieties. Type 8, which bears square E's, unbarred's and the legend ✠G PRINCEPS /CLARENTIA, is the heaviest and most common of the coins; whereas Type 10, bearing square E's, but barred A's and inscribed ✠G PRINCE ACh', is also relatively abundant, but generally weighs less. If we may speculate,

variety "b" of Type 8, weighing 0.92 grams, may date before 1267 and the signing of the Treaty of Viterbo, the document marking the beginning of Angevin overlordship in Achaea. It seems that variety b, Type 8 coins are fairly close to the theoretical weight of deniers tournois of Louis IX, 1.12 grams;[24] but the other varieties of Type 8 and Type 10 coins approach the theoretical weight of Provençal deniers of Charles I, which weighed only 0.994 grams, according the mark of Montpellier.[25] The small D - V, flanking the cross of the castle on the reverse of Type 10 has no meaning decipherable to us. Such small marks, which must have indicated something to the minting authority, are common on these Achaean deniers, though they are rarely seen on deniers of the duchy of Athens.

In a study done by Anastasos Tzamalis[26] two workshops or mints for these William deniers have been suggested, either both at Glarentza, or one at Glarentza and the other at, perhaps, Corinth. The characteristics of the first group (Glarentza?) are a Δ shaped spire, unbarred A's, and elongated R's. The second group is characterized by a Λ shaped spire, barbed A's, and regular R's. These two groups have also been identified for the later "Charles" deniers.

First Mint *Second Mint* *First Mint* *Second Mint*

William Castles *Charles Castles*

After William's death, Charles I of Anjou (1278-85) took the title of prince and arranged that new deniers be issued in Achaea at the same weight as those of William, but with the name of the new lord, ✠K.R.PRINC'ACh', for *Karolus Rex, Princeps Achaie.* In 1279, according to the *Registri Angioini,* workmen and materials were sent to the castellan of Glarentza; in 1281, more supplies and workers were sent, while Gautier de Collepiere began the reorganization of the mint. The mint was at that time installed in the castle of Glarentza and placed under the supervision of the castellan.[27] As one might suppose with this strict supervision of the mint personnel, the coins assigned to Charles I with certainty are of one basic type with very few varieties and, like the coins of William, bear simply CLARENTIA as reverse inscription. The coins of Charles II (1285-89) have traditionally been distinguished from his father's because they bear DЄ CLARЄNTIA, which is not only closer in type to the coins Charles issued in Provence, inscribed DE: RIOMЄNSIS, but also closer to the form of the deniers of his successors as prince of Achaea. These coins of Charles II are also strictly uniform, differing only in terms of the pellet and saltire stops, and in die execution, but fluctuating very little in weight.

A more recent theory espoused by D.M. Metcalf[28] suggests that the change in reverse legend coincided with the mint reorganization in 1281. Both the traditional and recent theories offer logical arguments. A third theory proposed by Tzamalis[29] goes even further. He suggests that the mint(s) of Achaea closed around the year of the Sicilian Vespers (1282) and that no Achaean coins were struck by Charles II at all. This theory is presently the least favored of the three.

The coins of Florent of Hainaut (1289-97), on the other hand, vary greatly in weight and style. At this point in the history of the mint operations, the spelling of *Clarentia* is changed to *Clarencia,* and the weight of the coins is dropped. The reason for the decline in weight may well have been to align the Achaean coins to the deniers of Thebes, which from their inception in about 1280 had been light not only in weight but in silver content.[30] The reason for the change to the letter C in the legend may be that the mint turned away from strictly Latin legends, but this is only a guess. The slight variation in mean average weights between the varieties might indicate some disunity or disorganization among the workshops of the mint, and the differences in the rendering of the castle and the forms of the letters certainly indicate that there were several die-sinkers involved in the coin production.

Tzamalis discovered in the Xerohorion Hoard of 1957 the absence of tournois coins of Florent types, although the hoard's concealment date of 1291. This suggests that the mint may have been closed until possibly 1292.

The form of the letter A on Florent's coins are of three basic varieties: the Latin Ā and the two hybrid forms, the *unbarred* Λ and the *horned* Ѧ. The forms of the castle tower vary slightly; and on one type the tower becomes triangular (Δ) rather than of two lines (Λ), and D' ƇLΛRЄNƇIΛ replaces DЄ CLĀRЄNƇIĀ. Some marks that appear at the end of the obverse inscription, such as the fleur or acorn, are usually coupled with the *unbarred* Λ variety, while various other stop marks, commonly a star on the reverse, appear on the coins that are inscribed with *barred* Ā's. At Florent's death the mint was closed, according to the *Registri Angioini,* and the first issue in the name of Isabelle did not begin until 1299.[31]

Though her coins are all of similar weight and one basic type, ✠YSĀBЄLLĀ.P.ĀƇh' / DЄ ƇLĀRЄNƇIĀ, they bear some stylistic similarities of detail to those of Florent, indicating that there was little disturbance of the mint practices between their two reigns. The coins share marks at the end of the reverse legend and an obverse inscriptional cross adorned with a fleur-de-lis and the letter B. Isabella's coins were issued in vast numbers between 1299 and 1301, and their fineness, according to studies of their alloy, seems to have been reduced to correspond to that of contemporary coins of Athens.[32] The debasement of the coinage of Achaea during these years therefore occurred in two steps: their weight was reduced during Florent's reign, and their alloy was debased during Isabelle's.

The mint enjoyed incessant activity throughout the reign of Isabelle's second husband, Philip of Savoy (1301-07).[33] His coins, inscribed ✠PH'S D' SĀB.P ĀChЄ *(Philippus de Sabaudie, Princeps Achaie),* are of several varieties. Within the field,

underneath the castle of the reverse of one variety, appears a star, whereas another variety has a pellet to each side, and yet another, a large annulet.

An interesting new type was discovered by Alfred Bellinger at Corinth in 1925.[34] This copper has been found in later Corinthian finds, the most recent being a cut half reported by C.H. Zervos in 1990.[35] This very rare coin is known from just five excavated examples. The coin uses Philip's standard inscriptions, but instead of a cross pattée, an anchor cross with transverse bar is introduced.

When Philip of Taranto (1306-13), the sovereign of all of Frankish Greece took over the government as prince of Achaea, he issued coins at Glarentza with both his full title and an abbreviation of it. One type bears the inscription ✠PhS.P.ĀCh'.TĀR.D.R., for *Philippus, Princeps Achaie, Tarenti, Despotes Romanie*; the other type drops the final D.R. altogether. His coins seem to have been reduced in weight, compared to those of Philip of Savoy, though their weight is not so low as that of the deniers that Philip had been minting at Lepanto.[36] The reverse legend changes in accordance with the changes in the obverse legend, the fuller title having D' CLĀRЄNCIĀ on the reverse; and the shorter, DЄ CLĀRЄNCIĀ. The latter type bears a castle with F's or E's flanking; the type with the fuller title usually bears a fleur-de-lis below the castle. Of all his types the most common is Type 16.

The coins of Louis of Burgundy's short reign (1313-16) are rare, and quite consistent in form, bearing the legends, ✠LODOVIC'.D'.B'.P.ĀCh' / DЄ CLĀRЄNCIĀ. The coins of the pretender, Ferdinand of Majorca, which were struck during his occupation of Glarentza (1315-16) are also rare, but seem to be from two distinct issues, one with annulets flanking the castle, and the other with only one annulet to the left of the castle. They are inscribed ✠IFAIIS'F'D'.MĀIOR', for *Infans filius domini Majoricarum* or *Infans Ferrandus de Majorcis*. Schlumberger may have misread one of the alternate spellings he supplies for these coins. Furthermore, neither of these rulers' coins seems to have been issued light-weight or inferior to their immediate prototypes at Glarentza.

The deniers minted in the name of Maud of Hainaut (1316-18) are by contrast rather poorly inscribed and light-weight. They generally weigh between 0.72 and 1.05 grams, fluctuating widely, and have a mean weight of *ca.* 0.82 grams. They are found in appreciable numbers in hoards concealed after 1320[37] and are of quite a few types considering the short duration of Maud's reign. The most common types of her coins are those with a pheon or plant below and pellet to the left of the castle, and those with a fleur-de-lis in the legend of the reverse and a C to the left of the castle. The other types are scarce, except for those with an X or ✠ below the castle which are rare. Though Schlumberger lists an alternate spelling of the legend ✠MAhAV.P ACh, possibly considering it a scarce variety, Saulcy suggested that it was a misread coin from the Friedlander collection,[38] or at least a blundered variety among these often unreadable coins.

When control of the Morea was taken from Maud in 1318, Federico Frogisio

was sent by Robert of Naples to serve as bailie for John of Gravina until his arrival in 1321. John's coins are more blundered in style and barbaric in fabric than Maud's and, like her coins, fluctuate widely in weight, from 0.72 to 1.00 grams, with a mean weight of *ca.* 8.00 grams. His coins are also fairly common with many varieties. There are two major obverse legends, ✠IOΛNS P ΛCH'I and ✠IOhS P ΛChЄ; and two major reverse legends, DЄ CLΛRЄNCIΛ and D' CLΛRЄNCIΛ. Some blundered varieties bear the letter T in the spelling of *Clarentia*, but normally the spelling is with a C, contrary to what Schlumberger thought.[39] Sixteen types exist with secret manrks including I, +, ℜ, R and T.

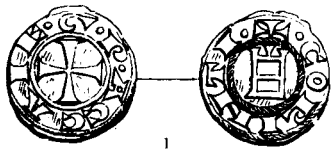
When Catherine of Valois became regent for her young son Robert of Taranto between 1333 and 1346, the mint of Achaea entered a new era. Cox has suggested that imitations of Venetian soldini issued at Glarentza filled this span of years. She argues that a group of soldini found in the Kaparelli Hoard from Boeotia are imitations because they are pale in color, have slight irregularities in spacing and less elegant lettering, and contain about 7-9% less silver than the original coins. She also discusses a Venetian decree of 1338 prohibiting the manufacture of imitative soldini in Slavonia and elsewhere and another document of 1339, which records "*moneta da solodini mala et falsa.*"[40] Since Catherine had entrusted the financial affairs of the principality exclusively to Niccolò Acciajuoli, a Florentine banker, before her arrival in Achaea in 1338, Niccolò may have deplored the monetary and economic situation of Achaea so much that he unlawfully began the issue of a false Venetian money. Hoard evidence, indeed, supports the fact that soldini circulated in Greece in great numbers between 1337 and 1420. Hoard evidence also reveals that the billon deniers tournois which Robert of Taranto issued in his own name do not appear before 1356, perhaps signifying that the soldini filled the gap during Catherine's regency. The soldini, however, are difficult to classify, and there is no special indication among many of these imitative coins that they were minted at Glarentza, even though they circulated in Frankish Greece. Though the theory may one day prove to be correct, it awaits proof.

It is nevertheless an incontrovertible fact that Robert of Taranto minted imitations of the gold florin at Glarentza.[41] The imitation of the gold coins of Florence bears the legends .Ƨ. IOHAИEƧ.B.R. (for *Robertus*?) / .R.CLAR. .ENTIA, instead of the reverse legend its model bears, *Florentia.* The deniers tournois that Robert also issued in his own name at Glarentza are quite barbarous and do not appear in hoards, as we have said, before 1356. They bear the legends ✠ROBT P AChAIЄ or ACHЄ and DC CLΛRCNCΛ or ✠LΛRCNCIΛ, or else CLΛRЄNCIΛ without the preposition, with varying marks in the quarters of the cross and various adornments for the castle. The coins are somewhat scarce, and the varieties of types are many and can be divided into eleven types. Pellets in the angles of the cross, as well as a lozenge or a crescent appear. Other secret marks are ℜ, R and II.

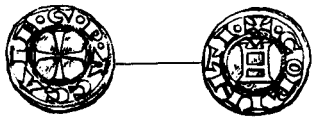
Though in the past Lambros and Schlumberger assigned other coins to the roster of imitations that Robert of Taranto minted at Glarentza, recently these

attributions have been questioned. Metcalf has given evidence that the imitative Venetian grossi that Lambros assigned to the Morea were, in fact, Serbian or some other Balkan power's imitations.[42] Indeed, Papadopoli cites a document asserting that soldini, at least, were known at the time to have been counterfeited "*in partibus Slavonie.*"[43] The imitative Venetian ducats, which Ives and Grierson assigned to Achaea, have also been questioned by Yvon, since they appear to come from Asia Minor more often than western Greece, and because the K and KO appearing as their legends have, after all, very little to do with Robert and Clarencia and possibly stand for Konia, the capital of Seljuk Anatolia.[44] For these reasons, these coins have not been included in our Catalogue.

William of Villehardouin (1245-78)



1



2

1. AE denier. 0.59-0.83 g. Schl. XII,10; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p. 206, fig. 10.
   O: G·P·ACCAIE·
   Short cross pattée.
   R: ✠·CORINTI·
   Genoese gateway.

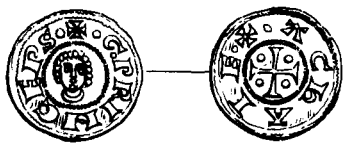
2. AE obole. Schl. XII,9.
   Similar to last, obverse and reverse.

3

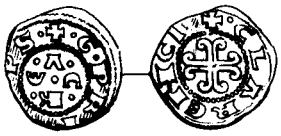
4

3. AE denier. 0.81-1.04 g. Schl. XII,7; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p. 206, fig. 9.
   O: G·P·ACCAIЄ·
   Long cross pattée.
   R: ✠·CORINTVOI·
   Fortified castle, surmounted by a cross.

4. AE obole. 0.45 g. Schl. XII,8.
Similar to last.



5



6

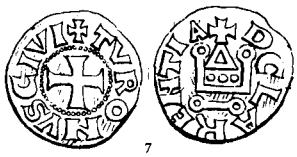
5. AE denier. 0.70-0.99 g. Schl. XII,6; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p. 206, fig. 8.

O: ✠·G·PRINCEPS·
Bare head facing, wearing collar.
R: ✠·ACHAIE·
Cross pattée, pellet in each quarter.

6. AE denier. 0.72 g. Schl. XX,28; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p. 206, fig. 11.

O: ✠·G·PRINCЄPS·
Central pellet, surrounded by Λ·C·h·Є
R: ✠·CLARЄNCIA·
Cross moline (the arms of Villehardouin).

Deniers after the type issued at Tours



7

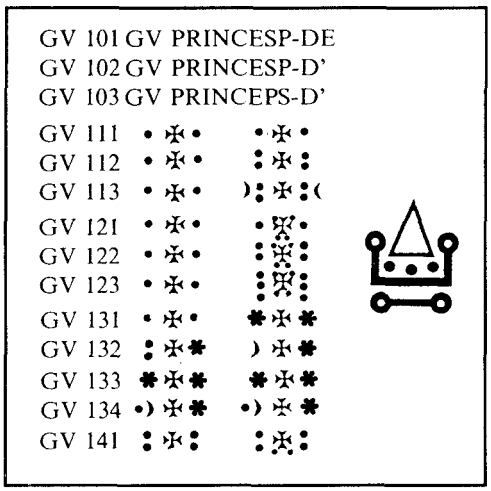
7. Billon denier tournois. Schl. XII,13.
O: ✠TVRONVS CIVI
Cross pattée.
R: D CLĀRENTIĀ
Castle tournois, surmounted by a cross.

8a. Billon deniers tournois. 0.64 g. Saulcy, XIV,12; Tzamalis, GV101.
O: ✠GV·PRINCESP (*sic*)
Cross pattée. *Glarentza mint*

R: DE CLĀRENCIĀ
Castle tournois, spire in form of Δ, surmounted by a cross.

b. A rare variety also bears D' CLĀRENCIĀ on the reverse. Tzamalis, GV102.

c. A rare variety bears ✠GV·PRINCEPS/D' CLĀRENCIĀ.
Tzamalis, GV111-141.



1 Table of type 8 varieties as formulated by Tzamalis

9a. Billon denier tournois. 0.84-1.02 g; mean wt.0.88 g. Schl. XII,11; Metcalf, *MN*(1971) XXXIX,3; Tzamalis, GV201-02.
O: ✠G·PRINCEPS·, or var.
Cross pattée.
R: :ᶜCLARENTIAᵓ:
Castle tournois, spire in form of Λ, surmounted by a cross.

b. Similar, but the reverse bears rosette stops; many specimens have unbarred Λ's, recumbent S's, or reversed N's. This is the most abundant variety in the Pylia Hoard and the heaviest, at 0.92 g. A similar variety also bears rosettes on the obverse. (Metcalf, p. 179; Tzamalis, GV211-12.)

c. Similar, but the reverse bears double pellet stops. Metcalf, *MN* (1971), XXXIX,2; Tzamalis, GV. Like variety a, its mean weight from random examples is 0.88 g. There are also other minor variations of this type. In the Pylia hoard, variety b is the most common of these coins, but varieties a and c are also commonly found. Metcalf illustrates a specimen with ✠⊛G·PRINCEPS: and ᶜ·CLARENCIA·ᵓ (XXXIX,4). The rest are only variations of the three common varieties.

9

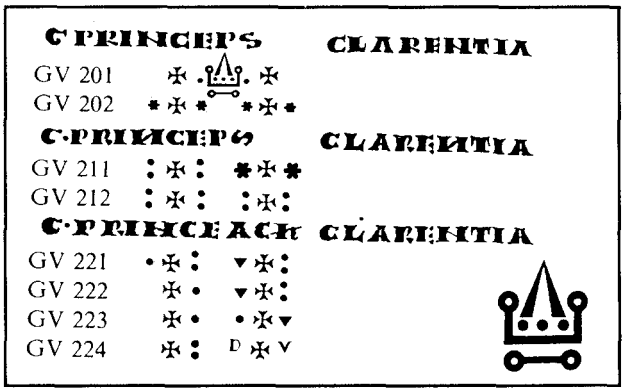
10a

10a. Billon denier tournois. 0.82-0.88 g. Schl. XII,12; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), XXXIX,5; Tzamalis, GV221-24.

O: ✠:G:PRINCE ĀCh'
Cross pattée.

R: ᵛCLĀRENTIĀᴰ *Corinth mint?*
Castle tournois, spire in form of Λ, surmounted by a cross.

b. Similar but ✠:G:PRINCE ĀCh / 'CLĀRENTIĀ'
Other varieties are scarcer. Often on of the wedge stops of the reverse is replaced by a pellet or double pellet.



2 Table of type 9 and 10 varieties as formulated by Tzamalis

Charles I of Anjou (1278-85)

11. Billon denier tournois. 0.79-0.99 g.; mean wt.0.89 g. Schl. XII,16; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), pp. 180-81; Tzamalis, KA202. *Corinth mint?*

O: ✠·K·R·PRINC'ĀCh'
Cross pattée.

R: ·CLĀRENTIĀ·
Castle tournois surmounted by a cross.

The type is quite consistent except for the changes in the pellet, wedge, and annulet stops. The variety with pellet stops is by far the most common.

11

12

Charles II of Anjou (1285-89)

12. Billon denier tournois. 0.74-0.94 g. Schl. XII,17; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), pp. 180-81; Tzamalis, KA101. *Glarentza mint*

O: ✠·K·R·PRINC'ĀCh'
Cross pattée.

R: ⁑DE⁑CLAREN⁑TIA
Castle tournois surmounted by a cross.

This type is uniform, except for a variety which is said to bear star stops and which must be quite rare. Notice the change in the legend of the reverse to what may perhaps be "Denarius Clarentianus." It may have been initiated as early as 1281 (see discussion above).

Florent of Hainaut (1289-97)

13a

13a. Billon denier tournois. 0.67-0.83 g.; mean 0.689 g. Schl. XII,18; Metcalf, *MN* (1971), p. 182.

O: ✠FLORЄNS·P·ΛCAh *ornament* *Corinth mint?*
Cross pattée.

R: DЄ CLΛRЄNCIΛ
Castle tournois.

b. O: ✠:FLORЄNS·P·ĀCAh

R: :DЄ CLĀRЄNCIĀ:, usually with barred Ā's, and a great variety of stop marks, often a star at the end of the reverse legend.

mean 0.888 g. Metcalf, *MN* (1971), pp. 182, 201; Saulcy, XV,1.

This type also bears unbarred Λ's.

c. A scarcer variety: similar to variety b, except that legend is flanked by B and a fleur-de-lis, and has unbarred Λ's. Cf. Metcalf, p. 182.

Other varieties have star stops, or the small B *without the accompanying fleur-de-lis, and the letter* I. *Variety "a" is also sometimes without its acorn. The varieties were formulated by Metcalf, who discerned the different forms of the letter* A *among the coins of the Pylia Hoard.*

14. Billon denier tournois. 0.865 g. Saulcy, XV,2; Metcalf, XXXIX,6-7.

O: ✠:FLORЄNS·P·ĀCAh *Glarentza mint*
Cross pattée.

R: D' CLΛRЄNCIΛ, with horned Λ's
Castle tournois with triangular (Δ) tower.

Isabelle of Villehardouin (1297-1301)

15

15a. Billon denier tournois. 0.76-0.86 g.; Schl. XII,19; Metcalf *MN*(1971), p.183.

O: ✠✠YSΛBЄLLΛ·P·ΛCh^{B}, or var. *Corinth mint*
Cross pattée.

R: DЄ ЄLΛRЄNЄIΛ', with unbarred Λ's.
Castle tournois.
This is the most common variety.

b. Similar, except that the obverse legend is flanked by a small fleur-de-lis and a wedge. It also bears barred Ā's.
mean wt.0.875 g. Metcalf, *loc. cit.*

Other varieties are scarcer. In terms of the decorative elements there is a distinct transition between the coins of Florent and the coins of his widow Isabelle, or between Type 13c and Type 15a.

16. Billon denier tournois. mean wt.0.863 g. Metcalf, XXXIX,8.

O: ✠✠YSĀBЄLLĀ·P·ĀЄh *Glarentza mint*
Cross pattée.

R: *DЄ ЄLĀRЄNЄIĀ*, often with star or annulet stops and barred Ā's..
Castle tournois.

17. Billon denier tournois. 0.83 g. Jacobowitz Coll.

O: ✠YSĀBЄLLĀ·P·ĀЄh
Cross pattée.

R: DЄ ЄLĀRЄNЄIĀ
Castle tournois, L to l., pellet r.

18

Philip of Savoy (1301-06)

18. Billon denier tournois. 0.83-0.92 g. Schl. XII,20; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), p.184 (variety c).

O: ✠·Ph'S·D'·SĀB·P·ĀЄhЄ· *Corinth mint?*
Cross pattée.

R: ✠DЄ ЄLĀRЄNЄIĀ✠
Castle tournois, pellet each side, five-pointed star below.

19. Billon denier tournois.
O: ✠·Ph'S·D'·SAB·P·ACh€·
Cross pattée.
R: ✠D€ CLAR€NCIA✠
Castle tournois, annulet each side, five-pointed star below.

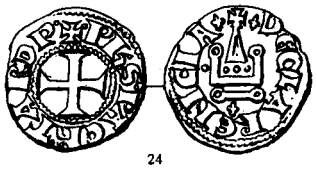
20. Billon denier tournois. 0.80-0.84 g. Saulcy, XV,6; Metcalf (var. a)
O: ✠·Ph'S·D'·SAB·P·ACh€· *Glarentza mint.*
Cross pattée.
R: ✠D€ CLAR€NCIA✠
Castle tournois, five-pointed star below.
In the Pylia Hoard this was the most commonly represented of the varieties minted by Philip.

21. Billon denier tournois. Saulcy, XV,8; Metcalf, *Ash.* 748.
Similar, but with a fleur-de-lis below the castle instead of the star, and castle flanked by pellets.
Other less common varieties include one similar with the legend D' CLAR€NCIA. *Saulcy, XV,8, also bears flanking the castle, a small pyramid surmounted by a pellet or keyhole, and the reverse legend* D€ CLAR€NCIA, *a return to earlier spellings. Other variations are modifications of these.*

22. Billon denier tournois.
Similar to a18 but the star is above the castle, slightly to the right.

23. AE fractional denier. 0.50-0.90 g. Bellinger, *Corinth 1925*, pl. II,7; Zervos, *Hesperia*, v. 59, no. 77.
O: ✠PKS·D'·SAB·P·ACh'
Cross with each terminal of two annulets, angular bar through center.
R: .D€ CLARENCIA
Crescents each side of star in center.

Philip of Taranto (1306-13)



24

24. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-0.83 g. Saulcy, XVI,3; Schl. XII,21; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), p.184.

O: ✠·PhˈS·P·ÆChˈ·TÆR·D·R· *Glarentza mint*

Cross pattée.

R: ✠DЄ CLÆRЄNCIÆ✠

Castle tournois with Δ-shaped spire, pellet to left, fleur-de-lis below.

On this variety the legend often ends with the letters D P, *for "Despotes," presumably, rather than* D R, *for "Depotes Romanie."*

25. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-0.88 g.

Similar, but with a pellet on each side of the castle.

26

26a. Billon denier tournois. 0.75-0.87 g. Saulcy, XVI,2; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), XXXIX,10.

O: Similar to last. *Glarentza mint*

R: D' CLÆRЄNCIÆ, with various stop marks, including fleurs-de-lis, pellets, and stars; sometimes with unbarred Λ's.

Castle tournois with Δ-shaped spire, no secret marks in field.

b. Similar, but with the S in the obverse inscription retrograde.

There seem to be mules between Types 24 through 27 as well.

27. Billon denier tournois. 0.85 g. Malloy Coll.

Similar to above but with three dots above base of castle.

28. Billon denier tournois. 0.80 g. Saulcy, XV,10.
O: ✠PhS·P·ACh'TAR'⚜, or var. *Corinth mint?*
Cross pattée.
R: DF CLARFNCIA·
Castle tournois with Λ-shaped spire, F to each side.

28

29

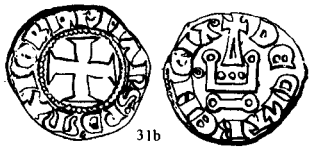
Louis of Burgundy (1313-16)

29. Billon denier tournois. 0.80-0.97 g. Schl. XII,23.
O: ✠LODOVIC'·D'·B'·P·ACh F *Glarentza mint*
Cross pattée.
R: o DF CLARENCIA o, sometimes with unbarred Λ's.
Castle tournois, annulet to left.

30. Billon denier tournois.
Similar, but without annulet in reverse field, and only one annulet stop at the beginning of the reverse legend.

Ferdinand of Majorca, Pretender (1315-16)

31a


31b

31a. Billon denier tournois. 0.99 g. Schl. XII,22.
O: ✠IFAnS·F·D'·MAIORK· *Glarentza mint*
Cross pattée.
R: o DC CLARENCIA o, sometimes unbarred Λ's.
Castle tournois, annulet on each side.

31b. Billon denier tournois. 0.81g. Saulcy, XVI,16.
Similar, annulet to l. of castle.

Maud of Hainaut (1316-18)

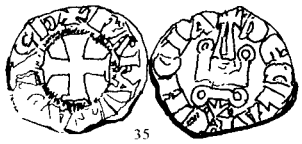
33

34

32. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-0.82 g. *Glarentza mint*
O: ✠MAhAVTA PACh'
Cross pattée.
R: DЄ CLARЄNCIA o
Castle tournois, pheon below.

33. Billon denier tournois. 0.74-1.00 g. Schl. XII,24.
Similar, with large pellet in fourth quarter of obverse cross, and besides the pheon, a pellet to the l. of the castle on the rev.

34. Billon denier tournois. 0.79-0.85 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 757-59.
Similar, annulet to left of castle, pheon below.

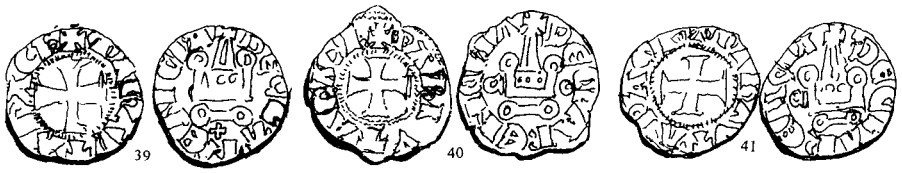

35

36

35. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-0.79 g. Malloy Coll.
Similar but pheon between two pellets below castle.

36. Billon denier tournois. 0.88-0.91 g. Malloy Coll. AY5.
Similar, annulet to l., two pellets each side of pheon below castle.

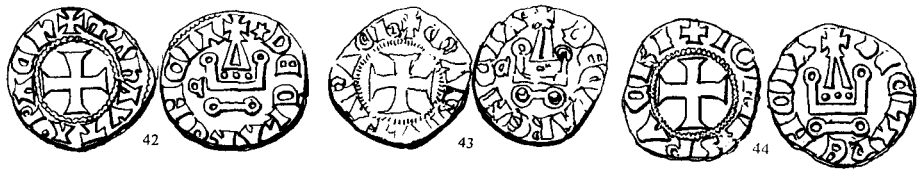
37. Billon denier tournois. 0.87 g.
Similar, but with X to left of castle.



38. Billon denier tournois. 0.76-0.80 g. Malloy Coll.
Similar, but with a cross to left of castle.

39. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-0.96 g. Malloy Coll.
Similar, but with a cross below the castle.

40. Billon denier tournois. 0.74-0.79 g. Malloy Coll.
Similar, but with Ȼ to left, and annulet to right of castle; no cross below.



41. Billon denier tournois. 0.86 g. Malloy Coll. AY10.
Similar, but with Ȼ to left, and pellet to right of castle; no cross below.

42. Billon denier tournois. 0.69-1.05 g. Saulcy, XV,15; Metcalf, *Ash.*, 755-56.
Similar, but with fleur-de-lis or star stops, and Ȼ to left of castle.

43. Billon denier tournois. 0.85 g. Malloy Coll. AY12.
Similar, but with small crescents in base of castle.

John of Gravina (1318-33)

44. Billon denier tournois. 0.75-0.95 g. Saulcy, XVI,5.
Corinth mint?
O: ✠IOΛNS P ΛȻh'I, or var.
Cross pattée.
R: DЄ ȻLĂRЄȻIĂ
Castle tournois.

45. Billon denier tournois. 0.79-0.81 g. Metcalf, *Ash.*, 763-64.
Similar, but ✠IOΛNS·P·ΛCH·, and cross below castle.

46. Billon denier tournois. 0.83-0.87 g. Malloy Coll., AX3.
Similar, but with pellet each side of castle.

47. Billon denier tournois. 0.80 g. Malloy Coll., AX4.
Similar, but with L to l. and pellet to r. of castle.

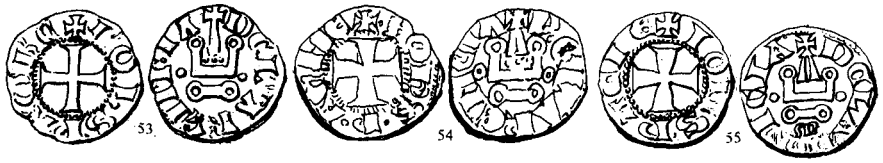
48. Billon denier tournois.
Similar, but with annulet each side of castle.

49. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-0.78 g.
O: ✠IOh'S PΛCh'Є, or var.
Cross with pellets in second and third quarters.
R: DЄ CLĀRЄCIĀ
Similar to above, without symbols in the reverse field.

50. Billon denier tournois. 0.76-0.95 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 766.
Similar, but with pellet on each side of castle.

51. Billon denier tournois. 0.80 g. Malloy Coll., AX7.
Similar, but with pellet in third angle of cross.

52. Billon denier tournois. 0.76-0.95 g. Metcalf, *Ash.* 765.
Similar, without pellets in the quarters of the obverse cross, and with a pellet below the castle on the reverse.



53. Billon denier tournois. 0.74-0.89 g. Saulcy, XVI,7.
O: ✠IOhS·P·ΛCIhЄ *Glarentza mint*
Cross pattée.
R: D' CLΛRЄNCIΛ
Castle tournois, pellet on each side.

54. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-0.83 g. Malloy Coll. AX11.
Similar, annulet each side of castle.

55. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-1.00 g. Saulcy, XVI,6; Schl. XII,25v.
Similar pellet on each side of castle, and ℳ below it.

56. Billon denier tournois. 0.84 g. Malloy Coll. AX13.
Similar annulet on each side of castle, and ℳ below it.

57. Billon denier tournois. 0.82-0.95 g. Malloy Coll. AX14.
Similar but with R below castle.

58. Billon denier tournois. 0.87 g. Malloy Coll. AX15.
Similar but with R below castle and annulet each side.

59. Billon denier tournois. 0.80-0.94 g. Malloy Coll. AX16.
Similar but with T below castle and annulet each side.

There are many other varieties of these types.

59

60

Robert of Taranto (1333-64)

60. AV florin. 3.53 g. Schl. XII,33.
O: ·S·IOhΛNES·B·R
St. John the Baptist stg., facing, holding cross in l. hand.
R: ·R·CLΛR· ·ENTIΛ·
Fleur-de-lis.

61

62

63

61. Billon soldino. 0.92 g. Cox, *Caparelli Hoard*, I, 8-12; II, 1-2.
O: ✠·FRA·DAN DVLO·DVX·
Doge kneeling l., holding banner.
R: ✠·S·MARCVS·VЄNЄTI·
Lion of St. Mark l., holding banner.
Imitation of a soldino of Francesco Dandolo, Doge of Venice 1328-39.

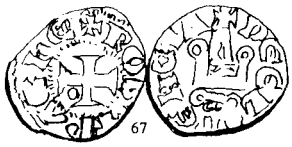
62. Billon soldino. 0.91 g. Cox, *CH*, II, 4-6.
O: ✠BA GRAD NICO DVX
Similar.
R: Similar reverse inscription and type.
Imitation of soldino of Bartolomeo Gradenigo, 1339-42.

63. Billon soldino. 0.95 g. Cox, *CH*, II, 8-11.
O: ✠ANDR DAN DVLO DVX
Similar.
R: Similar.
Imitation of soldino of Andrea Dandolo, 1342-54.

64. AR soldino. 0.41-0.56. Schl. XII,26.
O: ✠LĀVR ƆЄLSI DVX
Similar.
R: Similar, but type on smaller flan.
Imitation of soldino of Lorenzo Celsi, 1361-65.

Types 61-64 above have been attributed to the mint of Glarentza during the reign of Robert of Taranto, and though hoard evidence supports the fact that the coins circulated in the Morea, more specific proof is needed that they were actually struck there. The attribution is therefore provisional.

64


67

65. Billon denier tournois. *Glarentza mint*
O: ✠ROBT P ΛChΛIЄ (often blundered).
Pellet in first quarter of cross.
R: DƆ ƆLΛRƆNƆIΛ
Castle tournois.

66. Billon denier tournois. *Glarentza mint*
Similar, but with a pellet in the second quarter. The legend is also usually blundered on this type. Lambros, for example, in his *Unpublished Coins from Glarentza,* lists a type (II,29), inscribed ✠ROBT P ĀƆhIIƆ / DƆ ƆLARƆNƆA.

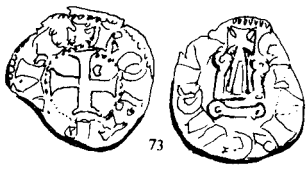
67. Billon denier tournois. 0.84 g. *Glarentza mint*
Similar to variety 65 , but with a pellet in the third quarter.

68. Billon denier tournois. 0.77 g. *Glarentza mint*
Similar, but with pellet in fourth quarter. Malloy Coll. AZ4.
Lambros, *Glarentza*, II, 30.

69. Billon denier tournois. 0.81-0.96 g. Malloy Coll. AZ5.
O: ✠ROBT P ΛCh'Θ
Plain cross.
R: ŒLΛRΘNŒIΛ
Castle tournois.

70. Billon denier tournois. 0.87 g. Cf. Saulcy, XVI,10.
Similar, but with pellet in second quarter of obverse cross.

71. Billon denier tournois. 0.85 g. Malloy Coll. AZ7.
Similar, but with lozenge in second angle of cross.



72. Billon denier tournois. 0.81-0.82 g. Malloy Coll. AZ8.
Similar, but with crescent downwards in second angle of cross.

73. Billon denier tournois. 0.78 g. Malloy Coll. AZ9.
Similar, but with crescent right in second angle of cross.

74. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-0.87 g. Schl. XII,27; Cox, *CH,* I,6; Lambros, *Glarentza,* II,31.
Similar, without pellet in second quarter, but with n below the castle.

75. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-0.89 g. Metcalf, *Ash,* 767-68.
Similar, but without pellet in second angle and with R below castle.

75

76

76. Billon denier tournois. 0.85-0.88 g. Malloy Coll. AZ12.
Similar, but without pellet in second angle and with II below castle.

BARONIES OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAEA

THE BARONY OF CARYTAENA

In 1209 Hugh de Briel (or Bryères) became baron of Carytaena in Arcadia, which was to become one of the largest, best-fortified, and most powerful baronies of Frankish Achaea. In 1255 during the wars between the Frankish states over the question of sovereignty, the lord of Carytaena, Geoffroy de Briel (1255-75), who was nephew of William of Villehardouin, led the Achaean forces into Negroponte and drove out the bailie and his Venetian forces. Though Geoffrey finally went over to the side of duke Guy de la Roche, whose daughter Isabelle he married, he remained one of Achaea's chief vassals. When he died without heirs in 1275, half of the barony reverted to the domain, while the other half remained his widow's as part of her dowry.

Isabelle of Carytaena's second husband, Hugh de Brienne, count of Lecce, accepted control of the half-fief when she died in 1279. In 1291 Hugh married Helena Angelina Comnena, his sister-in-law, widow of William de la Roche and regent of Athens, and gave her his half of Carytaena. Hugh returned to Naples in 1294, and died there in 1296, but Helena survived him at least until 1299. Though she was also baroness of Zitoun, Gravia, and Siderocastron, she preferred to reside at the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Boeotia.

About twenty years after Helena's death the barony was to have been sold to Andronicus Palaeologus Asen, governor of Mistra; Niccolò Sanudo and John of Gravina's attempts to recover it during the 1320's failed. Carytaena is only mentioned again in Latin documents during the sixteenth century when it was subject to the Venetians for a brief period.

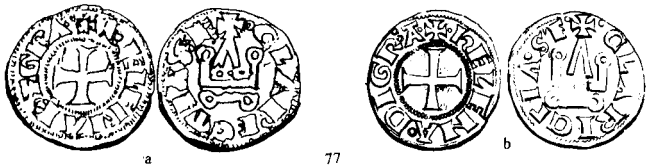
COINAGE OF CARYTAENA

Besides Damala, Carytaena is the only barony of Frankish Achaea definitely known to have issued billon deniers. Helena (1291 - after 1299) struck billon deniers tournois bearing the inscriptions ✠hELENA.D'.I.GRA. for *Helena Dei Gratia,* and CLARICTIA.S'E (or F), possibly intended for *Clarictia* (i.e. Carytaena) *SE*(mi) (*feudi Domina*) or *S(emi) F(eudi Domina*). The letters E and F seem to be interchangeable on the legends of these coin. Though Naroutsos felt that the mint was Gravia, also one of Helena's fiefs, the *Clarictia* probably refers to Carytaena, as Lambros and Schlumberger thought.[45] The obverse inscription also has an antecedent (or perhaps an echo) among the deniers tournois of Frankish Greece in coins struck at Corfu by Philip of Taranto after 1294.

The coins are not so rare as Schlumberger originally thought, and appear to have been hoarded in a wide range of locations, from Sierck (near Metz in France), to Naples (where Hugh de Brienne travelled in 1294), and to Pylia in Achaea (where six were found together in a recently-discovered hoard). The latter hoard tends to confirm the presumption that the coins were issued at Carytaena.[46]

The coins are of one type, with many varieties. They are however, unlike the coins produced at the larger mints of Greece, quite consistent in style, with square E's, and the like. The only substantial change besides the stop marks are the interchange of F and E of the reverse inscription. The known specimens generally weigh 0.83 grams, ranging from 0.74 to 0.95 grams. One might hazard a guess that the coins were minted at Carytaena soon after Helena received the fief as dowry, *ca.* 1291. This would explain the coins' appearance in the hoard discovered at Naples, since the coins were evidently circulating and available to Hugh's troops who accompanied him to Italy in 1294.

Helena Angelina Comnena (*ca.* 1291-1300)



a 77 b

77a. Billon denier tournois. 0.74-0.95 g., mean 0.83 g. Metcalf, *MN* (1971), pl. XLI,12,14.

O: ·hELENĀ°D'I'GRĀ, or var.
Cross pattée
R: °CLARICTIA·S·E·, or var.
Castle tournois

b. Similar, but the reverse legend ends S'F. Schl. XII,28; Lambros, *RN*, (1869-70), IX,8.

This type has a variety of stop marks, but is consistently inscribed with square E's. Barred and unbarred A's are used interchangeably, and there are other inconsistencies in the abbreviation mark over GRA, *and the forms of certain letters, such as* P *for* R, *etc.*

LORDSHIP OF DAMALA

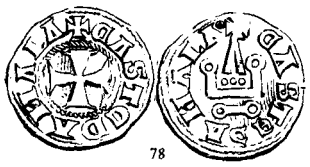
Damala, the ancient city of Troezen in Argolis, was given to Othon de la Roche after the siege of Acrocorinth, when he also received Argos and Nauplia under the suzerainty of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin. Since the lordship of Damala never had a large Frankish population, it was later united with Veligosti and ruled thereafter by the Valaincourts, who married into a branch of the family de la Roche. When in 1325 Martin Zaccaria of Chios married Jacqueline de la Roche, he became lord of Damala and Veligosti.

Though Martin was taken prisoner by the Palaeologi in 1329, his son Bartolomeo established himself as baron of Damala, since Veligosti had meanwhile fallen into Byzantine hands. The Zaccaria family retained control of the lordship of Damala until sometime before the death of Bartolomeo's brother Centurione in 1382, when the Greeks recaptured it.

COINAGE OF DAMALA

The coinage of Damala is extremely rare. First published briefly by Longpérier,[47] and later by Lambros,[48] this billon denier tournois was probably issued before 1333, since it was not so barbarous as the coins of Robert of Taranto of Achaea (1246-60). As Schlumberger felt, they were probably issued *ca.* 1325 by Martin Zaccaria, who minted coins of denier tournois type at Chios as well. The coins are anonymous, bearing CASTE DANALA, with unbarred A's on each side. A distinguishing feature is that the M's are written as retrograde N's on these coins. None of the examples of this rare type appears in the hoards of Frankish Greece.

Anonymous (*ca.* 1325)



78

78. Billon denier tournois. 0.85 g. Schl. XII,29.
O: ✠ⅭΛSTⅭ DΛИΛLΛ
Cross pattée.
R: ⅭΛSTЄ DΛИΛLΛ
Castle tournois.

THE DUCHY OF ATHENS

By the end of the year 1204 Boniface de Montferrat had conquered Thessaly, Attica, Boeotia, and parts of the Morea. He granted Attica and Boeotia to his vassal Othon de la Roche of Burgundy, who became lord, or *megaskyr*, as his Greek subjects called him, of Athens. In 1210 Othon received Argos and Nauplia in the Morea as fiefs under the suzerainty of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin. At first established on the Acropolis at Athens, toward the end of his reign Othon transferred the royal residence to Thebes, which became the traditional seat of the dynasty. When in 1225 Othon returned to France, his nephew Guy succeeded him, for neither of his sons wished to live in Greece.

Guy I's reign (1225-63) was prosperous, especially in the manufacture and trade of silk at Thebes, but not altogether peaceful. When Guy refused to acknowledge prince William II of Achaea's claim of sovereignty over more than his fiefs of Argos and Nauplia, the two Frankish states went to war, and in 1258 William defeated Guy near Megara. While in 1259 Guy sought arbitration over this matter of allegiance from King Louis IX of France, William of Achaea became regent of Athens during his absence. Though Louis absolved Guy, William retained the overlordship of the duchy; but Guy, in turn, became bailie of Achaea when William was captured by the Palaeologi (1259-61). Guy died in 1263, his son John succeeded him.

After the Treaty of Viterbo was concluded in 1267, John de la Roche (1263-80), as lord of Athens, became vassal of the House of Anjou along with the rest of Frankish Greece. In 1275, John I Angelus, the Greek ruler of Thessaly, asked John for aid against the Palaeologi and further endeavored to unite their houses by offering his daughter in marriage. When John's brother William married the daughter, Helena Angelina Comnena, the duchy became involved in Thessaly's battles against the Byzantines. In 1278 John was captured during one of these Thessalian campaigns and was held captive for two years. He died soon after his return to Greece, when he was succeeded by his brother William.

William (1280-87) carried out his offices as duke so brilliantly that the duchy became the rival of Achaea in the splendor of its court. When Charles I d'Anjou died in 1285, William was named bailie of the Morea. Upon his own death in 1287, he was succeeded as bailie of Achaea by Nicolas de Saint-Omer, who also was heir to half of the city of Thebes, and he was succeeded in the duchy by his widow Helena, regent for their young son Guy II. It was during William's reign that the billon *deniers tournois* bearing the title *dux* (duke) began to be minted at Thebes.

In 1291 the widowed Helena took a second husband, Hugh de Brienne, who assumed the duties of bailie until Guy II's coming of age in 1294.[49] Both Helena and Hugh refused to pay homage to Florent of Hainaut, prince of Achaea, quarreling with him over the eternal question of the independence of the duchy. After 1296, however, Guy II swore fealty to Florent, under pressure from the House of Anjou, and in 1299 married Florent's young daughter Maud, heiress of Achaea.

In 1303, just before his death, Constantine Angelos of Thessaly asked his nephew Guy II to become the guardian of his young son John II and regent of the duchy of Neopatras. Having received at Zeitounion the homage of the Thessalian archons, Guy installed Antoine de Flamenc at Neopatras as his bailie.[50] When Anne of Epirus tried to take Phanarion in Thessaly in order to restore Epirote rule there, Guy's formidable army retaliated, quickly took most of Epirus, and was able to obtain a war indemnity from Anne. Guy also became bailie of the Morea in 1307; and some of the barons of Achaea began to regard Guy, by virtue of his marriage to Maud, as legitimate heir to the principality. The energetic duke, who had succeeded in uniting under his influence almost all of Frankish Greece, died at a young age at Athens in October, 1308.

Within the year Gautier de Brienne, son of Hugh de Brienne, was designated Guy's successor. During Gautier's reign, the Catalan Company, a band of mercenaries, appeared in Greece; and in 1310 Gautier, who wanted to return the duchy of Neopatras (Thessaly) to Athenian rule, hired them to reinforce his armies. Having accomplished that task, Gautier refused to pay the Catalans in full. Both sides then prepared for battle, the Catalan army numbering over 7,000 horsemen and footsoldiers;[51] and virtually all of Frankish Greece — barons from Attica, Boeotia, Achaea, Euboea, and the Archipelago — rushed to the aid of the threatened duke with a large army. At the battle of Kephissos, on March 15, 1311, nearly all of the

knights of Frankish Greece perished; and the Catalans soon occupied and settled in Attica and Boeotia.

Early in 1312, the Catalans' marshall, Roger Deslaur, sought the suzerainty of Frederick II of Aragon, the king of Sicily (1296-1337), who appointed the Infante Don Manfred of Sicily, duke of Athens. Alfonso Fadrique of Aragon (1317-30), who became vicar general of the Catalans, took over the duchy of Neopatras, after John II Angelos' death in 1318, and signed a peace treaty with the Venetians and the triarchs of Euboea in 1319. Thereafter, the Catalan establishments in Greece enjoyed a period of peace, security, and economic prosperity.[52] Although duke Gautier de Brienne's son, Gautier II (V) led some armies into Catalan territory, attempting to claim his inheritance in 1331-32, even with the aid and approval of Robert of Naples, his attempts were unsuccessful.

Not until the fortunes of the Florentine banking family, the Acciajuoli, rose in Greece, did the Catalan rule wane. Though the Navarrese Company, another band of mercenaries hired by the Angevin prince of Achaea, Jacques des Baux, came to Corinth during the last decades of Catalan rule in Athens and in 1379 seized the city of Thebes, Nerio Acciajuoli in turn seized the city of Athens in 1388. In 1394 King Ladislaus of Naples officially bestowed on Nerio the city and duchy of Athens and the coveted title of duke, though Nerio died the same year. The Florentine dynasty survived in Athens until Franco Acciajuoli was murdered at Thebes in 1460 by order of Sultan Muhammad II, after the Ottoman Turks had overrun most of central Greece.

COINAGE OF THE DUCHY OF ATHENS

The earliest coins issued in the duchy of Athens were copper oboles minted at Thebes during the reign of Guy I de la Roche (1225-63). Their attribution is supported by hoard and literary evidence. One of the early types bears a cross and a *Genoese gateway* similar to that on deniers and oboles issued at Corinth by Geoffrey (1229-46) or William (1246-78) of Achaea. Inscribed ✠DNS·AThEN·, for *Dominus Athenarum,* "lord of Athens," these coins have been said to date from before the year 1260, when Louis IX of France, according to the *Chronicle of the Morea,* conferred upon Guy the title of duke.[53] The reverse legend, ✠ThEB·CIVI·, identifies the mint as the city of Thebes, the seat of government and the commercial center of the duchy. Guy is known to have been on especially good terms with the Genoese merchants residing at Thebes, and granted them trading concessions during the 1240's. He may have begun the issue of this type in order to accommodate this trade, for not only do the coins bear the type peculiar to the deniers of their homeland, but also two hundred specimens of the coinage have been found in the Areopagus hoard concealed *ca.* 1255-56, thus tending to affirm that the issue of these coins began during the 1240's or early 1250's.[54]

Although not included in the Areopagus hoard, a second type of copper

obole was probably also minted by Guy I of Athens. Specimens of this type have been discovered as stray finds at Athens. The type also bears the obverse legend ✠DNS·AThEN·, encircling the initial G with the abbreviation mark Ω above, and the reverse inscription, ✠ThEB·CIVI, encircling a cross with stars and fleurs-de-lis in opposite quarters. This second type is scarcer than the first, but Metcalf reports that the examples of both types found at Athens weigh between 0.38 and 0.61 grams, averaging *ca.* 0.48 grams.[55]

Though it seems that John de la Roche (1263-80) did not mint coins at all, his brother William (1280-87) did so in great abundance. The copper oboles bearing the inscription ✠:G:DVX:ATEИES: / ✠:ThEBE:CIVIS:, with the fleur-de-lis and the Genoese gateway, and those bearing ✠:G:DVX:ΛTENES: / ✠:TEBES:CIVIS:, with the arms of the de la Roche and a cross as types, have been assigned to William's reign because they bear the same inscriptions as the billon deniers tournois that William introduced at Thebes. Hoard evidence, furthermore, confirms the attribution of the billon deniers to William's reign.[56] The billon coins of Thebes were perhaps struck to rival and imitate the coinage of the principality of Achaea. They not only generally weigh *ca.* 0.86 grams, slightly less than those being issued at the same time at Glarentza (which weighed *ca.* 0.89 g.), but also contain less silver.[57] Like Achaea's coinage, William's deniers bear the ruler's initial and title and the location of the mint, but in varying styles and with different stop marks and, forms of the letters and the castle. Unlike the Achaean practice, however, the mint of Thebes continued to manufacture copper oboles in conjunction with its deniers.

✠ :G:DVX:ATENES:	✠ :ThEBE:CIVIS:
✠ :G:DVX:DCTENES:	✠ :ThEBES:CIVIS:
✠ :G:DVX: ΠTENES:	✠ :ThEBE. CIVIS:
✠ :G:DV✠ : ΠTENES:	✠ :TIEBE: CIVIS:
✠ :GVIOT:DV✠:ΛTIN:	✠ :ThEBE:CIVIS:

Coin Inscriptions of the Dukes of Athens

The traditional attribution of the billon coins from the duchy has been that the coins with the letter G in the obverse legend belong to William (*Gulielmus*), those with GVIOT to the minority of Guy II (1287-94), and those with GVI to the latter's majority (1294-1308); however, hoard evidence and recent studies of style, which Schlumberger did not really take into consideration, have shown that their attribution is not so straightforward. One of the earliest hoards known to include deniers tournois of Frankish Greece, the Xirokhori Hoard, concealed *ca.* 1287, consists of over 600 deniers bearing the letter G in the obverse legend (Schl. XII,2).[58] Unfortunately, because none of the details of the coins' legends and varieties was specified, it is not known which of the varieties that Schlumberger listed for the type

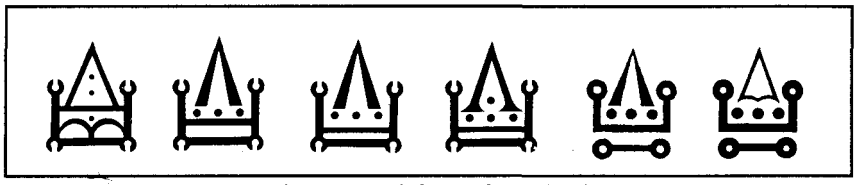
were present in the hoard. From the evidence of other major hoards and stray finds, the type can be divided into three classes. The first class is distinguished by Latin E's, trefoil stops, and double arches and open circles forming the castle. This form of castle was derived directly from the Genoese gateway type, which, as we have seen, appeared on some of the copper oboles minted at Thebes during Guy's reign (1225-63). Probably one of the earlier scarce, experimental types of this group, which seems to be heavier than normal (0.95-1.12 g.), bears the irregular obverse legend ✠:G:DVX:DATENES:, with trefoil stops and Latin E's. The contemporary Achaean deniers issued by Charles d'Anjou (1278-85) and his successors usually have lunate E's, therefore supporting the idea that the coins bearing Latin E's were minted earlier than those with lunate E's. The form of the castle also developed slightly within this class of coins: the bar replaced the double arches, for example, though the open circles were retained by the following class.

The coins of Class B bear the same open circles, but not arches, annulet rather than trefoil stops, and square E's. These are the most common coins, far outnumbering the "experimental" issues of Class A. A third class, also relatively numerous, consists of coins bearing wedge and pellet stops, a castle, with thin, closed circles at the corners and lunate E's. A fourth class, quite similar to the third in terms of its epigraphical style and form of castle, bears a different form of legend: ✠·G·DVX·ATENAR/TEBAR·CIVIS. This type is extremely rare and has not been published in any of the major hoard publications. If each of these classes will, as one may assume, included in the Xirokori Hoard of 1287, then they all belong to the reign of William de la Roche; but the differences in the style of these coins may still suggest a rough chronology, those with lunate E's being later than the others. The wide variety of styles may also, however, indicate that the individual die-cutters employed at different sections of the mint of Thebes had been trained in different stylistic traditions.

One factor tends to limit the possibilities for attributing these coins. Some rare deniers which are definitely attributable to the minority of Guy II de la Roche (1287-94) because of the diminutive form, GVIOT, used in the legend, bear the same form of castle, with open circles and arches, as the deniers of Class A. The deniers are inscribed ✠:GVIOT:DVX:ATh':/:ThEBE:CIVIS: (or similar); and the oboles, which bear a gateway with high central tower and a cross, are inscribed ✠:GVIOT DVX ATh'/:ThEBE:CIVIS: (or similar). It is clear that these deniers and those of class A form a distinct, chronologically and stylistically compact series of coins, though none of these types deviates from the normal weight, module, or alloy of the other deniers of Thebes. It has been suggested quite plausibly that this particular series of coins dates roughly between 1285 and 1291, the end of William's reign continuing into the minority of Guy II. It has further been suggested that they were issued at a different mint from that of the more common types, even though they continue to bear the mint name of Thebes.[59] The latter suggestion has yet to be proved. Another theory perhaps also worth considering, is that a workshop with a die-cutter or group of die-cutters at the mint of Thebes, whose regular task during

William's reign was to issue copper oboles, also sometimes served in an auxiliary capacity producing deniers. This explains the relative scarcity of the type, its hybrid form of double-arched castle, and other stylistic similarities which these deniers share with the oboles of the duchy. Indeed, the fact that the rare GVIOT deniers and oboles were issued together during the minority of Guy II is corroborative evidence that the two denominations were closely associated. What is necessary in order to prove when and where these coins were actually produced is the appearance of more completely described and specifically dated hoards, the Xirokhori Hoard being in particular need of further treatment. It is not farfetched to assume that each of these classes of coins, no matter how much they differ in style, were produced at one mint in three different workshops.

Though Schlumberger's theory that the GVIOT coins belonged to the regency of Hugh de Brienne (1291-94) is plausible, Helena probably issued them for her young son between 1287-91. There is also evidence that some of the coins traditionally assigned to William's reign continued as an immobilized currency into the early years of Guy II's minority. Some varieties, for example, bearing the legends ✠:G:DVX:ATENES:/:ThEBE:CIVIS:, and some scarcer varieties with similar legends, rosette stop, and standard form of castle, may also be later than William's reign. Because some related types reading ✠G DVX ATENES / ThEBANI❀CIVIS, or variations, do not appear in the Xirokhori Hoard (1287), but do in the Eleusis Hoard (1311),[60] they are assignable to Guy II's reign. In terms of style and the evidence of hoards, these coins may be experimental or transitional types issued before the standard type for Guy's majority was formulated.



Castle Types of the Dukes of Athens

The traditional attribution of a group of coins reading ✠GVI DVX ATENES / ThEBANI CIVIS, or variations, to the majority of Guy II has been substantiated by hoard evidence. Although none appears in the Xirokhori Hoard, a high percentage of them were discovered in the Delphi hoard of 1933 (1301-05), the Delphi Hoard of 1929 (1311), and the Eleusis Hoard (1311); whereas relatively few of them appear in the Pylia Hoard (1310-15).[61] These coins are quite uniform in weight and style, seeming only to vary in decorative details. On one variety a six-pointed star appears below the castle, but normally the coins bear only those stop marks that formerly appeared on the coinage of Thebes, the standard form of castle, and consistently Gothic-style letter forms.

An obole which Saulcy long ago assigned to Gautier de Brienne, Guy II's

successor, has been found in the Eleusis Hoard (1311), thus tending to substantiate the attribution. It bears the legends ✠DVX·ACTENAR', for *Dvx Actenarum,* and ✠TEBAR:CIVIS, presumably for *Thebarum Cives* or *Civitas* with the cross and the letter G as types. The use of this form of Latin legend represents an innovation in the coinage of the duchy, perhaps caused by the government of the duchy having changed hands. Of course, the coins might possibly belong to Guy II, for, as far as anyone knows, no deniers tournois were issued in Gautier's name.

A group of anonymous coins was also minted at Thebes. Though scarcer than the coins issued in the name of the dukes of Athens, these coins, which Lambros and Schlumberger attributed to the regency of Helena (1287-91), seem to form a substantial issue. Their chief characteristic is that as a group they display all the different forms of the legends, the letters, and the castle that appeared on the named coins. They are, moreover, of precisely the same weight and alloy as the other coins of the duchy. These deniers fall into three basic groups: the first bears the legends ✠DVX ACTENAR' / TEBAR' CIVIS, often with a retrograde letter S.[62] Lambros and Metcalf list two inscriptional varieties of this type that seem to be mules between the first and second groups: the coinage bearing ✠DVX·ATENES / ✠TEBAR'CIVIS is a mule between the latter type's reverse and the obverse of the following group, ✠DVX·ATENES / ·ThEBE:CIVIS·. This second group bears the legends ✠DVX·ATENES / ThEBE CIVIS, normally, but not always with annulet stops and lunate E's. One variety also bears the early type of castle, with arches and open circles; but a cross also appears below the castle, just as the star was placed below the standard form of castle on the coins of Guy II. The third type, with the inscription ✠DVX ATENES / ThEBA'CIVIS, sometimes with lunate E's and the standard form of castle, is rare.[63]

An anonymous copper type related to this series bears a castle or gateway on both faces, each with central tower and battlements, and the legend ✠DVX ACTENAR / TEBAR CIVIS. Together these deniers and obole, and possibly the obole assigned to Gautier, form a complete and distinct group of coins. Hoard evidence tends to cast doubt on their assignment either to the regency of Helena (though she did issue coins in her own name at Carytaena after 1291) or to the regency of Hugh (1291-94), since none of these anonymous coins appears in hoards any earlier than 1320-35. Considering their scarcity, they do appear quite often in later hoards.[64] The Pylia Hoard, which may date between *ca.* 1310 and 1315, contains five examples of the DVX ACTENAR type, and cannot be cited as evidence for an early date, since its dating may depend upon the date of these anonymous coins. Seltman has provisionally attributed these anonymous coins to the Catalan lords of Athens, who conquered the duchy after the battle of Kephissos in 1311 and continued to rule there under their sovereigns, the Aragonese kings of Sicily, until 1388.[65] Epigraphical arguments, as well as circumstantial hoard evidence and the multiplicity of their forms, dictate in favor of the late dating and imitative nature of these coins. The most common anonymous type bears the legends DVX ACTENAR

/TEBAR CIVIS, like the coins traditionally assigned to Gautier de Brienne (1308-11), the last Burgundian duke of Athens. Because of the style of the inscription, especially the retrograde letter S, which is so characteristic of the deniers of prince Philip of Taranto of Achaea (1306-13), these coins might, on the strength of this relationship, be dated later than the regency of Helena. In the Pylia Hoard, for example, three out of five examples of the type had a retrograde S. Thus, the force of hoard evidence (especially the appearance of three anonymous deniers in the Orion Hoard which dates from 1320-25), the use of the new Latin form of inscription, and the stylistic similarities the coins seem to share with Achacan deniers issued between 1306 and 1313, all tend to indicate that the coins belong to the last days of Frankish rule or the early days of the Catalan domination of the duchy.[66]

Some coins of quite uncertain attribution appear in large enough numbers to warrant discussion. They are copper deniers tournois issued in imitation of the coins of Guy II. One type of these copper tournois bears either the inscription ✠GVI DVX ATENES / DE CLARENCIA or else the obverse of the billon deniers of Guy II (1294-1308) and the reverse of the Achaean deniers of Glarentza, an abnormal combination. Because more than forty of these coins are known, they were probably regular issues rather than contemporary forgeries, as Lambros and Schlumberger considered them.[67] Very tentatively, they might possibly date from the late fourteenth century and, furthermore, might perhaps have been struck by Nerio I Acciajuoli, the first Florentine duke of Athens (1388-94), who conquered the duchy from his castle of Acrocorinth in Achaea. This would at least explain the hybrid combination; and the late date might explain the coins' lack of silver content.

Another group of imitations of the Theban billon deniers of Guy were also struck in copper, occasionally with a silver wash, and are similar in style and fabric to the latter type. Again, enough survive (over 150) to suggest that they were a regular coinage rather than casual contemporary forgeries. They range widely in weight, and their carefully engraved inscriptions, ✠GVI DVX ATENES / ThEBANI CIVIS, are of a distinctive style, often abbreviated with ATENIS or ATENS (or else DAX or DA·Ẋ·) and CIVES or CIS. Occasionally the E in Thebani is reversed, a pellet appears in the center of the obverse cross, or an annulet appears to the right of the castle on the reverse. Ninety-seven of this type are today located in British Museum as part of a large hoard, and many more are to be found in other collections.[68] Also, we rather tentatively suggest that they might possibly have been minted by the Florentine dukes of Athens during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. One wonders if the unusual form DA·X·, instead of DVX, appearing on one variety known from over thirty examples, might perhaps contain the initial of the duke Antonio I Acciajuoli (1402-35), the most prosperous of his dynasty.

Guy I de la Roche (1225-63) *or* William de la Roche (1280-87)

79

80

79. AE obole. 0.45-0.76 g. Schl. XII,31; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), pp. 203-23, pl. 56, nos. 1-200.

O: ✠·DNS·ΛThEN·
Genoese gateway.
R: ✠·ThEB·CIVI·
Cross pattée.

80. AE obole. 0.55-0.62 g. Schl. XII,30; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p. 206, fig.2.

O: ✠·DNS·ΛThЄN·
A Gothic letter G. Abbreviation sign ($^{\Omega}$) above and pellet to l.
R: ✠ThЄB·CIVI
Cross. Six-pointed star in first and fourth and fleur-de lis in second and third quarters.

William de la Roche (1280-87)
perhaps also minted during the Minority of Guy II (1287-94)

81

82

81. AE obole. 0.42-0.60 g. Schl. XIII,1; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p.206, fig.4.

O: ✠:G:DVX:ΛTЄNЄS:
Shield with the arms of la Roche.
R: ✠:TЄBЄS:CIVIS:
Cross pattée.

82. AR obole. 0.50-0.65 g. Schl. XII,32; Metcalf, *Hesperia* (1965), p. 206, fig.3.

O: ✠ϒGϒDVXϒATEПESϒ
Large fleur-de-lis.
R: ✠ϒThEBEϒCIVISϒ
Genoese gateway, pellet in center.

William de la Roche (1280-87), continuing into the Minority of Guy II de la Roche (1287-94)

The Billon Denier Tournois Series

83

84b

84

Class A: Earliest varieties (?)

83. Billon denier tournois. 0.95-1.12 g. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," *MN* (1971), XXXIX,11, XL,1-4.

O: ✠ϒG:DVX:DATENES:
Cross pattée.
R: ϒThEBES:CIVIS:
Castle tournois, with two arches and an open circle at each corner.

84a. Billon denier tournois. 0.90-0.96 g. Metcalf, *MN*(1971), XXXIX,12. 0.869 g. (Metcalf)

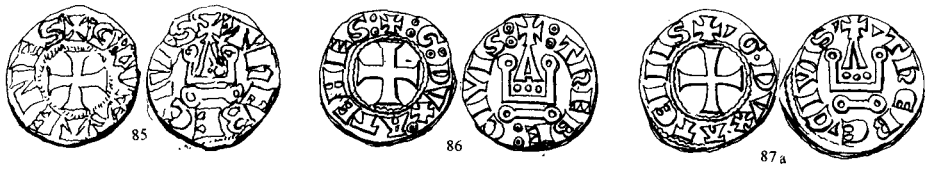
O: ✠ϒG:DVX:ATENES·, similar.
R: ϒThEBES·CIVIS·, similar

b. Similar type and inscription, but bearing trefoil stops without the dots between. Schl. XIII,2.

85. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-1.01 g. Metcalf, *MN*(1971), XXXIX,14.

O: Similar to last, with trefoil stops (without dots between).

R: Similar to last, but the castle is formed by a bar instead of arches, and retains the open circles at the corners.



Class B: Common "transitional" varieties

86. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-0.79 g. Saulcy, XVII,7; Metcalf, *MN* 0.869 g.(Metcalf) (1971), p. 186.

O: ✠⁘G⁘DVX⁘ATENES⁘
Cross pattée

R: ⁘ThEBE⁘CIVIS⁘
Castle tournois with bar and open circles.
Metcalf (p.186) found in the Pylia Hoard these coins were by far the most plentiful variety of the type.

87a. Billon denier tournois. 0.854 g. Saulcy, XVII,9; cf. Metcalf, *MN* (1971), XXXIX,16.

O: ✠'G·DVX·ΛTЄNIS·
Cross pattée

R: 'ThЄBЄ'CIVIS'
Castle tournois with very thin closed circles.

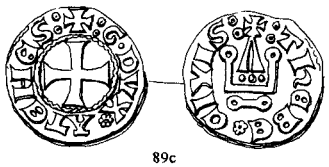
b. Similar type, but ✠'G·DVX·ĀTЄHIS· (obv.) and 'ThЄBI'CIVIS' or similar. *cf.* Metcalf, *MN*(1971), XXXIX,17.

c. Similar, but obv. ✠·G·DVX·ATЄNЄS and rev. ThЄBЄ CIVIS▪, or var.

88. Billon denier tournois. 0.82 g. Unpublished.

O: ✠·G·DVX·ATЄNΛR
Cross pattée.

R: TЄBΛR·CIVIS
Castle tournois



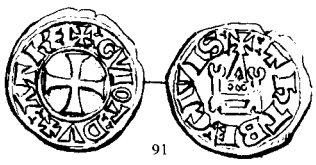
89c

Class C: Later varieties

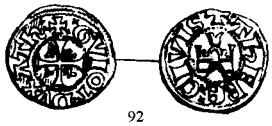
89a. Billon denier tournois. 0.83-0.84 g. *cf.* Metcalf, *MN* (1971), p. 191.
O: ✠⁘G⁘DVX⁘ATЄNЄS⁘
Cross pattée
R: ⁘ThЄBЄ⁘CIVIS⁘
Castle tournois, with circles at corners closed.
b. Similar type, but ✠G DVX ATЄLIЄS (obv.) and ⁘ThЄBЄ❀CIVIS (rev.)
c. Similar, but ✠⁘G DVX❀ATЄHЄS and ⁘ThЄBЄ❀CIVIS
Saulcy, XVII,8.

90. Billon denier tournois. *ca.* 0.74 g. Schl. XIII,3; Metcalf, *MN* (1971), p. 185.
O: ✠⁘G⁘DVX❀ATЄNЄS⁘
Cross pattée
R: ⁘ThЄBANI❀CIVIS
Castle tournois.

Guy II de la Roche (1287-1308),
Minority (1287-94), perhaps during Helena's regency (1287-91)



91

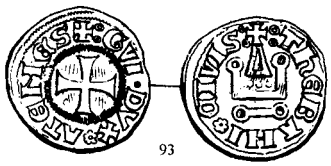


92

91. Billon denier tournois. 0.76-0.82 g. Schl. XIII,7; Metcalf, *MN* (1971), p. 188.
O: ✠ʏGVIOTʏDVXʏATh'ʏ
Cross pattée.
R: ʏThEBEʏCIVISʏ, sometimes with various stops besides the trefoils, especially double pellets. Castle tournois, circles at corners open.

92. AE obole. 0.43-0.68 g. Schl. XIII,8.
O: ✠ʏGVIOT DVX ATh'
Cross, trefoils in quarters.
R: ʏThEBEʏCIVISʏ
Gateway with central tower.

Guy II de la Roache, Majority (1294-1308)


93

96

93. Billon denier tournois. 0.82-0.95 g. Schl. XIII,9; Metcalf, *MN* (1971), p. 192.
O: ✠⁘GVI o DVX❀ATЄNЄS, or various other stop marks.
Cross pattée
R: ⁘ThЄBANI❀CIVIS⁘, or var.
Castle tournois.

94. Billon denier tournois.
Similar, but usually without the rosette interrupting the legends: ✠:GVI·DVX·ATЄNЄS: (obv.) and :ThЄBANI·CIVIS: (rev.)

95. Billon denier tournois. 0.73-0.92 g.
Similar to last, except that a six-pointed star appears below the castle.

96. Billon denier tournois. 0.78 g. Malloy Coll.
Similar to last, except spur-rowel below the castle.

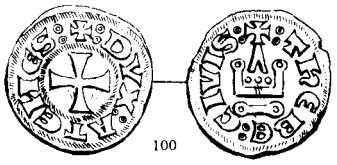
Gautier de Brienne (1308-11)

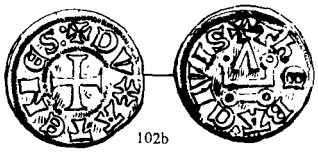
97

97. AE obole. 0.53-0.58 g. Schl. XIII,12; Metcalf, *MN* (1971), Type B.

O: ✠DVX·ACTЄNAR'
Cross pattée.
R: ✠TЄBAR:CIVIS
The letter G.

Anonymous Billon Deniers Tournois,
perhaps issued by the Catalan Dukes of Athens (1311-88)


100


102b

98a. Billon denier tournois. 0.77-0.86 g. Lambros, *ZN*(1874), VI,1; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), Type A-1.

O: ✠DVX·ACTЄNAR'
Cross pattée
R: TЄBAR'CIVI (usually with retrograde Ƨ).
Castle tournois

b. Mule between the latter and the following types:
✠ 'DVX'ĀTENES/✠TЄBAR:CIVIS. Lambros, *ZN*(1874), VI,2; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), Type A-2.

99. Billon denier tournois. 0.82-0.88 g. Lambros, *ZN*(1874), VI,3; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), Type A-3.

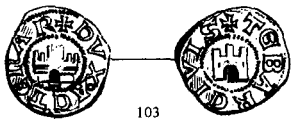
O: ✠·DVX·ĀTENES
Cross pattée
R: 'ThEBE:CIVIS'
Castle tournois

100. Billon denier tournois. 0.82-0.84 g. Schl. XIII,5; Lambros, *ZN*(1874), VI,4; Metcalf, *ibid.*, Type B-1.

O: ✠꞉DVX꞉ATЄNЄS꞉
Cross pattée
R: :ThЄBЄ꞉CIVIS꞉
Castle tournois, regular form.

101. Billon denier tournois. Lambros, *ZN*(1874), VI,5.
Similar legend, but castle bears open circles at each corner, and a small cross appears below. Metcalf, Type B-2.

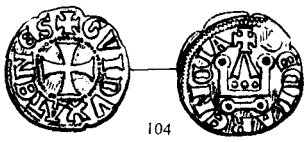
102a. Billon denier tournois. 0.82-0.88 g. Metcalf, *MN*(1971), Type C-2.
O: ✠ o DVX o ATENES
Cross pattée.
R: ThEBA'CIVIS
Castle tournois, regular form.
b. Similar type and inscription, but lunate Є's on obverse.
Schl. XIII,4; Metcalf, Type C-1.


103

103. AE obole. 0.53-0.59 g. Schl. XIII,6.
O: ✠DVX AƆTЄNAR
Gateway with central tower.
R: TЄBAR ƆIVIS
Gateway with central tower.

Though Lambros, Schlumberger, and Metcalf ascribed the above Types 98 through 103 to the minority of Guy II de la Roche (1287-94), on the grounds of style they clearly belong to a slightly later date. Possibly they belong to the early years of Catalan rule in the duchy of Athens, as their appearance in later hoards would suggest.

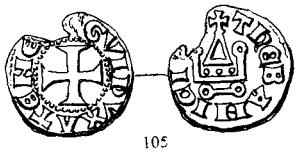
Types in the name of the Duchy of Athens, possibly Florentine Dukes of Athens, 1388-94


104

104. AE denier tournois. 0.53-1.10 g. Schl. XIII,10; Seltman, in *Mints,* XXII,11.

O: ✠GVI DVX ĀTЄNЄS
Cross pattée
R: DЄ ƇLARЄNƇIĀ
Castle tournois

These copper coins possibly date from the late fourteenth century. Enough examples survive of this type and the following to suggest that they were regular issues rather than contemporary forgeries, as Lambros and Schlumberger considered them. Type 103 imitates billon deniers of Guy II de la Roche on the obverse, and on the reverse, those of Achaea of Glarentza — an abnormal combination.



105

105. AE denier tournois. 0.43-0.82 g. Saulcy, XVII,17; Seltman, in *Mints,* XXII,7-9.

O: ✠GVI DVX ATЄNЄS (or ATЄNS or ATЄNIS)
Cross, often with a pellet in the center.
R: ThЄBANI CIVIS (or CIVS or CIS, C sometimes reversed).
Castle tournois.

106. AE denier tournois. 0.56-0.78 g. *cf.* Seltman, *NCirc.* (Sept. 1961), p. 186, no. 1.
Similar, but annulet to the r. of castle.

107. AE denier tournois. 0.47-0.84 g. Seltman, in *Mints,* XXII,10.

O: ✠GVI DĀ·X·ATЄNIS
Cross, often with a pellet in the center.
R: ThЄBĀNI CIVIS
Castle tournois.

These pure copper imitations of the coinage of Guy II de la Roche occasionally bear traces of a silver wash. Enough survive, as explained in the note to Type above, to suggest that these deniers were a regular coinage. Possibly they date from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

BARONIES OF THE DUCHY OF ATHENS

COUNTY OF SALONA

The county of Salona, which the Franks in Greece called La Sole or La Sola, was given by Boniface de Montferrat to Thomas d'Autrementcourt, or, as his contemporaries called him, de Stromoncourt. On the site of ancient Amphissa near the ruins of Delphi, Thomas built a large, fine fortress as the seat of the county, which was to become one of the chief baronies of Frankish Greece. His son Thomas II (1212-after 1258) became Guy I de la Roche's vassal upon his succession; and Thomas II's son William in turn ruled until *ca.* 1294. The latter's only son, Thomas III, became a prominent official and statesman of the duchy of Athens and died fighting for the duchy at Kephissos in 1311.

The Catalan leader Roger Deslaur received Salona, along with Thomas' wife, as spoils after the Catalan conquest. Roger retired there and continued to reside in the castle of Salona until his death in 1335. During the Navarrese conquests in Boeotia at the end of the century Salona held out, but fell in 1394 to the Turkish Sultan Bajazet. Though the Byzantines recovered the county, the Knights of Rhodes took over its rule in 1404, before the full force of the Turkish onslaught.

COINAGE OF SALONA

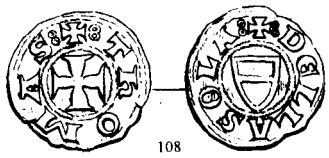
Although Schlumberger favored assigning the billon coins with the arms of Stromoncourt to Thomas II (ca. 1212-58), and the deniers tournois with similar inscriptions to Thomas III (1294-1311), the attribution is problematic.[69] It is highly unlikely that such a billon coin could have been issued in the baronies of Greece as early as 1258, since billon coins were not issued at Glarentza until after 1255-60, nor at Athens until 1280. Until that time, furthermore, the coinage of Corinth, Negroponte, and Athens were made of copper rather than billon. The Gothic letter forms and the fact that William, Thomas II's successor, issued no coins also tend to dictate against such an early attribution. Hoard evidence is, however, virtually lacking for this rare denier, and its attribution will therefore be speculative.

The *Registri Angioini* supplies a curious document concerning the coinage of Salona.[70] In an ordinance dated 1301, Charles II d'Anjou of Naples granted Thomas III his request to strike coins at the mint at Lepanto. It seems that Thomas had been issuing money at Salona (*Turonenses parvos cudi hactenus faciebat*) and that Guy II had forbidden him to continue to do so (*Dux Athenarum sibi prohibit*), thereby forcing Thomas to appeal to Charles for an alternative. Presumably, the commerce of Salona was such that Thomas felt it necessary to issue coins in his own name. We would suggest, therefore, that Thomas III first issued coins at Salona, with

the Stromoncourt coat of arms, and, though these were not of the tournois type as the document states, they were of denier tournois weight and alloy. After 1301, Thomas may have had the tournois type, which is also rare, minted at Lepanto along with the coins of Philip of Taranto. A problem with this theory is that the later coins continue to bear the mint name ✠DELLA SOLA, rather than Lepanto. Thomas may have issued both types at Salona and decided, for some reason, not to mint coins for Salona at Lepanto, as permitted by the ordinance of 1301; or else the inscription on his denier tournois is fictional. The former is perhaps the more likely explanation, since the coins are fairly similar in terms of their letter forms, but other explanations may yet be possible. From the scanty evidence that we have concerning these rare coins, we have assigned them both to the reign of Thomas III (1294-1311).

No coins are known to have been minted at the mint of Salona by Roger Deslaur.

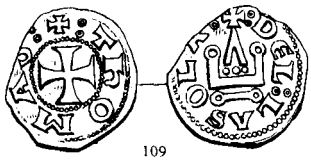
Thomas III de Stromoncourt (1294-1311)



108

108. Billon denier. Schl. XIII,13; Lambros, *RN* (1866), IV,7.

O: ✠ThOMAS
Cross pattée
R: ✠DЄLLA SOLA
Shield of arms



109

109. Billon denier tournois. Schl. XIII,14; Lambros, *RN* (1866), IV,8.

O: ✠ThOMAS
Cross pattée
R: DЄLLASOLA
Castle tournois

TRIARCHY OF NEGROPONTE (EUBOEA)

In 1205 Boniface de Montferrat divided the island of Euboea into three secondary fiefs for his Lombard captains under Jacques d'Avesnes: Ravano dalle Carceri, Pegoraro dei Pegorari, and Giberto de Verona. After Boniface's death, however, the triarchy claimed Venetian sovereignty, becoming something of a colony of Venice. The Venetian bailie resided at Negroponte, the chief port on the site of the ancient city of Chalcis.

In 1246 Carintana dalle Circeri, Ravano's granddaughter, married William de Villehardouin. When she died in 1255 leaving no heir, a dispute arose between her husband, the prince of Achaea, and the triarchs over the question of sovereignty, since William claimed the rights to Euboea as the superior surviving authority in Frankish Greece. The dispute led to fighting, in which all of the Frankish nobility took sides. In 1255 William was successful in ousting the Venetians from Negroponte, but not until 1259 did he decisively defeat Guy de la Roche of Athens, who had sided with Venice in the interest of the triarchs. During William's captivity between 1259 and 1261, however, Venice renewed her controls of the island. In 1267 Euboea was implicated in the Treaty of Viterbo, in which the House of Anjou became suzerain of all Achaea, including its dependencies.

A pirate named Licario helped a Byzantine fleet take most of the island in 1276, and only with the aid of Venetian ships were the triarchs able to recover their territories. During the second decade of the thirteenth century the Catalans made some trade agreements and peace treaties with the Venetians of Euboea; but in 1335 Venice annexed the island, retaining it as a colony until the Turks seized it in 1470.

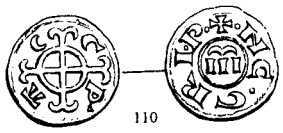
COINAGE OF NEGROPONTE

The only coins known to have been struck at Negroponte (Chalcis) were those of William de Villehardouin. It seems that when his wife Carintana died in 1255, William claimed not only her sixth share of the island but sovereignty as well. It is possible that, when William had the triarchs captured and imprisoned at Negroponte in 1255, he also issued some copper deniers there to advertise his authority. A possible *terminus ante quem* for the issue of these coins is 1259, when William was captured at Pelagonia. The type is extremely rare, but hoards have revealed that they circulated at least as far as Athens during the sixth decade of the thirteenth century.[71] Otherwise, as Schlumberger asserted, Venetian trade and currency probably monopolized the economy of Euboea.[72]

The billon deniers issued at Negroponte are neatly inscribed and competently struck, bearing a cross moline, the coat of arms of the Villehardouin,

with G - P - A - C in the angles; and ✠NE·GRI·P· for Negroponte, with III below an abbreviation mark, for the triarchy on the reverse.

William of Villehardouin (1255-59)



110

110. AE obole. 0.41-0.54 g. Schl. XIII,15.

O: G P' A C (*Gulielmus Princeps Achaie.*)

Long cross moline (arms of Villehardouin).

R: ✠NE·GRI·P·

III, symbol of the Triarchy.

DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS

Before the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Michael I Angelus Comnenus-Ducas had received the post of governor of Hellas (Epirus) and the Peloponnese; but after 1204, biding his time, Michael joined Boniface's forces and then, as they traversed Thessaly, deserted with some followers to establish himself as independent despot of Epirus. In 1210 he recognized the Republic of Venice as his suzerain; and in 1214 his brother Theodore succeeded him. An overwhelmingly ambitious man, Theodore (1214-30) captured Peter de Courtenai, the newly-crowned emperor of Constantinople, in 1217, and seized Latin Thessalonica in 1224. Thereafter he called himself emperor, in opposition to the imperial claims of the Byzantines of Nicaea. Count Maio Orsini of Cephalonia, wishing to ally himself with the new emperor, married Theodore's sister — the first of several matrimonial unions between Greeks of Epirus and the Frankish and Italian rulers of Greece.

When Ivan Asen of Bulgaria seized and blinded Theodore for breaking a peace treaty, the latter's brother Manuel (1230-37) took advantage of Theodore's captivity to proclaim himself emperor, seeking recognition from Nicaea and the Pope and taking an oath of homage to the prince of Achaea. When Theodore was released, however, he placed his son John (1237-46) on the throne of Thessalonica as emperor.

In 1242 John was demoted to despot under Nicaean authority. Meanwhile, Michael II of Epirus (1236-71), the bastard son of Michael I, wrested the despotate of Epirus away from John in 1236 and made peace with the Empire of Nicaea, while at the same time seeking foreign allies. William of Achaea married Michael's daughter Anna; and in 1259 Manfred, the king of Sicily, married her sister Helena. Michael's allies became embroiled in his wars against Nicaea, one of which, the battle at Pelagonia, was especially disastrous for the prince of Achaea.

After Michael's death in 1271, the despotate was divided between his son Nicephorus (1271-96) and the House of Anjou, in accordance with Angevin claims to Manfred's inheritance and the Treaty of Viterbo. In 1294, Philip of Taranto married Thamar, the daughter of Nicephorus and Anna Palaeologina, and received four major strongholds in Acarnania as part of her dowry. Charles II also granted him rights of suzerainty over all of Epirus. Philip established his government at the fortress of Lepanto (or *Nepanti,* as the Franks called it) and began the issue of coins both there and on Corfu. In 1307 Philip also gained full possession of Achaea, but a few years after Thamar's death he married Catherine de Valois and gave up his direct rule of Achaea to Louis of Burgundy. He also named his son by Thamar, Charles of Taranto, vicar-general of Epirus (1313-15) and gave him the residence at Durazzo. When Charles died in 1315, his brother Philip II took the title.

Meanwhile, wishing as a Palaeologina to remain independent of the policies of both the Angevins and the Angeli, Anna (Thamar's mother) both opposed Philip and Charles and also sustained her rule in the name of her young son Thomas over much of Epirus, establishing herself at the fortress of Arta. In 1318 Thomas was murdered by his nephew, count Nicolò Orsini I of Cephalonia (1318-23), who was subsequently assassinated by his own brother Giovanni II Orsini (1323-35). Despite all Philip's attempts to coerce him, Giovanni steadfastly refused to recognize Angevin overlordship, until Philip's death in 1331. Giovanni, moreover, struck coins at his castle at Arta, in order, presumably, to increase and facilitate trade with Achaea and Italy.

When Giovanni's wife poisoned him in 1335, she brought her son Nicephorus II (1335-58) to the throne of Epirus. Andronicus III, the emperor of Constantinople, however, faced little opposition when not long afterward he attempted to establish Byzantine imperial rule there. But in 1358 the Albanians captured the despotate.

COINAGE OF THE NEOPOLITAN PRINCES OF EPIRUS AND CORFU (1294-1313)

Having received Lepanto in 1294 as dowry from his wife Thamar, Philip of Taranto set up a mint there and adopted the same coinage system as that of the principality of Achaea. He struck a series of deniers tournois which were

substantially lighter, weighing an average 0.83 - 0.84 grams, than those coins of either Thebes or Glarentza.[73] We learn from the *Registri Angioini* that in 1306 Philip received revenues from his mints at Glarentza and Lepanto which contributed in large measure to the riches of the crown of Naples in Romania (*i.e* Epirus).[74] This passage indicates that both Lepanto and Glarentza were in operation in 1306, though Philip did not officially receive his title until 1307. His coins of Lepanto bear two distinct legends: those presumably issued before 1306 bear ✠Ph'S TAR DESP, for *Philippus princeps Taranti, despatus;* and those after 1306 bear ✠Ph'S P ACh' TAR D' R, for *Philippus princeps Achaie, Taranti, despatus Romanie.* The appearance of P' ACh in the obverse legend is the key to dating the coins, and both types bear the reverse legend NEPANTI CIVIS.

Both series of deniers are neatly inscribed and well struck, though the earlier types outnumber the later ones by a substantial margin.[75] It seems, however, that the coins struck at Lepanto are also consistently lighter than the coins which Philip issued at Glarentza between 1306 and 1313, which weigh *ca.* 0.85-0.86 g.[76] The Epirote deniers seem to have been completely unaffected by the standard of either Glarentza or Thebes.

These are a few other differences in detail between the two series of deniers from Lepanto. The later types bear symbols and marks in the reverse field, which the earlier types seem to lack, but which the coins Philip issued at Glarentza (1306-13) have in similar fashion. Both types from Lepanto bear a variety of stop marks, mainly fleur-de-lis, pellets, annulets, nails, and an occasional star, while other marks are scarcer. Two varieties, which are both unusual on these coins and quite rare, are inscribed DESP.A and DESP.O, the significance of which is uncertain.

It should also be mentioned that Charles II d'Anjou gave Thomas III of Salona permission to mint his coins at Lepanto. See the speculation about the consequences of this for the coinage of Salona *supra.*[77]

Philip of Taranto (1294-1313)

Issued before 1306 (?)

111a. Billon denier tournois. 0.69-0.89 g. Schl. XIII,20; Metcalf, *MN* (1971), p. 193.

O: ✠✠Ph'S·P·TAR DЄSP:, varying letter forms (cf. illus. from Schl.)
Cross pattée

R: "NЄPANTI CIVIS', or var., with star or annulet, etc.
Castle tournois.
Minor varieties of this type also exist, including those inscribed DESP.A *and* DESP.O.

a 111 b

b. Similar, fleur-de-lis at end of legend, as well as at beginning. The reverse legend bears various stop marks, sometimes a cross or a leaf. The letter A is usually unbarred.
0.75-0.94 g. Saulcy, XV,12.

112. Billon denier tournois. 0.89 g. Malloy, Auction XXVI, 1011.
Similar to XXX1a, but with large pellet below castle.

112 113 114

Issued after 1306 (?)

113. Billon denier tournois. 0.67-0.82 g. Saulcy, XV,13.
O: ✠PH'S PACh' TAR D' R, or var., for *Philippus princeps Achaie, Taranti, despotus Romanie.*
Cross pattée.
R: ✠NЄPANTI CIVIS·
Castle tournois, fleur-de-lis below.

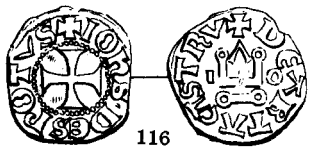
114. Billon denier tournois. Schl. XIII,26.
Similar, three pellets below castle.

COINAGE OF THE DESPOTS OF EPIRUS (1323-35)

Despite their many varieties and types, the coins which Giovanni Orsini issued at the fortress of Arta are today fairly scarce. They are modeled after those of Maud and John of Achaea, with their many letters and symbols as additions in the reverse field. They may have been struck as imitations of the coins of Achaea in order to facilitate trade with the Morea, and perhaps Italy as well. It is curious, however, that this Italian usurper from Cephalonia would issue the Frankish Angevin-style coinage of Achaea in the Byzantine-populated despotate of Epirus. The fact that these coins appear in Epirus may be another indication of the widespread Frankish influence upon its neighbors and the universal acceptance of the denier tournois.

These Epirote coins are obviously debased, with irregular flans and blundered legends; they are also carelessly executed, not unlike the coins of Achaea minted at the same time. The lettering is similar to that on the coins of John of Gravina, bearing Gothic E's and C's and unbarred Λ's. The many marks placed in the reverse field constitute the principal types we have listed and indicate that the coinage went through many emissions or recoinings. The I O flanking the castle may be the abbreviation for *Iohannes,* but the B and the other symbols are not so readily explained. The coins generally weigh 0.80 grams, fluctuating fairly widely.

John II Orsini (1323-35)



116

115. Billon denier tournois. 0.69-0.98 g. Schl.—.
O: ✠IOh'S DЄSPOTVS
Cross pattée
R: DЄ ΛRTΛ CΛSTRV
Castle tournois

116. Billon denier tournois. *ca.* 0.83 g. Schl. XIII,16.
Similar to last, with blundered legend, often CΛSTR or CΛSTRV, and with an I to the left, and an O to the r. of the castle.

117. Billon denier tournois. 0.84 g.
Similar, also blundered legend, often CΛSR, B to r. of castle.

118. Billon denier tournois.
Similar, legend on one example is ΛRTIS CΛS, with retrograde B to l. and usually an I to r. of the castle.

119. Billon denier tournois. 0.71-0.94 g.
Similar, with pellet, or sometimes an annulet, to the l. and a small helmeted head, facing l., to the r. of castle, with a rosette below.

120. Billon denier tournois.
Similar, though often with blundered obverse inscription I.OVS DESPOTVS.
E to l., pellet to r. of castle.

121. Billon denier tournois.
Similar, with cross below castle.

122. Billon denier tournois. 0.63 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
Similar, star to r. of castle.

123. Billon denier tournois. 0.81 g. Jacobowitz Coll.
Similar, triple dots to l. and r. of castle.

DUCHY OF NEOPATRAS
or Sabastocrators of Great Wallachia (Thessaly)

At the death of Michael II of Epirus in 1271, his illegitimate son John I Angelus Comnenus-Ducas became Sebastocrator of Thessaly, or Grand Wallachia, as the area was also called. It seems that although John bore the Greek title, the Franks called him the duke of Neopatras, perhaps because of some confusion over his surname of Ducas. His rule corresponded with that of his half brother Nicephorus of Epirus (1271-96), and his government was headquartered at Neopatras, which the Franks called Le Patre or La Patria.

When in 1275 Michael VIII Palaeologus sent his armies into Thessalian territory, John sought the assistance of John de la Roche. The Athenian duke assembled troops and repulsed the Byzantine army, though Michael renewed the attack the following year and a fleet under the command of Licario pillaged Euboea. William de la Roche, who had married John's daughter Helena Angelina Comnena, continued to lend him military support. In 1303 John's son Constantine (1296-1303) made Guy II de la Roche (1296-1308) ward for his son John II and recommended that his barons swear fealty to the duke of Athens. When the despoina Anna, widow of Nicephorus of Epirus, invaded Thessaly, Guy was obliged to lead his troops against her, and he succeeded in extending and fortifying its boundaries.

When John II (1303-18) took over the government of Neopatras in 1308, he deserted the Latins in favor of Byzantine allies. However, when the Catalan Company began settling in and laying waste to the Thessalian countryside in 1309, Gautier de Brienne, duke of Athens, hired the mercenaries in an attempt to recover the Athenian rule over Thessaly. After the establishment of Catalan rule at Thebes in 1311, Alfonso Fadrique was able to take Neopatras by 1319, making it his second capital. The Catalan dukes of Athens thereafter called themselves vicar-generals of Athens and Neopatras.

COINAGE OF NEOPATRAS

Those billon trachea which Schlumberger and Lambros attributed to John I Angelus Comnenus, sebastocrator of Thessaly (1271-96), have recently been reassigned to the Empire of Thessalonica by Hendy,[78] and are therefore out of the realm of Crusader issues *per se,* if not Crusader influence.[79]

As for Frankish-type deniers tournois, John II (1303-18), grandson of John I and ward during his youth of Guy II de la Roche of the duchy of Athens, seems to have issued them at Neopatras. They fall into three basic types, according to their inscriptions. The most common type bears the inscriptions ✠ANGELVS.SAB.C', for *Angelus Sebastocrator Comnenus* and DELLA PATRIA, for "from La Patria," as the Franks called Neopatras. A related type, which is exceedingly rare, bears a similar obverse inscription, but NEOPATRIE on the reverse. A third type, also rare, has the legends ✠DVX.ANGELVS. and DELA PATRIA. No name other than the patronymic Angelus appears on these coins.

Schlumberger felt it unlikely that the coins belonged to any reign of the Angelus dynasty other than that of John II, because of the fierce anti-papal sentiments of John I; and conversely, because of the immense Frankish influence exerted on the duchy of Neopatras while Guy II served as John II's tutor (1303-08).[80] It should be noted that the three types are distinct in terms not only of their legends but also of their style. Though the chronology of these types has no basis other than the arbitrary distinction of style, and no such proofs as overstrikes or hoard evidence, probably the earliest coin is the type with legend NEOPATRIE, the genitive form of *Neopatria.* It is of crude workmanship and bears Latin E's, which, it seems, are also found on coins issued by John II's aunt Helena at Karytaena, between *ca.* 1291 and 1299.

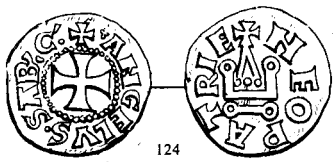
The more common type, on the other hand, with similar obverse and the French form of *della Patra,* bears exclusively Gothic letters in the neat, symmetrical form of the deniers tournois minted at Thebes by Guy II (1296-1308). The distinction is remarkable, though exactly what it implies is a matter for supposition. As the most common type of the three, it has many varieties of stops within the legend, including annulets and pellets, sometimes in trefoil formation. Often letters,

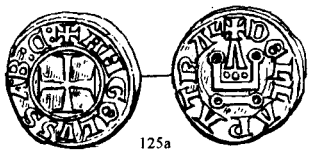
including a large recumbent S or small P or L, terminate the reverse inscription. The significance of these letters is unknown.

The third type with DVX ANGELVS also bears Gothic E's and does not appear in any of the known hoards concealed *ca.* 1311.[81] Though hoard evidence is inconclusive in this matter of chronology, the evidence available does seem to indicate that the third type was issued later than the others. Late hoards[82] offer the more common type (no. 2) in limited numbers, and the Orion Hoard (1320-25) contains two specimens of the DVX type. The latter may well be a type issued late in the reign of John II, who was the last Angelus ruler of Neopatras before Alfonso Fadrique claimed the duchy for the crown of Aragon-Sicily in 1318. A variety of this type also bears, unlike the issues from Thebes or the other issues from Neopatras, some ornamental crescents in the reverse field, flanking the castle, like the decoration appearing on the coins of Philip of Taranto at both Lepanto and Glarentza (1306-13). This may also be further proof of their late date.

The weight of all these nicely-made, fine billon coins is *ca.* 0.85 grams, which is approximately the standard weight among the coinages of Frankish Greece at this time.

John II Angelus Comnenus (1303-18)


124


125a

124. Billon denier tournois. Schl. XIII, 17.
O: ✠·ANGELVS·SAB'C, for *Angelus Sebastocrator Comnenus.*
Cross pattée
R: NEOPATRIE
Castle tournois

125a. Billon denier tournois. 0.72-1.00 g. Schl. XIII,18; Metcalf, *MN*(1971), XLI,6.
O: ✠ΛNGЄLVS SΛB: C:, or var.
Cross pattée
R: DЄLLA PΛTRΛ^{L}, or var.
Castle tournois

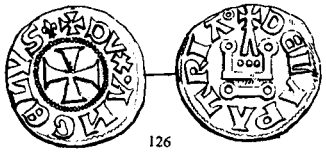
b. Similar, but without the small letter L after the inscription on the reverse, and usually unbarred A's. *cf.* Metcalf, XLI,4-5.

c. Similar, but with small letter P after inscription. This variety also bears either pellet or annulet stop marks.
ca. 0.80 g. *cf.* Metcalf, XLI.2-3.

d. Similar, but with small recumbent letter S and barred A's. This variety sometimes also bears trefoil stops.
ca. 0.85 g. *cf.* Metcalf, XLI,1.

e. Similar, but ✠ΛΠGELVS SΛ·B·C / ✠DELLΛ PΛTRΛ·. Malloy, 0.71 G. Auct. XXXIV, 1219.

125 E


126

126. Billon denier tournois. Schl. XIII,19.
O: ✠DVX·ΛNGELVS✿
Cross pattée
R: DELΛ PΛTRIΛ, or var., mainly with unbarred Λ's.
Castle tournois
Other minor varieties of this type bear, e.g., crescents flanking the reverse castle.

LATIN STATES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO

DUCHY OF NAXOS

In 1207 Marco Sanudo, nephew of the Venetian doge, seized Naxos, the chief island of the Cyclades. He then took Paros, Melos, Siphnos, Kythnos (Thermia), and Syros for himself, while the Ghisi of Tenos and Mykonos, the Quirini of Stampalia, the Barozzi of Thera, and the Foscoli of Anaphe became his vassals. He eventually received from Emperor Henry of Constantinople the title of duke of the Aegean Sea, or Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος, for *Archipelago,* and held it, like the principality of Achaea, directly from the emperor, "on freer terms than any baron of Romania."[83]

Marco's son, Angelo (*ca.* 1227-62) later transferred suzerainty to the prince of Achaea, but by the treaty of Viterbo (1267) the overlordship was transferred to the

House of Anjou. Angelo's son Marco II Sanudo (1262-1303), having spent his youth at the court of Glarentza, kept closer ties with Achaea. Marco's younger brother Marino, meanwhile, inherited Paros and Antiparos (1262-70). Although during the 1270's Marco II lost certain of his islands to Licario, he was eventually able to recover them before his death in 1303, so that his son Guglielmo I (1303-23) inherited the duchy virtually intact.[84] Marino Sanudo the Elder (1274-*ca.*1343), the author of the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis,* was a descendant of this family and traveled extensively throughout the Levant at this period.[85]

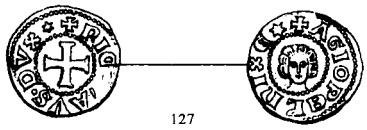
Guglielmo's son Nicolò (1323-41) busied himself with the affairs of mainland Greece and remained faithful to his feudal responsibilities there. He was wounded and taken prisoner by the Catalans at the battle of Kephissos in 1311. Later he also assisted John of Gravina in his campaign against the Byzantines of the Morea; when John returned to Italy, he left Nicolò as commander-in-chief of his forces. He had great difficulty with Turkish corsairs, who continually pillaged the shores of Naxos. When neither the Angevins nor the Venetians could offer effective aid, Nicolò swore allegiance to Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus, who helped him obtain a truce with the Turks in 1332. Nicolò Sanudo's brother Giovanni (1341-62) succeeded him on his death in 1341. Giovanni obtained the suzerainty of Venice and arranged a marriage for his daughter Fiorenza with Giovanni dalle Carceri of Euboea. When Giovanni Sanudo died in 1362, Venice seized the rule of the duchy from Fiorenza and held it until Nicolò II dalle Carceri, Sanudo's grandson, began ruling the duchy in 1371. When, in 1383, Nicolò was assassinated by Francesco Crispo, the Archipelago came under control of the House of Crispo and remained in its hands until, in 1576, the Turks took direct control over the islands of the former duchy.

COINAGE OF NAXOS

The coinage of Naxos was minted by two dukes and consists of coins of one basic type and only one denomination. Because the small billon coins weigh substantially less, at *ca.* 0.45 gram, than the deniers tournois of the mainland states of Greece, Papadopoli questioned their denomination.[86] In his article published in 1895, he discussed whether they might not be a fractional denomination, perhaps something similar to a *mezzo denaro* or *biancho* of the Republic of Venice, rather than a billon denier as we have called it in the Catalogue. The coinage appears to have been initiated by Nicolò I Sanudo (1323-41) and continued by his successor, Giovanni I Sanudo (1341-62). The facing head, which each variety of this coinage bears, might perhaps be a portrait, but may be, as Papadopoli suggested, the head of Dionysus, whose cult had been established on Naxos in ancient times. Other possibilities, however, are Aphrodite or Ariadne, since the coiffure bears some resemblance to ancient feminine ones. A deviation from the norm of what seems to

have been the more common type of Nicolò's coinage is that the cross and head exchange sides of the coin, a phenomenon that seems to occur during a regency among other Crusader coins of Cyprus and Jerusalem. The coins of Giovanni also are of two types, those bearing the obverse legend ✠IOΛΠ DVX, and those bearing ✠IOΛΠE·SΛΠVD[...]. Papadopoli also noted that Giovanni included his surname on the coinage, confirming that the coinage belongs to the period when Naxos was dominated by the House of Sanudo, rather than that of Crispo.

Nicolò I Sanudo (1323-41)



127

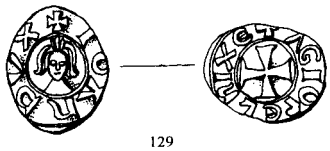
127. Billon denier. 0.45 g. Papadopoli, *RIN* (1895), p. 463, no. 1; Schl. XIII,28.

O: ✠ΠIC . . . AVS·DVX*
Cross pattée.
R: ✠AGIOPЄL'ΠIXЄ*
Head facing.

128. Billon denier. Papadopoli, *ibid.*, p. 463, no. 2.

O: ✠NICOL . . . DVX
Head facing.
R: ✠AGIOPЄL.ΠIXI
Cross pattée.

Giovanni I Sanudo (1341-62)



129

129. Billon denier. 0.42 g. Papodopoli, *ibid.*, p. 464, 1-2.
O: ✠IOΛΠ DVX (sometimes with * at end.)
Head facing, one variety with simplified coiffure.
R: ✠AGIOPЄL ΠIXЄ
Cross pattée.

130. Billon denier. 0.44 g. Papadopoli, *ibid.*, p. 464, 3.
O: ✠IOAΠЄ.SAΠVD...
Head facing.
R: ✠AGIOPЄL ΠIXIЄ
Cross pattée.

LORDSHIP OF TENOS AND MYKONOS

After the partition treaty of 1204, the islands of the Archipelago were for the taking. In 1207 two brothers, Andreo and Geremia Ghisi of Aquileia, took Tenos, Mykonos, and some islands of the northern Sporades and became vassals of Marco Sanudo, duke of the Archipelago. Andreo's son Bartolomeo (1259-1303) ruled the islands for many years, during which time his domain was menaced after 1279 by the pirate Licario. Though the Venetians often supported the Ghisi in their endeavors, Bartolomeo pledged fealty to Florent of Achaea in 1290 and constantly rivaled the Sanudo family for influence in the Archipelago.

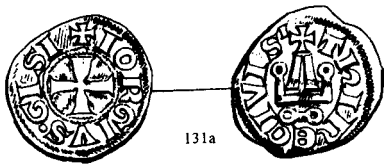
When Bartolomeo died at an old age in 1303, his son Giorgio I Ghisi (1303-11) became lord of Tenos. Giorgio had already also been castellan of Kalamata and, through his first marriage, baron of Chalandritsa. By marrying Alessia dalle, Carceri, he became triarch of Euboea as well. He died helping defend the duchy of Athens from the Catalan invasion in 1311. His successors, Bartolomeo II (1311-41) and Giorgio II (1327-52), also were appointed to various positions both at Naples and in the Morea. The next ruler, Giorgio III (1384-90), however, died without an heir in 1390, whereupon the islands and the Ghisi's portion of Euboea reverted to the Republic of Venice.

COINAGE OF TENOS

The first example of this very rare type of billon denier tournois from the island of Tenos was first published in 1868 by Promis.[87] It appears to be an imitation of the deniers of Thebes by William de la Roche, inscribed as it is ThINE CIVIS,

after ThEBE CIVIS. Schlumberger argued quite logically that the coins probably belong to Giorgio I rather than to either of his successors because of the coins' style of lettering. A small letter I follows the reverse legend, and a variety bears the unprecedented double I.[88]

Giorgio I Ghisi (1303-11)



131a

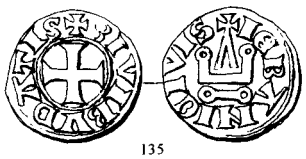
131a. Billon denier tournois. 0.90 g. Schl. XIII,29.
O: ✠IORGIVS·GISI
Cross pattée
R: ThINE CIVIS[I]
Castle tournois
b. Similar, but reverse ending CIVIS[II]. Schl. p. 399.

CATALAN DUCHY OF ATHENS or UNCERTAIN ISSUES OF FRANKISH GREECE

The following types, nos. 1 through 8, all seem to belong to a homogeneous group of copper imitations of the denier tournois, linked by the characteristic letter forms V for V, and Λ for A, possibly dating from the late fourteenth century. The obverse cross is also usually large and angular, often with a pellet in the center, the field may be enclosed with a linear circle rather than a series of pellets. Fourteen other specimens of the group may survive.[89] The deniers usually have the obverse legend ✠GIVI BVD ATIS, and on the reverse, either I.S BAGDRVIIGI, or IEBANI CIVIS, with minor variations. One obverse legend reads ✠IACOBVS MO(R?)II. One set of obverse and reverse legends seems to be a blundered version of ✠GVI DVX ATENES and ThEBANI CIVIS, the normal legend on deniers of duke Guy II de la Roche of Athens; while the legend I.S BAGDRVIIGI is an enigma. Very

tentatively, we suggest that I.S B might possibly represent James de Baux, prince of Achaea (1381-83); that IACOBVS MO(R?)II might also refer to him; and that AGDRVIIGI might possibly be a blundered version of Androusa, in the Morea, the capital of the Navarrese Company of mercenaries that conquered Achaea for James de Baux and then temporarily overran the Catalan duchy of Athens, occupying Thebes, its capital. Possibly therefore, these deniers might represent a hitherto unidentified coinage of the Navarrese Company in Greece.[90]

132



135

132. AE denier tournois. Saulcy, XVIII,13.
O: ✠...IBVƉ...
Cross pattée
R: ...ΛSRƉVS...
Castle tournois

133. AE denier tournois. *Thomsen Cat.* (1873), 1591.
O: ✠GI.I BVDĀGHS
Cross pattée
R: I.S BĀGDRVIIGI
Castle tournois

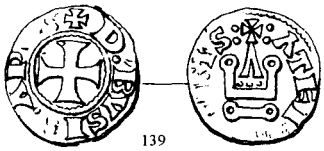
134. AE denier tournois. 0.57 g. Schl._.
O: ✠GIVI BVDΛTIS
Cross Pattée
R: I·ā BΛIIDIVISI
Castle tournois

135. AE denier tournois. Saulcy, XVIII,11.
O: Similar.
Cross pattée
R: IЄBĀNI ЄIVIS
Castle tournois

136. AE denier tournois. 0.49 g. Schl._.
O: ✠ЄIVI.RVD ĀTIS
Cross pattée
R: ЄЄBĀNI ЄIVIS
Castle tournois

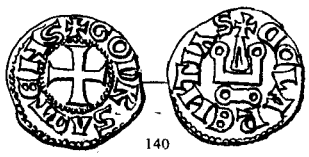
137. AE denier tournois. 0.70 g. Grantly, *NC*(1923), p. 50, pl. IV,3; Seltman, *Mints...*, XXII,14.
O: ✠IĀЄOBVS MO(R?)II
Cross with large pellet in center.
R: ЄIBĀNI ЄIVIS
Castle tournois

137


139

138. AE denier tournois. Grantly, p. 53, pl. IV,6; Seltman, *Mints...*, p. 322.
O: ✠TORNЄSNĀSR (S not clear).
Normal, plain cross.
R: ISBĀNI ЄIVIS (?)
Castle tournois

139. AE denier tournois. Saulcy, XVIII,12.
O: ✠D.BVSI.ĀD..
Cross pattée
R: ĀTЄI . . . S
Castle tournois



140

141

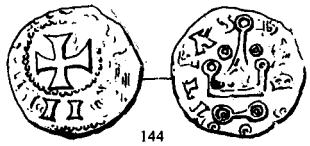
140. Billon denier tournois. Saulcy, XVI,12.
O: ✠GODR.SACTENS
Cross pattée
R: C CLARENTIAS, or var.
Castle tournois

141. Billon denier tournois. Grantley, p. 48, pl. IV,1;
O: ✠NPCI ⁘ NCLARC Seltman, *Mints...*, p. 320.
R: CE CLARENCIA
Castle tournois

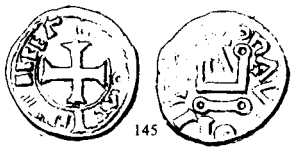
142. Billon denier tournois. Grantley, p. 52, pl. IV,4.
O: ✠CIVITAS LV...
Cross pattée
R: ...NCIA
C to l. of castle tournois.

143. Billon denier tournois. Grantley, p. 53, pl. IV,5.
O: ✠DNS ILADENSIS
Cross pattée
R: DE CLARENCIA
Castle tournois

A number of billon deniers of Frankish Greece exist which are similar in style to their prototypes but have blundered legends, and are probably contemporary forgeries. No. 140 above, and probably also no. 141 (previously attributed to Anna Comnena, wife of William de Villehardouin, prince of Achaea) may belong to this class. Nos. 142 and 143 possibly fall into the same category.



144



145

144. AE denier tournois. 0.85-0.92 g. Saulcy, XVI,13.
O: Blundered legend.
Cross pattée
R: Blundered legend.
Castle tournois

145. AE denier tournois. 0.95 g. Saulcy, XVI,14.
O: Similar.
Cross pattée
R: Similar.
Castle tournois

Besides the imitations of billon deniers of Frankish Greece previously described, other much more barbarous copper imitations exist. Examples are illustrated above. Possibly these were struck in the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century.

ORIGINAL SOURCES

Selected Passages from Documents Relating to Coinage of the Crusader States

THE PRINCIPALITIES OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE

1. *Livre au Roi,* Chapter XXXIX (anonymous work written between 1271 and 1291):

> Le seignor dou Crac, et le conte de Jaffe et d'Escalone, et le sire d'Arsur et de Cesaire et de Caifas et de Thabarie et de Bessant, et le sire de Belinas et dou Touron, et le sire d'Escandelion, et le sire de Saiete et de Baruth, et de ces autres villes entor: la raison juge que tous ces et mains outres qui ne sont si noumes,... ont bien poer chascum de ces barons d'aver coigs et ceeler dons...
>
> The lord of Krak, the count of Jaffa and Ascalon, the lord of Arsur, Caesarea, Caïphas, Tiberias, and the lord of Belinas and Toron, the lord of Escandelion, and the lord of Sidon and Beirut and of the other surrounding cities: the reason that these and others which are not named ... each of these barons has the power to have coins (?) and to seal their goods...

Recueil des historians des Croisades. Lois, I, ed. M. le comte Beugnot (Paris, 1841), p. 654. cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 4.

2. Les Assis de la Haute Cour de Jerusalem, Chapter CCLXX, provides a list of those lordships of the Holy Land which have the right to *court et coins et iustice,* or of *jus cunei or avoir coinings.* These are:

> The county of Jaffa and Ascalon, the lordship of Ramleh, the lordship of Ibelin (*sic*), the principality of, Galilee the lordship of Sidon and Beaufort, the lordship of Caesarea, the lordship of Bessan, the lordship of Krak and Montreal, the lordship of Saint-Abraham, the lordship of Blanchegarde, the episcopate of Saint-George of Lidda, the lord of Arsur, the lordship of Caïphas, the lordship of *Sésaire au château Pèlerin,* the lordship of Caimont, the archbishopric of Nazareth, the lordship of the fief of count Josselin

> [*probably a Palestinian fief of Josselin III, titular count of Edessa*], the lordship of Escandelion, the lordship of Tyre, the lordship of Toron, and the lordship of Beirut.

A variety omits Sesaire au chateau Pelerin and Caimont, but adds to the list both Belinas and Assebebe. This chapter of the Assises ends:

> Et il peut estre que il ait aucune autre seignorie ou reiaume qui ait court et coins et justise... mais je ne suis orres menbrant d'autres que de ciaus que je ais orres devisie.
>
> And it must be that there is no other lordship in the kingdom that has [the right to hold] court and [append] bullae [to official documents] and [administer local] justice... but I have not been mindful of others than those that I have been stipulating.

Recueil des historians des Croisades., Lois, I ed. Beugnot, pp. 419-21. cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 3-4.

3. A passage from the chronicle of Raymond d'Agiles, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem,* written by the end of 1099, cited from the Academie des Insriptions et Belles Lettres edition, *Recueil des historians des Croisades: historiens occidenteux, III,* (Paris, 1866), p. 278, concerns the money used during the First Crusade. The emir of Tripoli paid five thousand pieces of gold for neutrality in May, 1099. And the chronicler adds:

> valebat quippe unus aureus eo tempore octo vel novem solidos monetae nostri exercitus. Erat haec nostra moneta: Pictavini, Cartenses, Manses, Luccenses, Valanzani, Melgorienses...
>
> ... that each gold piece was valued at eight or nine *sou [solidus, or more probably the denier, the actual coin struck]* of the coinage of the Christians, and that the pieces in actual usage in the army of the Crusaders were the issues of Poitou, Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Valence, and Melgueil...

Cf. Schlumberger, NOL, p. 5, note 2, for a French version.

4. A passage from the historian Ernoul, who had served with Balian d'Ibelin in the Holy Land and who wrote a chronicle of the events (continuing from the end of Guillaume of Tyre's work), to be found in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: historiens occidentaux, II,* pp.. 70-71, and in L. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique*

d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Tresorier (Paris, 1871), ch. XV, p. 176, indicates that in this great distress of 1187 (during the siege of Jerusalem), the churches were despoiled and the people, afraid of the approach of Saladin, began without shame to convert the precious metal which covered the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre into money.

> Dont vint li patriarces a Balian, si fist descouvrir le Monument deseure le Sepulcre, qui estoit tous couviers d'argent; si en fisent oster, et batre monnoie pour donner as chevaliers et as sergans, cascun jour, a loiier. [Et aloient chascun jor] li chevalier et li sergant par le tiere entour le cite, [et] atraoient dedans le cite quanques il pooient de viandes, car il savoient bien que il seroient assesie. [—Mas Latrie, ed.]

5. Guillaume of Tyre's work, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum,* Book XXII, Chapter XXIII, also edited in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: historiens occidentaux,* I (Paris, 1864), p. 111, contains a passage concerning a tax established in 1182 to sustain the Crusader armies of the Holy Land:

> Si vero praedicti quatuor selecti [i.e. those four men selected to levy the tax], qui ad hoc deputati sunt, substantia non valeat centum bizantios, accipiant super eum foagium, id est, pro foco, bizantium unum; quod si dimidium non potuerint, accipient rabuinum, secundum quod eis bona fide videbitur faciendum.

The term *rabouin, (Lat., rabuinum)*seems to indicate a denomination in use in the Kingdom of Cyprus and in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It is probably, as Schlumberger felt, a money of account worth a quarter of the bezant (*cf.* Schlumberger, *NOL,* p. 8). Foucher's edition of the *Assises du royaume de Jérusalem, I, 1: Assises des Bourgeois,* p. 578 note, where Foucher remarks that *rabouin* is derived from the Arabic word *raba,* meaning "quarter." Also in the *Assises* there is the following passage from *Const. Odon. Legat. contra Simoniacos lata in concil. Syriae an 1254,* to be found in V. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico di Malta,* vol. I, p. 545, and in Foucher's edition of the *Assises, I,* 1, p. 579, note 3 (continued from p. 576).

> item pro sponsalibus contrahendis exiguntur a praelatis quibusdam tres solidi, sive raboinus unus, vel aliud pretium.

6. Jean de Joinville, the friend and companion of Louis to the Holy Land, in his *Histoire de St. Louis,* Chapter XCI, 466, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 254-

56, relates that St. Louis, while passing through Sidon, where Marguerite de Sagète governed the lordship in her husband's absence, stopped to join in a religious celebration, described as follows:

> ... et fist faire le servise en tel manière, que chascuns chevaliers offri un cierge et un denier d'argent, et li roys offri un cierge et un besant d'or, tout des deniers ma dame de Soiete. Dont l'on se merveilla mout quant li roys fist ce, car l'on ne l'avoit onques veu offrir, que de ses deniers, mais il le fist par sa courtoisie.
>
> ... she [the Lady of Sidon] had the [religious] service performed in this manner: each knight offered a candle and a silver denier, and the king offered a candle and a gold bezant, all of the Lady of Sidon's deniers, which everyone marvelled at when the king did it, because they had never seen anything but deniers offered; but the king did it for the sake of courtesy.

Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 115, as well as Saulcy, *Numismatique des Croisades* p. 72. Both of these texts have variants on the preferred text of de Wailly presented above.

7. A document of Marsili Georgi, bailie in Syria, *Relatio: Domus, que relinentur comuni Venecie infra civitatem Tyri, a rege de Jerusalem,* of 1243, found in G. Tafel and G. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels-und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante,* II, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, *Diplomataria et Acta,* XIII (Vienna, 1856), no. CCXCIX, at p. 386, makes reference to rights from the time of Conrad de Montferrat, who controlled Tyre from 1187 until his death in 1192, showing that Conrad had promised the Venetians that they could mint coins (of some kind) in their quarter of the city of Tyre:

> Retinetur nobis una domus in nostro tercierio magna, a qua, in tepore marchionis Montisferrati, qui fuit dominos regni, fabricata et incussa moneta fuit. [—Tafel and Thomas, eds.]

Schlumberger, *NOL,* p. 138, felt that this implied that from the time of Conrad's death in 1192 the Venetians had been striking money at Tyre.

8. Lavoix, *Monnaies à légendes arabes frappées par les croisés* (Paris, 1877), noted a charter of 1243 cited by Du Cange as an extract from the Tables of the Commune of Marseille, where it is said that two bezants of Acre or two bezants of the Muslims were worth one *livre.* Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis,* chapter LXVII, 342,

p. 186 (ed. N. de Wailly), also speaks of this ratio when he discusses the ransom of St. Louis:

> ... Et lors li consaus s'en rala parier au soudanc, et raporterent au roy que se la royne vouloit paier dix cens mile besans d'or, qui valoient cinc cens mile livres, que il deliverroit le roy.
>
> ... And then the counsellors returned to speak to the sultan, and they reported to the king that if the queen would pay a million gold bezants, which were worth five hundred thousand *livres,* he would set the king free.

Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 139, for a modern French version.

9. The letter that Pope Innocent IV wrote to Eudes de Châteauroux, whereby he excommunicated those Crusaders of Syria and Palestine who minted bezants anddrachmas with the name of Muhammad and the years from his birth *(sic),* at Acre and Tripoli:

> Innocentius,...*venerabili fratri...episc. Tusculano, apostolicae Sedis legato, salutem...* — Transmissa nobis insinuatione monstrasti, quod, cum tibi liquido constitisset quod in bisanciis et drachmis, quae in Acconensi et Tripolitana civitatibus fiebant a Christianis nomen Machomethi atque annorum a Nativitate ipsius numerus sculpebantur, tu in omnes illos qui nomen et numerum ipsa in eisdem bisanciis et dragmis, sive in auro sive in argento, sculperent de cetero vel sculpi facerent in regno Ierosolymitano, principatu Antiocheno ac comitatu Tripolitano, excommunicationis sententiam robur faceremus firmitatis debitum obtinere. Nos igitur, attendentes non solum indignum esse, sed etiam abominabile huiusmodi blasphemum nomen tam solemni memoriae commendare, mandamus quatenus sententiam ipsam facias auctoritate nostra, sublato appellationis obstaculo, inviolabiliter observari. — *Datum Perusii, II id, februarit, pontificatus nostri anno decimo.*

Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, second series, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV,* ed. Élie Berger, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884-1921), is the best edition. *Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale,* Fonds Moreau, no. 1202, fol. 92-93, and Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 139-140.

10. An Armenian document dated 1245, renewing a privilege first extended to the Venetians in 1201 by Levon II of Armenia, describes the nature of the commercial

privilege which King Hetoum and Queen Isabelle allowed the Venetian merchants to exercise:

> ...excepto quod omnes Venetici qui adduxerint aurum et argentum, et bizancios seu monetas inde fecerint, teneantur persolvere dricturam, sicut persolvunt hii qui bizancios seu monetas operantur in Acconensibus partibus; quodsi bizancios seu monetas non fuerint operati, nullatenus dricturam persolvere teneantur.

A similar privilege renewned by Levon III dates from January 1271:

> Mais tous les Veneciens chi porteront or et argent, et vodront coygner bezanz ou monee, si donront la droiture, si cum ceaus chi a Acre doment droiture de bezanz ou de monee. E se l'or ou l'argent ne se coigne bezanz ou monoye, ne donront nulle droiture.

The same sentiments are reproduced in a privilege accorded the Venetians by Levon IV on May 20, 1307, with only one difference, i.e. the phrase, "as those who at Acre give the right," is put into the past tense, since Acre no longer belonged to the Christians at that time. See Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 137, note 2; and, for a more detailed discussion of the passage, see P. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia,* pp. 27ff., who cites V. Langlois, *Cartulaire, Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie, ou cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupeniens* (Venice, 1863), pp. 143, 151-53, 167-68, 182-84. The privileges granted to the Venetians, as Bedoukian sees it, stipulated that gold and silver bullion brought to Armenia were duty-free, except when they were imported to be made into coins. They were indeed taxed if they were imported for the purpose of being struck into coins, and the duty would, in that case, be the same as that imposed on such practice at Acre.

THE KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

11. A passage (ch. XVI, 68-69: *Cipri per se medesimo, cioè in Famagosta) from* Francesco Baiducci Pegolotti's *La practice della mercatura* which was compiled before his death in 1340, describes the monetary system of Cyprus *ca.* 1340 when Pegolotti was writing:

> In Cipri si spendono bisanti bianchi <d'oro e grosso> d'ariento, che sono di lega d'once 11 d'ariento fine per libbra, e come ane la zecca dello Re di Cipri di due maniere <grossi piccioli, che n'entrano 96, in uno marchio di Cypri de quali 4 de' detti grossi piccioli,> cioe l'una maniers grossi grandi, che n'entrano 48 nel

> mar<chio> di Cipri, e <si contano due> de'detti grossi grandi uno bisante bianco, cioe soldi 4.
>
> All 'altra maniera di grossi piccioli, che n'entrano 96 in uno mar. di Cipri, de'quali 4 de'detti grossi piccioli si contano per uno bisante bianco; e il bisante bianco vale soldi 4 di piccioli, e i denari 2 piccioli si contano uno carato, di carati 24 per uno bisante bianco.
>
> E spendesi anche in Cipri moneta piccola ch'è di lega d'once due e mezzo d'argento fine per libbra, ed entrane per libbra soldi 36 a conto, e ogni soldi 4 della detta moneta piccola si contano per uno bisante bianco, e il bisante è carati 24, sicchè ogni carato vale denari 2 piccolo. E puotesi ragionare che vaglia il fior. d'oro della detta moneta a comunal pregio di bisanti bianchi.

in other words:

> Two deniers were worth one *carat*;
> Six carats were worth one half-gros (*grosso piccolo*);
> Two half-gros were worth one gros (*grosso d,'argento* or *grande*);
> Two gros were worth one electrum bezant (*bisante bianco*).

The most recent critical edition of Pegolotti is that by Allan Evans, as the Medieval Academy of America's Publication No. 24 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), who makes use of the readings of the sole surviving manuscript (Riccardian Library, Florence, no. 2441). See Evans ed. p. 82 for the above passages. Also see the eighteenth century edition by G. F. Pagnini della Ventura in his *Della decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal comune di Firenze. Della moneta e della mercatura de' Fiorentini fino al secolo XVI,* 4 vols. (Lisbon & Lucca, 1765-66), vol. III: *contenente La practica della mercatura scritta da Francesco Balducci Pegolotti e copiata da un Codice manoscritto esistente in Firenze nella Bibiloteca Riccardiana* (1766), pp. 68-69 for the above passages.

See P. Lambros, *Monnaies inédites du royaume de Chypre au moyen âge, who* suggested the supplemental words in the first lines of paragraph one above, though Evans has incorporated this suggestion; *cf.* Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 175.

Pegolotti also discusses the fineness of the Cypriot bezant in his work (LXXII, 291, ed. Evans, p. 288):

> Bisanti d'oro copoluti di Cipri a carati 4; e pesa l'uno carati 22 di Cipri, di carati 24 per un peso, e di pesi 6 e den. [*denari* should be

> emended to *carati*] 14 per un' oncia di Cipri, de'quali 22 carati che pesa l'uno ne sono di carati 4 meno un quarto d'oro fine, e di carati 4 e un quarto ne sono di rame, e di carati 14 ne sono d'argento fine.

The Cypriot "white bezant" thus is broken down into 3¾ carats gold, 14 carats silver, and 4¼ carets copper.

12. Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano, writing his *La practica della mercatura* in 1442, speaks of the money of the Lusignan that was current in the marketplace of Famagusta:

> ...il detto Bisante è una moneta d'argento, e cosi il' charati 24 fanno uno bisante.

He mistook the Cypriot bezant for a silver denomination, and he also made the same mistake by saying that the *perpero* (hyperpyron or bezant) was a silver coin. Uzzano's work is also edited in G. F. Pagnini della Ventura's work, *Della decima...* (*cf. supra,* text 11 for full title), vol. IV: *contenente La practice della mercatura scritta da Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano nel 1442* (1766).

13. Writing in 1313, Florio Bustron, *Storia di Cipro,* MS fol. 233 v., also concurs with Pegolotti:

> ... una marca d'argento al qual valeva 25 bisanti, ovvero 200 soldi tornesi.

Bustron also is speaking of the bezant of gold, not of silver, *cf.* Schlumberger, *NOL,* p. 177. The anonymous *Livre du Plédéant,* ch. XXI, edited in Foucher's edition of the *Assises du royaume de Jérusalem, I,* 2, p. 104, verifies Pegolotti's and Bustron's evaluation of the bezant of Cyprus:

> un marc d'argent qui a été esclerzi et prizé et uzé, c'est assaver XXV besans en Chypre...

Chapter XXIII of this same *Livre* (Foucher's edition, p. 106) adds:

> I Marc d'argent de quoi il est ordonné XXV besants...

and from the Italian version, ch. XXIII (Foucher's edition, p. 107):

> ... uno marco d'argento ch'è statuito valer bizanti vinticinque...

See Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 177.

14. According to Makhairas, in his Εξηγησις τῆς γλυκεἰας χώρας Κύπρου, ἡ ποία λέγεται κρόνακα τουτἔστιν Χρονικόν, during the reign of Peter II, at first the Venetian ducat was counted as four Cypriot bezants. According to Strambaldi, however, by 1372 the ducat was valued at ten silver gros, or five white bezants of Cyprus; and he adds that the Cypriot coinage also contained quantities of copper at this Period. Furthermore, as Cyprus' economy declined as a result of the Genoese takeover of Famagusta, during the reign of James I, in 1383 four and one quarter bezats equaled one ducat, and in 1391 four and one eighth bezants equaled one ducat.

See Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 177-78. R. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chroniques d'Amadi et di Strambaldi,* II (2 vols., Paris, 1891-93), is the best edition of Strambaldi. Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitied 'Chronicle,'* ed. with trans. and notes by R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), is the best edition of his Εξηγησις.

15. Under James II (1460-1473), numerous documents evaluated the Cypriot bezant at seven for each ducat *venecien de bon pois.* As late as 1489, when the Venetian domination of the island was established, the bezant had fallen to half the value it had had before the reign of Peter II. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 178.

16. Also, in a decision, of the *Pregadi* of Venice, dated 8 June 1372, three and one half Cypriot bezants were exchanged for one *bezant sarracenat.* This rate of exchange is confirmed by fifteenth century Florentine writers as well, such as Francesco di Dino whose work followed much the same lines as Pegolotti had earlier covered.

17. The Cypriot carat (*karatum, charatum, keratum, quiratum,* or in Greek χεράτιον) was a money of account, equivalent in silver to 24 carats per white bezant. Uzzano tells us:

> lo carato e, una moneta d'argiento e carati 24 fanno un perpero; ragiona il perpero vale in genere circa 10 soldi di Genova.

See the edition by G.F. Pagnini della Ventura, *Della decima....* vol. IV, referred to in listing 12 *supra.*, also *cf.* Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 181.

18. The earliest deniers of Cyprus contained a considerable amount of silver, but later declined. Under James I (1382-98) it was debased, but it was especially under Janus (1398-1432) that its weight diminished considerably. The people of Cyprus gave them the name χαρτξία to indicate that the pieces were of copper. After the fall of

the house of Lusignan, the Venetians called the pieces *cartzia.* Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 181.

19. Janus minted a new denomination, called *sezin (sizinia, sixain).* James II (1460-73) minted them in abundance, and various authors describe them. Giorgio Bustron, Χρονικὸν Κύπρου, to be found in K.N. Sathas, ed., Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, II (Venice, 1873), for example, tells us that James II struck many pieces of *sezins* and *cartzias* of pure copper with metal taken from the cauldrons of the public baths and copper utensils of certain houses. Francesco Amadi, the sixtewh century Italian chronicler, in a MS of Venice, folio 303, and in Bustron's London MS, folio 166, tells us that in 1406 the denomination was a large copper worth six carzias:

> Et non potendo star a le spese, fece far Sisigna una moneta de rame grossa, di sei carci l'una, et fece etiam danari.

R. de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chroniques d'Amadi et di Strambaldi,* Collection des, documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, I (2 vols., Paris, 1891-93), is the authoritative edition of Amadi's work. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 182.

THE PRINCIPALITIES OF GREECE AND THE ARCHEPELAGO

20. The terms of the treaty concluded in August, 1219, between Jacopo Teupolo, the podestà of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and Emperor Theodore Lascaris of Nicaca guaranteed the security of the Venetian merchants wishing to travel in the Empire of Nicaca, and the Greek merchants were allowed to traffic at Constantinople. They mutually agreed not to strike each other's gold or silver money:

> Conventum est inter hoc, quod nec imperium meum, neque tuus dispotatos habeat licentiam formate yperperos, vel manuelatos, aut stamena equalis forme alterius partis.

We follow the transcription of the above text to be found in the collection of G. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz and die Levante*, vol. II (Vienna, 1856), document no. CCLII, at p. 207. Schlumberger's version, to be found on p. 275 in *NOL,* has minor variations. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 206, is more accurate than Schlumberger.

21. In the Principality of Achaea, one of the most important documents is the *Istoria del regno di Romania* by Marino Sanudo the Younger, the Venetian noble and chronicler who lived from 1466 to 1535. Sanudo describes the meeting of William

II de Villehardouin with King Louis IX of France in 1249 as the latter was on his way to the Egyptian campaign. On this occasion Louis granted William the right to mint deniers tournois as 3.5 ounces of silver per *livre*:

> Intendendo il principe Guglielmo che il Rè passava in Persona, volse andar egli a passarvi con circa 24 trà Gallere Navili e con 400 boni Cavalli passò al Rè. E dicendo egli al Rè: "Signor Sir, tu sei maggior Signor di me, e poi condur gente dove vuoi e quanta vuoi senza denari: io non posso far cosi," il Rè li fece gratia, che'l potesse battere Torneselli della Lega del Rè, mettendo in una libra tre onze e mezza d'argento.

This text, from the Bibl. Marciana Cod. DCCXII, class VII, is published in Karl Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1870), p. 102. See also Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 309.

22. Pegolotti also discusses the coinage of Achaea in his manual, *La practica della mercatura,* XXII, 106-08, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 116ff., which was compiled before his death in 1340:

> In Chiarenza e per tutta la Morea vanno a perpero sterlini 20, e gli sterlini non vi si vendono nè vi si veggiono, ma [i]spendonvisi torneselli piccioli che sono di lega d'once 2½ d'argento fine per libbra, ed entrane per libbra sol[di] 33, den[ari] 4 a conto, e ogni den[ari] 4 de'detti tornesi piccioli si contano per 1 sterlino, e li 3 sterlini 1 grosso viniziano d'ariento di zecca di Vinegia, e li 7 grossi 1 pipero.
>
> Lo pipero di Chiarenza si è carati 23, cioè, che [à] carati 23 a peso per un[o] perpero, cioè per un[o] pipero...
>
> La moneta picciola di Chiarenza ... e chiamasi tornesella picciola...

Cf. edition of Pagnini della Ventura, *Della decima...*, vol. III, pp. 106-08. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 311 gives a somewhat varied version of the above passage, differing more in orthography than in content from Evans' more authoritative edition. Pegolotti continues with a description of the mint of Glarentza:

> *Spese che si fanno a fare la moneta piccioia di Chiarenza*
>
> La moneta picciola di Chiarenza si è di lega d'once 2½ d'ariento fine per libbra, e vannone in una libbra soldi 33, den[ari] 4 a conto,

> e chiamasi tornesella picciola, e ànno di spesa a lavorargli nella zecca come dirà qui appresso: Primieramente per once 2½ d'argento fine, piperi ...
> Per mancamento a fondere, da starlini 3 per libbra,
> Per uvraggio agli uvrieri che['I] lav[or]ano, da sterlini 2½ per libbra,
> Per affinatura istarlini ½ per libbra,
> Per salaro dello 'ntagliatore de'ferri da coniare la detta moneta, sold[i] 150 di viniziani grossi l'anno,
> Per salaro del fabbro che fa i detti ferri, e a[c] conciare gli altri stovigli della zecca, piperi 100 l'anno,
> E per salaro di colui che sta alla bilancia, pipperi 100 l'anno,
> E per salaro de'maestri della zecca, piperi 300 l'anno,
> E per monetaggio a'monetieri che coniano, sterlini 1½ per libbra.

The above is cited from Pegolotti, XXII, 108, in the Evans edition, p. 118. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 311-12.

23. A passage from the *Registri Angioini,* no. 119 (1301-02A), fol. 72, concerns the money of the county of Salona. An ordinance, dated 20 December 1301, of King Charles II d'Anjou authorized Thomas III of Salona to mint his deniers tournois at Lepanto. Thomas evidently petitioned Charles when the duke of Athens had forbade him to mint deniers at his mint at Salona:

> ...militi capitaneo et in partibus Romanie fideli suo ... Inter alia que per litteras tuas nostre curie noviter intimasti, continebatur quod Thomasius de Salona, miles, habet in terra sua siclam [*sic*] in qua Turonenses parvos cudi hactenus faciebat, et dux Athenarum sibi prohibuit exercicium dicte sicle, quodque dictus Thomasius vult secum pro parte curie concordare ut exercendi siclam sibi licentia concedatur. Super quo rescribo tibi nostrum beneplacitum; postulasti utrum dictus Thomas pro dicta sicia facienda in civitate Nepanti [Lepante] sit ad predictam concordiam admittendus, et dicta sicla sit cum aliis mercatoribus Clarencie (de capite pro parte curie?) ordinanda, ad quod tibi presentibus respondentes volumus tibique committimus et mandamus ut sive de concordando cum predicto Thoma pro faciendo (pro cum sicla predicta scoisilla?) cum mercatoribus pro curia ordinanda id exinde facias quod pro ipsius curie commodo melius et utilius expedire (videris), cum id tuo arbitrio relinquamus...

The whole corpus of documents issuing from the Angevin Chancellory during their

rule from 1265 to 1435 was preserved in the State Archives of Naples until its unfortunate destruction during World War II. The publication of this enomous mass, started in 1950 by Riccardo Filangieri, has not yet reached the year 1301. Therefore, the above passage is excerpted from a work dating from the year 1703 called Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Γαλαξειδίυ or *Chronicon Galaxidi,* p. 239 in the edition of K.N. Sathas (Athens, 1865; reprinted 1914), with some additional corrections worked out by Schlumberger himself and his contemporary Ulysse Robert of the Bibliothèque nationale and to be found in *NOL,* p. 349.

GENERAL

24. An account of the rates of exchange is given by the fifteenth century pilgrim William Wey in the form of a diary written during his journey to the Holy Land in 1459 and again in 1462. Selected passages are as follow:

Itinerary of Willaim Wey, fellow of Eton to the Holy Lan, A.D. 1458. Proem by the Author. Chaunges of money from England to Rome and Venys.

> ... At Venyse be grotys, grossetys, galy halpens, whyche be clepyd ther soldes and bagantynes. For a doket of Venyse xv. grotys, and of grossetys xxx. For a doket of Rome or Florense a grote lasse; for a grot viij. soldis; for a grosset iiij. soldis; for a solde xij. bagantynes. For a doket of Venys ye schal haue v.ꝺi. and xiiij. soldis; a punde ys xx. soldis, that be galey halfpennys; and to every solde xij. bagantynes. At Curfw in Greke ye schal haue torneys blak money, xxiiij. for a grosset. At Venys vj. for a Venyse solde. At Curphw, and at Modyn, and at Cande in Crete, a solde of torneys ys but iiii. toumeys; therefore beware and axe, and ye bye any thyng, whethyr they sey a solde of torneys other of sylver. At Modyn ye schal haue but v. torneys for a solde sum tyme and sym tyme more. At Cande ye schal haue v. torneys and sum tyme vj., as the sovereyne wyl sett hytt. And there they haue besavntys clepyd pepper; a pepper ys worth xxxij. torneys. At Rodys ye schal haue gylotys an jouettys and asperys. A gylote ys worth a jouett, and halfe a jouett is worth xxxij. denars of Rodys. An asper ys worth halfe a jouet, that is xvi deners. A jouet and a jasper be syluer of Rodys, save the asper ys money of Turkey, and syluer. A Venyse doket ys worth xix. jouetys and deners. In Cipresse ye schal haue grotis of syluer and half grotis, and other of black money, and besavntis; and half a besavnte ys worth xlviij. denars, and vij. besavntys and half to a doket of Venyse. A grot of Cypres

ys worth xxxviij. denars. A doket of Venys ys worth ix. grotys and an halfe. An halfe grote ys worth xix. denars. A grot of Venyse ys worth ther xvj. denars; and a solde iiii. torneys. In Surrey ye schal haue dremes and halfe dremes; ij. dremes be worth iij. Venyse grotis. A dreme ys worth vj. soldys of Venyse. A doket of Venyse ys worthe xix. dremes. Doketys, grotys, grosettis, and soldys of Venyse, wyl go wel in Surrey; that ys to say, in the holy londe, and none other, wythovt grete losse. Here ye may know dyuersyte of moneys as fro Englond vn to Surrey in the holy londe ...

But make covenaunte that ye com nat at famagust in Cipres for no thying, for meny Englysch men and other also have dyde, for that eyre ys so corupte ther abowt, and in the water also... Also make yowre chavnge at Venyse, and take wyth yow at the leste XXX. doketis of grotys and grossynes. Ye schau haue at Venyse xxviij. of new grossetis and dim.; for when ye pass Venyse ye schal have in sum plase xxvj. grossetis or xxiiij. And take also wyth yow iij. other iiij. doketis of soldys that be galy halpanse of Venyse, for every grosset iiij. soldys. Take also with yow fro Venyse a doket other too of Torneys; hyt ys bras money of Candi, hyt wyl go by all the wey; ye schal haue viil. [viij?] for a sold at Venyse, at Modyn, and Cande oftyn tyme; but iiij., v. other vj. at the most for a solde.

The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College. To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456. From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, printed for the Roxburghe Club, intro. by A. Way and ed. by B. Bandinal (London, 1857), pp. 3-6.

HOARDS

A list of the Major Hoards Containing Crusader Coins

SYRIA AND PALESTINE: FRANKISH TYPES

1. *Aleppo Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *NC,* 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 259; *HBN,* VII (1968-69), pub. 1972, p. 462.

The hoard is said to have been discovered during the summer of 1964 at or near the city of Aleppo. It consists of 154 coins, of which 65 are French and 89 are Crusader (10 "bare head" type and 79 "helmeted head" type).

French coins:	(65)		
Lyons		(24)	
Valence		(41)	
Antioch:	(89)		
Bohemond III, bare head, nos. 15-16		(10)	
Bohemond III-IV, helmeted head (75, of which 15 were selected for study):			
Type 1		(8)	
Type 3		(1)	
Type 4		(1)	
Type 5		(1)	
Variety with head r.		(1)	
Irregular Type 3*		(1)	intrusive?
Raymond Roupen		(4)	intrusive?

2. *Al-Mina Hoard*

D. Allen, "Coins of Antioch, etc., from al-Mina," *NC,* 5th ser., XVII (1937), pp. 200-210, pl. X.

Found on the site of classical Posidium in Syria, the hoard consists of 38 Medieval and Crusader coins. It was deposited no earlier than 1226, and more likely was hidden between *ca.* 1230 and 1235. Consists of Antioch Bohemond III, IV, and V deniers.

Type 1		(3)
Type 2 & 3		(3)
Type 4 including 4/5 mule		(4)
Type 5		(3)
Type 6		(15)
Irregular Type 1*		(1)
Irregular Type 2*		(2)
Irregular Type 3*, incl. 2*/3* mule		(2)
Raymond Roupen		(2)
Armenia: Hetoum I (1226-70)		(1)
France: Guillaume de Déols (1203-33)		(1)
Sidon: Anonymous		(1)

3. *Antioch Hoard (1875)*

D.M. Metcalf, *NC*, 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 258. G. Schlumberger, "Monnaies des princes chretiens d'Orient a l'epoque des Croisades," *Revue archeologique*, XIV (1875).

Schlumberger originally described the hoard, discovered near Antioch sometime prior to 1875, as containing a few coins of Raymond Roupen and one of King Levon I of Armenia along with other "helmeted head" coins.

4. *Antioch Hoard (1966)*

P.Z. Bedoukian, *NC*, 7th ser., VII (1967), p. 189. D.M. Metcalf, *NC*, 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 260.

Said to have been discovered in 1966 in the vicinity of Antioch, the hoard consists entirely of "helmeted head" coins, except for one Armenian coin of Levon I (Antioch, no. 33). In all, there were 845 coins.

5. *Djebail Hoard*

G. Schlumberger, *RN*, 4th ser., XI (1907), p. 282. Also see J. Duplessy and D.M. Metcalf, *RBN*, CVIII (1962), pp. 206-07: and J. Yvon, *RN*, 6th ser.,VIII (1966), p. 96.

Said to have been found near Tripoli in Lebenon in 1902, the hoard was evidently deposited between circa 1230 and 1235, and it contains approximately 120 billon deniers, among which are recognizable:

Viviers		(1)
Tripoli:	Bohemond IV, V, VI, VII	(33)
Jerusalem:	Aimery	(7)
	John de Brienne	(6)
Cyprus:	Hugh I	(5)
	Henry I	(14)
Sidon:	Anonymous	(6)

6. *Izmir Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *HBN*, VII (1968-69), p. 459, and *NC*, 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 260.

This hoard is part of a larger hoard purchased in Izmir in 1968. It contains 47 coins. A selection was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum.

Lucca	(36)
Valence	(7)
Melle	(2)
Antioch: helmeted head type	(1)
Frankish Greece: William de la Roche	(1)

7. *Kessab Hoard*

H. Longuet, *RN*, 4th ser., XXXVIII (1935), pp. 163-81, pl. VI. Also see J. Duplessy and D.M. Metcalf, *RBN*, CVIII (1962), pp. 205-07.

Most of the hoard was acquired in 1932, just after it had come to light near Kessab, a large town near the mouth of the Orontes River. The hoard consists of 302 French deniers and 715 deniers from Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus. Its date of deposit is *ca. 1225.*

France:	Philip II (1080-1223)	(3)
	Bretagne (1171-86)	(1, or more)
	Déols (1160-1236)	(3, or more)
	Burgundy: Hugh (1162-1315)	(74, immobilized)
	Poitou: Richard	(1, or more)
	Celles	(1, or more)
	Laon: Roger and Philip II (1180-01)	(1, or more)
	Saint-Aig	(1, or more)
	Troyes: Henri I, II (1152-97)	(1, or more)
	Romorantin: Thibaut V	(1, or more)
	Nevers: Hervé (1199-1223)	(1, or more)
	Montluçon: Guy (1201-13)	(1, or more)
	Vendôme: Jean	(1, or more)
	Penthiévre	(most numerous of the hoard)
	Anjou	(1, or more)
	Gien	(1, or more)
	Vierzon	(1, or more)
	Valence	(1, or more)
Jerusalem:	Aimery	(263)
	John de Brienne	(82)
Beirut:	John d'Ibelin	(3)
Tripoli:	Raymond II or III	(99)
Cyprus:	Guy de Lusignan	(20)
	Anonymous denier	(1)
	Hugh I	(240)
	Henry I	(7)

8. *Lambros Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *NC,* 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 258. P. Lambros, *Mélanges de numismatique,* I (1874-75), p. 362.

The hoard of 300 "helmeted head" coins consist of 9 coins of Raymond Roupen, including 7 varieties. Lambros selected 18 of the coins inscribed in the name of Bohemond for publication in 1875.

9. *Necklace*

D.M. Metcalf, *ANSMN,* 20 (1975), pp. 139ff.

Povenance unknown, but it seems to reveal the circulating medium of Syria during the early twelfth century. It consists of 17 French and Italian deniers. Location: Kadman Numismatic Museum, Tel Aviv.

Chartres	(12)
LeMans	(2)
Melle	(1)
Rheims: Eudes II (1019-37)	(1)
Pavia: Otto I or II (962-67)	(1)

10. *Ras Shamra Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *HBN,* VII (1968-69), pp. 462-66, *NC,* 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 260.

The hoard was discovered in the castle of Ras Shamra, 12 km. north of Lattaqiyah, and consists of 251 coins of Lucca, 58 of Valence, 76 "bare head" and 104 "helmet head" coins of Antioch, and 52 English "short-cross" pennies. Eight miscellaneous and 6 gold coins are reported to have originally been found with the hoard, of which two were intrusive Spanish sixteenth century gold pieces, one a late Venetian type, and one a fourteenth century bolognino of Ancona. The remaining four gold coins are a one-third dinar *(sic)* of al-Amir, a one-third dinar of Saladin, a dinar of al-Mansur, and a Crusader bezant, according to Metcalf. The other coins were seven of Cilician Armenia and ten billon deniers of French feudal or Crusader mints. The approximately 180 coins of Antioch are broken down below, followed by other mints:

Antioch:	Raymond de Poitiers, bare head	(1)
	Bohemond III, bare head	(70)
	Bohemond III, IV, and V, helmeted head	
	Type with head facing r.	(2)
	Type 5	(5, including 3 mules)
	Type 1	(66)
	Type 3	(10)
	Type 4	(10)
	Irregular Type 3*	(3)
	Type 6	(1)
Jerusalem:	Amaury or Aimery	(1)
	Guy de Lusignan	(1)
	Henry de Champagne	(1)
	John de Brienne	(2)
Cyprus:	Henry I (1218-53), Genoese gateway type	(2)
France:	Dijon	(1)
	Melgueil	(1)
	Meaux	(1)

11. *Samos Hoard*

J. Duplessy and D.M. Metcalf, *RBN,* CVII (1962), pp. 173-207. W. Schwabacher, "Zwei Denarfunde von ostgriechischen," *Deutsche Munzen,* LV (1935), pp. 454-60.

The hoard is said to have been deposited between the years 1170 and 1185, probably around 1182. It was discovered on the island of Samos and originally consisted of 435 coins. Location: Athens Museum (44 specimens).

	RBN	*DM*
France:		
Gien-Donzy: Geoffrey III (1120-60ff)	(7)	(29)
Burgundy: Eudes II (1143-62)	(3)	(23)
Auxerre	(1)	(1)
Tonnerre	(1)	(1)
Troyes: Henri I and II (1152-97)	(2)	(3)
Provins: same rulers	(3)	(21)
Meaux: Stephen (1162-71)	(1)	(1)
Tours	(3)	(111)
Anjou	(3)	(113)

Penthiévre	(1)	(3)
Souvigny: before 1213	(5)	(22)
Bourbon	(2)	(2)
Vienne	(1)	(1)
Savoie: Amadeus III (1108-48ff)	(2)	(7)
Melgeuil (including one obole)	(4)	(89)
Genoa	(1)	(1)
Antioch:		
Bohemond III (1163-1201)	(1)	(1)
Jerusalem:		
Baldwin III (1143-63)	(1)	(1)
Amaury	(2)	(5)

12. *Subak Hoard (1968)*

D.M. Metcalf, *NC,* 7th ser., IX (1969), p. 260, *HBN,* VII (1968-69), pp. 460-61.

The hoard consists of 23 "helmeted head" coins, 256 coins of Lucca, 121 of Valence 83 of Melle, 12 of Chartres, and 2 of Le Mans.

Antioch: Bohemond III, IV, and V, helmet head	
Type 1	(4)
Type 3	(3)
Type 4	(1)
Type 5	(2)
Irregular Type 3*	(3)
Type 4/5 mule	(1)
Type 6 (Late type)	(5)
Raymond Roupen	(4)
Unidentified	(1)

13. *Tripoli Hoard*

D.H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard,* ANSNNM, no. 43, (New York, 1930). Also see J. Duplessy and D.M. Metcalf, *RBN,* CVII (1962), pp. 204-05.

The hoard is said to have been discovered at Tripoli in Syria at the foot of Mt. Lebanon in about 1929. The probable burial date was *ca.* 1222. The hoard consisted of about 3500 silver and billon pieces. Location: A.N.S.

France:	
Philip II (1180-1223)	(1 obole)
Bittany, Rennes: Alain, Conan, Geoffrey (1084-1186)	(8)
Guincamp: rulers of Penthievre (1093-1205)	(1046)
Anjou (1040-*ca.*1246)	(127)
Chartres	(2 oboles)
Châteaudun	(1)
Deols: Raoul VI-Guillaume I (1160-1223)	(32)
Issoudun: Raoul II-Guillaume I (1127-1223)	(3)
House of Donzy: Hervé III (1160-94)	(259)
Saint-Aignan	(6)
Celles and Mehun	(6)
Remorantin	(2)

	Vierzon	(3)
	Château-Meillant	(2)
	Priory of Souvegny	(1)
	Auxerre	(1)
	Nevers	(16)
	Montluçon	(18)
	Poitou: Richard Coeur de Lion (1169-96)	(66)
	Aquitaine: Richard Coer de Lion	(11)
	La Marche: Hugues IX (1199-1219)	(6)
	Mauléon	(2)
	Périgord	(1)
	Besançon	(1)
	Burgandy: Dijon	(180)
	Abbé de St. Medard	(2)
	Valois	(1)
Swabia:	Otto IV (1198-1218)	(1)
Italy:	Asti (*ca.* 1200)	(1)
	Sicily: Henry VI (1193-97)	(1)
	Sicily: Frederick II	(1)
Cyprus:	Guy	(186)
	Uncertain	(2)
	Aimery	(11)
	Hugh I, Class I	(63)
	Class II	(588)
	Class III	(248)
	Class IV	(280)
Jerusalem:	Baldwin III	(1)
	Aimery	(652)
	John de Brienne	(206)
Beirut:	John d'Ibelin	(21)
Antioch:	Bohemond III	(3)
Tripoli		(1)
Ayyūbid:	Mayafarikin	(1)

14. *Aleppo Hoard*

Said to have been found near Aleppo, the hoard was studied by George Miles from photographs and published in his "Some Hoards of Crusader Bezants," *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), p. 191.

Ayyūbid dinar of al-'Azīz 'Uthmān	(Cairo)	(1)
BY 20	(Tyre)	(8)
BY 25	(Acre)	(7)
BY	(Acre)	(8)

15. *Amwas el-Qubeibeh Hoard*

P.B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni* ... (Jerusalem, 947), pp. 259-60, p. 64. G.C. Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), pp. 189-90.

Said to have been found as a hoard in the excavations of Amwas el-Qubeibeh and

the surrounding area northwest of Jerusalem, it contains 8 imitations of the bezant of al-Amir (BY 27) and of 7 cuttings of gold coins with Latin legends.

16. *ANS Hoard*

P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Deux trésors de monnaies d'or des Croisés," *ANSMN,* 11 (1964), pp. 301-02. G. C. Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), pp. 189 *passim.* Location: A.N.S. (acc. no. 59.203)

BY 25	(Acre)	(10)
BY 27	(Acre)	(5, with some combinatons of nos. 4 and 5 on obv. and rev.)

17. *Bedoukian Hoard A*

G.C. Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), pp. 191-92. Unknown provenance.

BY 20	(Tyre)	(5)
BY 26	(Acre)	(1)
BY 23-24	(Tyre)	(1)
BY 27b	(Acre)	(2)
BY 29	(Acre)	(1)

18. *Bedoukian Hoard B*

G.C. Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), pp. 192-93.

Said to have been uncovered in a small village near Tyre in 1965, the hoard consists of 15 Crusader dinars.

BY 20	(Tyre)	(6)
BY 25	(Acre)	(9)

19. *Bedoukian Hoard C*

G.C. Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), pp. 194.

Said to have been discovered near Marash in 1965, the hoard contains 25 pieces.

BY 23-24	(Tyre)	(1)
BY 27-33	(Acre)	(1)
BY 27		(1)
BY 28		(8)
BY 29		(3)
BY 32		(1)
Latin gold fragments (Jerusalem)		(10)

20. *Grierson Hoard*

P. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant with the *Christus Vincit* Legend," *ANSMN,* 6 (1954), p. 174. G.C.Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), p.190. The integrity of the hoard is uncertain. Location: A.N.S.

BY 5	(Antioch)	(8)
BY 40	(Acre)	(4)
BY 15	(Tripoli)	(3)

BY 14	(Tripoli)	(9)
BY 17	(Uncertain)	(6)
Agnus Dei	(Uncertain)	(1)

Also, another hoard reconstructed by Grierson consisting of 3 bezants:

BY 40	(Acre)	(1)
BY 14	(Tripoli)	(1)
Agnus Dei	(Uncertain)	(1)

21. *Lattaqiyah Hoard*

P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Deux tresors..... *ANSMN,* 11 (1964), pp. 295-301. G.C. Miles, *ANSMN,* 13 (1967), p. 194.

Said to have been discovered in Lattaqiyah, the hoard consists of 41 gold bezants. Metcalf has dated this hoard to the twelfth century and has reattributed the five coins thought to have been genuine Fatimid coins to the Crusaders (see Chapter III *supra*).

Imitations of al-Āmir	(5)
BY 25	(12)
BY 27 & 30	(13)
Sulayhid imitations	(11)

CYPRUS

22. *Arnadhi Hoard*

Arthur J. Seltman, "Appendix II: The Monagri Hoard," *DOP*, XXVIII (1974), p. 347, note 3.

The hoard is said to have been found at Arnadhi, near Famagusta, in 1946. It is said to have been contained in a shallow cup or bowl, but no further details are known. At least 66 deniers of Janus are included in the hoard, which, according to some notes compiled by the late professor J.R. Stewart, has not been fully sorted.

23. *Dherinia Hoard*

A.J. Seltman, *DOP*, XXVIII (1974), pp. 347-48, note 4.

This hoard was found in 1946 among house ruins at Halasmata, but no further details are available. The hoard consists of 60 recorded gros and half-gros. The information was compiled from notes of the late J.R. Stewart.

Henry II (1285-1306)		
	gros with no mint mark	(7)
	gros with star on l.	(3)
	gros with rosette on r.	(1)
	half-gros, no mint mark	(1)
Hugh IV (1324-59)		
	gros with no mm.	(11)
	half-gros, no mm.	(1)
	gros with B on l.	(6)

gros with B on l.	(8)
Peter I (1359-82)	
gros, no mm.	(7)
half-gros, no mm.	(1)
gros, bird on l., cross on throne.	(5)
Peter II (1369-82)	
gros, no mm.	(5)
half-gros, no mm.	(3)

24. *Dolley Hoard*

R.H.M. Dolley, "A Presumed Hoard of Lusignan Deniers from Cyprus," *NC*, 6th ser., VIII (1953), pp. 158-61.

This presumed hoard consists of 79 late medieval billon coins, 78 being Cypriote deniers; the remaining coin belonging to Pope John XXII (1316-34, "Avignon Captivity"). The original provenance is unrecoverable, but presumably Cypriote.

Henry II (1285-1306 and 1306-24)	(21)
Hugh IV (1324-59)	(2)
James I (1382-98)	(45)
James I (?) abbreviated legends	(1)
Janus (1398-1432)	
(star in 2nd and 4th quarters)	(4)
(star in 1st and 3rd quarters)	(1)
	(1)
Anonymous	(3)

25. *Galini Hoard*

Arthur J. Seltman, "Appendix II: The Monagri Hoard," *DOP*, XXVIII (1974), p. 347, note 4.

The hoard is said to have been discovered in 1945 somewhere in the area of Galini, near Seros. Approximately 600 coins are said to have been contained in a jar. Of the 600, the Cyprus Museum has 341 coins, all gros of Henry II (74), Hugh IV (192), Peter I (40), and Peter II (35). The late J.R. Stewart also reported that six gros of Amalric were also included.

26. *Kouklia Hoard*

A.J. Seltman, "Appenedix II: The Monagri Hoard," p. 347, note 4.

This hoard is said to have been discovered in 1937 near the church of Agias Epiphanios at the east end of Kouklia village. It was contained in two pottery jars placed close together and consisted of from two to three thousand silver Lusignan coins of Henry II, Hugh IV, Peter I, and Peter II. Two hundred of these were seen by the late J.R. Stewart, whose notes have helped to reconstruct the hoard. No foreign coins were reported to have been included in the hoard.

27. *Monagri Hoard*

A.J. Seltman, "Appendix II: The Monagri Hoard," *DOP*, XXVIII (1974), pp. 347-49.

The hoard was discovered in the apse of the Church of the Panagia Amasgou at

Monagri, Cyprus. A bronze bowl contained the hoard, consisting of 824 Lusignan Cypriot coins and 10 other coins. Location: Cyprus Museum (822 coins), no. 1960/VIII-27/1.

AR Gros and Half-gros

Henry II (1285-1306)
half-gros (1)
Hugh IV (1324-59)
half-gros (1)
Peter I (1359-69)
half-gros (1)
John II (1432-58)
gros (2)
Louis of Savoy (1459-58)
gros (4)

Billon and Copper Coins

Henry I (1218-53)
denier (1)
Henry II (1285-1306)
denier (107)
Hugh IV (1324-59)
denier (10)
James I (1382-98)
carzia (220)
Janus (1398-1432)
carzia (305)
James I or Janus
carzia (50)
Anonymous (Janus?)
carzia (78)
Famagusta:
denaro (5)
Rhodes (14th cent.):
denier (3)
Venice:
Cantarini, tornesello (2)

28. *Morphou Hoard*

T. J. Chamberlayne, *Le tresor du Morf* (London, 1906).

The hoard was discovered in 1904 and contained 2,076 silver coins. It was incompletely published.

29. *Stavrokono Hoard*

Unpublished, except for notice of its existence by A.J. Seltman, *DOP*, XXVIII (1974), p. 347, note 3.

Said to have been discovered in March, 1947, in the Paphos district, in an area called Alonia, the hoard was buried in a cavity cut into the side of a dromos and closed in with a stone slab placed vertically against the hole. The hoard was discovered in a red clay pot containing four gold zecchini, two silver spoons, and *circa* 800 silver Lusignan and Venetian

coins. Ninty-one of the latter coins are in the Cyprus Museum. Some of the silver coins, excepting the Venetian pieces (which date from the reign of doge A. Vendramin to that of Nicolo Tron), are listed here. The hoard has been compiled from notes made on 121 coins seen and classified by the late J.R. Stewart. He also saw three of the four zecchini, which belonged to Michael Steno (1400-13), Francesco Foscari (1423-57), and Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501). *All issues are gros unless otherwise specified.*

Henry II (1285-1306)		(2)
Hugh IV (1324-59)		(5)
	half-gros	(2)
Peter I (1359-69)		(5)
Peter II (1369-82)		(2)
James I (1382-98)		(2)
Janus (1398-1432)		(6)
	half-gros	(1)
John II (1432-58)		(17)
Louis of Savoy (1459-60)		(19)
Charlotte (1448-59)		(5)
James II (1460-73)		(8)
Catherine and James III (1473-74)		(3)
Catherine (1473-89)		(8)

FRANKISH GREECE

30. *Aegean Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, "The currency of *Deniers Tournois* in Frankish Greece," *ABSA,* LV (1960), pp. 56-57.

An unknown locale, said to have been discovered in 1858, and to have been deposited between 1325 and 1340, this hoard consisted of coins which Schlumberger and Lambros knew. The hoard consisted of the excessively rare billon denier of Damala and some pieces from Chios after *ca.* 1320.

31. *Atalandhi Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 56.

Said to have been uncovered in 1940 and to have been deposited between 1325 and 1330, it consists of Frankish deniers. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:	(175)
Athens:	(76)
Epirus:	(19)
Arta:	(4)
Chios: Schl. XIII,32	(1)
Unidentifiable	(13)

32. *Attica (?) Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), pp. 55-56. See also *BCH* (1952), p. 205.

Said to have been found in 1951 and to have been deposited between 1318 and 1320, it contains billon deniers of Provence and Frankish Greece. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Charles I of Anjou	(2)
Alphonse de Poitiers	(1)
Achaea:	(107)
Athens:	(66)
Epirus:	(31)
Neopatras:	(2)
Unidentifiable	(2)

33. *Attica Hoard II*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 56. See *BCH* (1951), 105.

Said to have been uncovered in 1950 and to have been deposited between 1318 and 1325. It contains only billon deniers tournois of Frankish Greece. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection, since 1951.

Achaea:	(6)
Athens:	(7)
Epirus:	(5)
Neopatras:	(1)
Unidentifiable	(1)

34. *Berbati Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, "The Berbati Hoard, 1953: *Deniers Tournois* and Sterlings from the Frankish Morea," *NC,* 7th ser., XIV (1974), pp. 119-24.

Discovered in 1953 in the Swedish excavations at Berbati, a village located a few kilometers south-east of Mycenae in the Argolid, the hoard contains 11 billon deniers and two English short-cross pennies.

Tours, before *ca.* 1214	(2)
Louis VIII (1223-24) or IX (1226-70)	(7)
Charles I of Anjou, after 1249	(1)
Alfonse de Poitiers, after 1249	(1)
Short-cross pennies	(2)

35. *Caparelli Hoard*

D. Cox, *The Caparelli Hoard,* ANSNNM, no. 43 (New York, 1930).

The hoard is said to have been discovered in Greece in 1927 and to have been deposited between about 1356 and 1363.

Achaea:	(47)
Athens:	(5)
Epirus:	(1)
Venice, soldini: F. Dandolo (1329-39)	(45, of which 28 may be Achaean copies)

	Gradenigo (1339-43)	(10, of which 7 may be Achaean copies)
	A. Dandolo (1343-54)	(13, of which 2 are of the larger, later type)
	G. Dolfin (1356-61)	(2)
Uncertain Venetian		(1)
Sicily:	Frederick III (1355-77)	(1)

36. *Corinth Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 54. *Cf.* K.M. Edwards, *Corinth: Results of Excavations..., VI: Coins, 1896-1929* (Cambridge, 1933).

Discovered 1934, said to have been deposited 1253-70. Location: Corinth Museum.

Abbatial Tours, 12th-13th century		(66)
France:	Philip Augustus (1180-1223)	(30)
	Louis VIII (1223-26)	(42)
	Louis IX (1226-70)	(192)
Alphonse de Poitiers (1249-71): in Provence		(21)
	in Poitou	(2)
	in Toulouse	(2)
	in Riom	(5)
Charles I of Anjou: in Provence (1246-1285)		(9)
England:	short-cross pennies (1180-1247)	(10)
Venice:	Tiepolo, Morosini, Zeno (1229-1268)	(7)
Champagne		(1)
John III Vatatzes of Nicaea (1222-54)		(1)

37. *Delphi Hoard (1894 A)*

D.M.Metcalf, *ABSA*, LV (1960), p. 58. *Cf.* E. Caron, "Trouvailles de monnaies du moyen age à Delphes," *BCH* (1897), pp. 26 ff.

The hoard is thought to have been concealed between 1400 and 1420. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:	(807)
Athens:	(413)
Uncertain of Achaea and Athens	(20)
Epirus:	(201)
Neopatras:	(5?)
Arta:	(1)
Chios: Schl. XIII,32	(1)
Forgeries	(6)
Venice, soldini: F. Dandolo through Steno (1329-1414)	(2,388)
Byzantine Empire: Manuel III (1309-1417)	(1)

38. *Delphi Hoard (1894 B)*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 56. Cf. E. Caron, *BCH,* (1397), p. 26 ff., for detailed discussion.

Said to have been found in 1894, and to have been deposited between 1325 and 1340, the hoard consists of French deniers, Frankish deniers of Greece, and two Frankish copper coins. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:			(1,539)
Athens:			(716)
Epirus:			(251)
Neopatras:			(11)
Arta:			(1)
Chios: Schl. XIII,32			(1)
Tenos:			(1)
Karytaena:			(1)
Unidentifiable			(2)
Forgeries			(4)
Louis VIII and IX (1223-70)			(2)
Charles I of Anjou (1246-85)			(5)
Alphonse de Poitiers in Toulouse (1249-71)			(1)

39. *Delphi Hoard (1894Γ)*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 57. *Cf.* E. Caron, *BCH* (1897), pp. 26 ff.

Said to have been excavated in 1894 and to have been deposited between 1339 and 1344, this hoard consists of Frankish deniers and Venetian soldini. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:			(156)
Athens:			(76)
Epirus:			(31)
Neopatras:			(1)
Unidentifiable			(1)
Venice, soldini	F. Dandolo (1329-39)	(9)	
	Gradenigo (1339-43)	(2)	

40. *Delphi Hoard (1929)*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 55. *Cf. BCH* (1929), p. 492, and *corrigendum in BCH* (1930), p. 456.

Said to have been discovered in 1929 and to have been deposited *ca.*1311, contains billon deniers of Frankish Greece and coins of Venice and Serbia. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:			(227)
Athens:			(247)
Epirus:			(79)
Neopatras:			(3)
Venice:			(82)
	Zeno	(2)	
	Tiepolo	(6)	
	Contarini	(6)	
	F. Dandolo	(10)	
	Gradenigo	(58)	
Serbia: Dragutin and Milutin			(18)

41. *Delphi Hoard (1933)*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 54.

Said to have been found in 1933 and to have been deposited between 1301 and 1305, it contains billon deniers tournois and Venetian and Serbian grossi. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:	(15)
Athens:	(18)
Epirus:	(5)
Serbia: Milutin (1282-1321)	(1)
Venice: Tiepolo (1228-49) - Gradenigo (1289-1311)	(18)

42. *Elatia Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 57. Cf. *BCH* (1885), p. 40.

Said to have been discovered before 1885 in the floor of the Panaghia Church. The date of deposit was between 1328 and 1342. The hoard consists of 138 deniers tournois of Frankish Greece and 22 billon soldini of Venice.

43. *Eleusis Hoard (1864)*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p.55. Cf. also F. Lenormant, *RN*(1864), pp.37ff.

The hoard is said to have been discovered in 1862 in a clay pot and to have been deposited *ca.*1311. It contains billon deniers and silver grossi of France and Sicily. The quantities of individual types are not stated, but it is reported to have, contained 1,076 coins. Location: dispersed.

Achaea:	(quantity not reported)
Athens:	(quantity not reported)
Epirus:	(quantity not reported)
Neopatras:	(quantity not reported)
Manfred of Epirus (1254-66): *cf.* Saulcy, XVIII,4	(1)
France: Philip IV (1285-1314), gros tournois	(175)
Sicily: Frederick of Aragon (1296-1337), grossi	(100)

44. *Aleusis Hoard (1953)*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 57, where he also mentions that a notice of the hoard appeared in *BCH* (1953), p. 794.

The hoard is said to have been discovered near Eleusis in 1952; it is said to have consisted of 1,018 billon soldini and about half as many deniers tournois.

Achaea:	(342)
Athens:	(110)
Epirus:	(52)
Neopatras:	(3)
Tenos:	(1)
Unidentifiable	(48)

45. *Kapandriti Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA*, LV (1960), p. 58. Also see *BCH* (1924), p. 451.
Said to have been discovered in 1924, the hoard consists of 750 deniers tournois.

46. *Orion Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA*, LV (1960), p. 56. *Cf.* I. Varoukha-Kristosoulopoulou, *BCH* (1960).

Said to have been found near Avlonarion, Greece in 1959 and to have been deposited between 1320 and 1325, it contains billon deniers. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Charles I of Anjou	(1)
Achaea:	(330)
Athens:	(183)
Epirus:	(59)
Neopatras:	(2)
Chios: Schl. XIII,32	(1)
Unidentifiable	(8)

47. *Patras Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA*, LV (1960), p. 57, from a notice that the hoard had been uncovered in *BCH* (1956), pp. 228-9.

The hoard appears to have been concealed between *ca.* 1343 and 1355, according to Metcalf, before the reformed soldini of Venice of 1353 began to circulate in Greece. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:		(106)
Athens:		(22)
Epirus:		(15)
Neopatras:		(1)
Arta:		(2)
Tenos:		(1)
Unidentifiable		(7)
Venice, soldini: Dandolo (1329-39)		(110)
Gradenigo (1339-43)		(17)
A. Dandolo (1343-54), large type	(23)	

48. *Peloponnese Hoard of Uncertain Location*

D. M. Metcalf, *ABSA*, LV (1960), p. 58. E. Caron, *BCH* (1897), pp. 26ff.

This hoard is said to have been discovered in 1849 at an unknown location in the Peloponnese, and to have been concealed between *ca.* 1350 and *ca.* 1400. Its content is similar to that of the Delphi Hoard of 1898 (A). It contains thousands of deniers tournois and billon soldini.

49. *Sierck Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 39.

This hoard, discovered in Moselle, may date to the period from *ca.* 1294 to 1299.

Achaea:	(34)
Athens:	(4)
Epirus:	(1)
Karytaena:	(2)

50. *Tatoi Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960), p. 55. Also see Lenormant, *RN* (1864), p. 51.

The hoard is said to have been discovered about 1860 and to have been deposited between 1307 and 1316, perhaps about 1311. It contains 400 deniers tournois, the latest being of Philip of Taranto and Guy II.

51. *Tritaea Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV (1960) p. 56. Acquisition notice, *BCH* (1934), p. 236.

Said to have been uncovered in 1933, and to have been deposited between 1320 and 1335, it consists of only Frankish deniers. Its findspot is unknown. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

Achaea:	(41)
Athens:	(16)
Epirus:	(9)
Unidentifiable	(6)

52. *Xirokhori Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LV, p. 54. I. Varoukha-Khristodoulopoulou, *BCH,* (1958), p. 654.

The hoard is said to have been discovered in 1957 near Zahkaro, Greece. It is thought to have been deposited between 1285-1287. Location: Greek National Numismatic Collection.

France:	Louis VIII and IX	(7)
	Philip III	(1)
	Alphonse de Poitiers, Toulouse	(7)
	Poitou	(3)
	Raymond VII of Provence	(25)
Frankish Greece: Achaea:		(1,762)
	Athens:	(633)
Venice:	Morosini	(1)
	Zeno	(1)

LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

53. *Arcadia Hoard*

A.R. Bellinger and D.M. Metcalf, *NC,* 6th ser., XIX (1959), pp. 155-64. *Coinage and money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261* (Washington, D.C., 1969), pp. 325-26.

Said to have been found in 1958 and to have consisted of 204 "bronze" cup-shaped coins.

Byzantine:	Adnronicus I	(1)
	Isaac II	(70)
	Alexius III	(42)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(37)
	Type B	(?)
	Type C	(7)
Large Module Latin Imitative,	Constantinople, Type A	(4)
	Thessalonica, Type B	(2)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(35)
	Type D	(1)

54. *Assenovgrad Hoard*

T. Gerrassimov, *IAI,* XXVI (1963), p. 257; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 326-27.

Said to have been found in 1960, it consists of 175 billon trachea and 5 copper tetartera. Location: Assenovgrad, Arcliaeological Museum.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(4)
	Andronicus I	(3)
	Isaac I	(40)
	Alexius III	(*ca.* 52 identifiable)
"Bulgarian imitative"	Type A	(21)
	Type B	(17)
	Type C	(*ca.* 21)
Large Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(1)
	Type D	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(13)
Nicaea	Theodore I Lascaris, Type A (Nicaea)	(2)
Thessalonica	Manuel I, AE tetartera (Thessalonica)	(5)

55. *Brauron Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *NC,* 7th ser., IV (1964), pp.257-58; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp.330-1.

Said to have been discovered in 1956, it consists of 205 "bronze folles" of John II, Manuel I, Andronicus I, and Isaac II, together with one cup-shaped coin. In reality, 205 copper tetartera and half-tetartera; one billon trachy, perhaps small module Constantinopolitan Type A, no. 1. Location: Athens, Greece.

56. *Brestovo Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI,* XX (1955), p. 606.

Said to have been found in 1953, it consists of 1,620 billon trachea: Manuel I (36), Andronicus I (8), Isaac II (290), Alexius III (370), and the rest as broken down *infra.* Location: Blagoevgrad, Archaelogical Museum.

"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(386)
	Type B	(157)

Type C	(267)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A	(21)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A	(78)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(1)
Unidentifiable	(6)

57. *Byaga Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI*, XXV (1962), p. 229. M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 333-34.

Said to have been found in 1959, the hoard consists of *ca.* 463 billon trachea. Location: Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum.

Manuel I (1), Isaac II (1), Alexius III (24).

"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A	(6)
Type B	(8)
Type C	(67)
Large Module Latin Imitative	
Constantinople: Type A	(32)
Type B	(2)
Type C	(1)
Thessalonica: Type A	(4)
Type B	(4, incl. 1 overstruck on preceding type)
Small Module Latin Imitative	
Type A	(214)
Type B	(14)
Type C	(7)
Type D	(22)
Type E	(14)
Type F	(10)
Type G	(18)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(2)
Unidentifiable	(*ca.* 12 fragments and clipped pieces)

58. *Corinth III Hoard*

H.S. Robinson, *Hesperia*, XLIII (1939), pp. 268-77; Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 335. Found in 1960, consists of one anonymous copper follis and 22 billon trachea. Location: Corinth, Greece.

Byzantine Anonymous Follis, Type J	(1)
"Bulgarian Imitative" Trachea, Type B	(1)
Small module Latin Imitative, Type A, no. 1	(14)
Type D	(2)
Type E	(2)
Type F	(2)
Type G	(1)

59. *Dolni Vurbishta Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 335-36.

The date it was found seems to be unknown. Ninety-nine billon trachea. Location:

Turnovo, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum.

Byzantine:	Manuel I	(7)
	Andronicus I	(1)
	Isaac II	(28)
	Alexius III	(33)
"Bulgarian Imitative":	Type A	(4)
	Type B	(15)
	Type C	(8)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Thessalonica,	Type B	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(1)
	Type E	(1)

60. *Dorkovo Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IBAI,* XIV (1940-42), pp. 282-83; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 336-38.

Said to have been found in 1940, the hoard consists of 3 kilograms of "copper" coins of Andronicus I, Alexius III, and Manuel of Thessalonica; 132 identifiable pieces. Location: Pazardzhik, Archaeological Museum.

Byzantine:	Manuel I	(2)
	Isaac II	(2)
	Alexius III	(1)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(1)
	Type B	(1)
	Type C	(1)
Large Module Latin Imitative		
Constantinople:	Type C	(2, clipped)
	Type D	(5, clipped)
	Type H	(3, clipped)
	Type P	(4)
	Type R	(4)
	Type T	(3)
Thessalonica:	Type A	(4)
	Type C	(3, clipped)
Small Module Latin Imitative		
	Type A	(64)
	Type D	(8)
	Type E	(2)

Hendy's "series III," Small Module Imitations of the coinage of Thessalonica under Greek control.

	Type E	(1)
	Type H	(1)
	Type J	(2)
	Type K	(2)
	Type O	(2)
	Type P	(1)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(2)
Theodore Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica,	Type G	(1)
Manuel Comnenus-Ducas		

Type F	(2, one clipped)
Type G	(2, one clipped)
John III Vatatzes, Thessalonica, Type K	(5)
AE Half Tetarteron of John Comnenus-Ducas	(11)

61. *Dumbarton Oaks I Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 339.

Said to have been found in central Yugoslavia; 101 billon trachea. Location: Dumbarton Oaks.

"Bulgarian Imitative," Type C	(2)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A	(3)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A	(82)
Type C	(1)
Type D	(4)
Type E	(1)
Type F	(1)
Type G	(7)

62. *Dumbarton Oaks II Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 336-40.

Said to have been found in central Yugoslavia. Location: Dumbarton Oaks.

Byzantine, Alexius III	(1)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A	(1)
Type B	(2)
Type C	(26)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople: Type A	(20)
Type B	(1, clipped)
Thessalonica: Type A	(6, one clipped)
Type B	(17)
Type C	(5, three clipped)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A	(64)
Type B	(1)
Type C	(2)
Type D	(15)
Type F	(2)
Type G	(4)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(3)

63. *Dumbarton Oaks III Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 340-41.

Said to have been found in central Yugoslavia; 369 billon trachea. Location: Dumbarton Oaks.

Byzantine Manuel I	(3)
Isaac II	(1)
Alexius III	(3)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A	(6)

	Type B	(2)
	Type C	(53)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople: Type A		(7)
	Type B	(1, clipped)
	Type C	(3, clipped)
	Type D	(1, clipped)
	Type P	(1, clipped)
Thessalonica: Type A		(4)
	Type B	(1)
	Type C	(2, clipped)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(198)
	Type B	(9)
	Type C	(4)
	Type D	(20)
	Type E	(6)
	Type F,	(2)
	Type G	(26)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(7)
Unidentifiable		(9)

64. *General Nikolaevo Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI*, XXVI (1963), pp. 257-58; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 342-43.

Said to have been found in 1960, it consists of 748 billon trachaea: Manuel I (614), Andronicus I (101), Isaac II (32), large module Latin imitative Constantinople Type A, no. 1 (1). Location: Plovdiv, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum.

65. *Gradevo I Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IBAI*, XI (1937), p. 322; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 345-46.

Said to have been discovered in 1936, it contained *ca.* 200 "copper" cup-shaped coins; 104 billon trachea (part of the original hoard) are broken down here.

Byzantine	John II	(2)
	Manuel I	(87)
	Andronicus I	(4)
	Alexius III	(9)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A		(1)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(1)

66. *Gradevo II Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI*, XXV (1962), p. 226; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 346-47.

Said to have been found in 1958 and to contain 349 "copper" coins. More correctly, it actually contains 351 billon trachea. Location: Blagoevgrad, Archaeological Museum.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(1)
	Andronicus I	(1)
	Isaac II	(56)
	Alexius III	(83)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A		(105)

	Type B	(10)
	Type C	(23)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A		(18)
	Thessalonica, Type A	(2)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(36)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(4)
Unidentifiable		(12)

67. *Istanbul B Hoard*

A.R. Bellinger, *ANSMN 11* (1964), pp, 213-22; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 348-49.

The hoard was found before 1946 and described as consisting of 469 "Copper" cup-shaed coins (i.e. billon trachea). Location: University of Nebraska.

Byzantine	Alexius I	(1)
	John II	(2)
	Manuel I	(4)
	Isaac II	(6)
	Alexius III	(24)
"Bulgarian Imitative" Type A		(26)
Large Module Latin Imitative:		
Constantinople, Type A		(124, but including some Small Module)
	Type B	(58)
	Type O	(1)
Thessalonica, Type A		(2)
	Type B	(4)
Small Module Latin Imitative:		
	Type A	(present, but included with Large Module Type A).
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(195)
	coin from the Magnesia mint	(1)
Unidentifiable		(21)

68. *Kiustendil Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI,* XXVI (1963), p. 259; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 354-55.

Said to have been found in 1960, it consists of 566 billon trachea, plus 34 specimens which remained uncleaned. Location: Kiustendil, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(32)
	Andronicus I	(2)
	Isaac II	(154)
	Alexius III	(183)
"Bulgarian Imitative" Type A		(75)
	Type B	(25)
	Type C	(50)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A		(10)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(34)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(1)
Uncleaned and unidentifiable		(34)

69. *Kiustendi Region Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 355-56.

371 Billon trachea. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(1)
	Isaac II	(9)
	Alexius III	(27)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(183)
	Type B	(80)
	Type C	(14)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(37)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(14)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(4)
Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea		(2)

70. *Korten Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI,* XXVI (1963), p. 259; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 356-57.

Said to have been found in 1960, it consists of 149 billon trachea, according to Hendy. Location: Nova Zagora, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum.

Byzantine	Issac II	(6)
	Alexius III	(12)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(39)
	Type B	(8)
	Type C	(72)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(11)

71. *Kounino I Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI,* XX (1955), p. 610; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 577.

Said to have been discovered in 1954, it consists of 349 billon trachaea, according to Hendy. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Isaac II	(*ca.* 35)
	Alexius III	(*ca.* 98)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(10)
	Type B	(*ca.* 35)
	Type C	(*ca.* 78)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(*ca.* 5)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(*ca.* 88)

72. *Kounino II Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 358.

Location: Prof. Milchev of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia, Bulgaria. 106 billon trachea:

Byzantine	Manuel I	(2)
	Isaac II	(5)
	Alexius III	(3)

"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(10)
	Type B	(6)
	Type C	(47)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(27)
Unidentifiable		(6)

73. *Levkokhori Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA,* LVI (1961), pp. 60-62; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 360-61.

Said to have been found in 1955, it contains 990 "bronze" cup-shaped coins (billon trachea). Location: Athens.

Byzantine	Isaac II	(38)
	Alexius III	(91)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(90)
	Type B and C	(?)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(745)
	Type G	(1?)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(12, but including some Small Module Type G?)
Uncertain and unidentifiable		(13)

74. *Logodash Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI,* XXV (1962), p. 231; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 361-62.

Said to have been discovered in 1959, it consists of 301 billon trachea, according to Hendy, in addition to one small antique copper coin. Location: Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum.

Byzantine	Isaac II	(3)
	Alexius III	(3)
Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus		(1)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(18)
	Type B	(5)
	Type C	(26)
Large Module Latin Imitative,	Constantinople, Type A	(24)
	Type B	(1)
	Thessalonica, Type A	(3)
	Type B	(6, including one overstruck on preceding type)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(161)
	Type B	(7)
	Type C	(4, including two originally of Large Module, but clipped)
	Type D	(13)
	Type E	(4)
	Type F	(6)
	Type G	(13)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(2)
Theodore I Comnenus-Ducas, Type I		(1 specimen, drastically clipped)

75. *Lom A Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI*, XXVII (1964), p. 239; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 362-64.

Found in 1962, it contains 3,633 billon trachea. Location: Professor Milchev of the Kliment Okhridski University, Sofia, Bulgaria

Byzantine	Manuel I	(1)
	Isaac II	(13, including 2 regularly clipped)
	Alexius III	(52)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(245)
	Type B	(146)
	Type C	(687)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(16)
	Type B	(5)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(16)
	Type B	(12)
	Type C	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(866)
	Type D	(3)
	Type E	(15)
	Type G	(15)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(10)
Unidentifiable		(8)

76. *Lom B Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 364-65.

Found at about the same time as the preceding in close proximity, it contains 1,376 billon trachy.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(3, all regularly clipped)
	Andronicus I	(1)
	Isaac II	(35)
	Alexius III	(109)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(70)
	Type B	(24)
	Type C	(46)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(1)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(3)
	Type B	(9?)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(40)
	Type D	(1)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(3)

77. *Loukovo Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*. pp. 365-66.

Location: Sofia, Bulgaria. 974 billon trachea.

Byzantine	John II	(144)
	Manuel I	(363)
	Andronicus I	(52)

	Isaac of Cyprus	(1)
	Isaac III	(237)
	Alexius III	(141)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A		(20)
	Type B	(8)
	Type C	(7)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(1)

78. *Mogilitsa Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IBAI,* XI (1937), p. 316; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 366-67.

Said to have been found in 1934, it contains 23 billon trachea. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

"Bulgarian Imitative," Type C		(1)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type R		(2?, clipped)
	Type P	(1, clipped)
	Type T	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(10)
	Type E	(1)
	Type G	(1)
Manuel Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica, Type F		(1, clipped)
Unidentifiable		(5)

79. *Momin Brod Hoard*

Moushmov, *IBAD,* IV (1914), P. 275; M.Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 367-68.

Said to have been found in 1914, it consists of 106 billon trachea. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	John II	(1)
	Manuel I	(6)
	Isaac II	(95)
	Alexius III	(1)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type B		(1)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A		(1)
Thessalonica, Type B		(1)

80. *Muglizh II Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI,* XXVI (1963), p. 260; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 369-70.

Said to have been found in 1960, it contains 6,923 billon trachea. Location: Stara Zagora, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(2)
	Isaac I	(24)
	Alexius III	(49)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A		(847)
	Type B	(431)
	Type C	(1,887)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A		(171)
	Type B	(7, including one overstruck on Isaac II)

Thessalonica, Type A		(28)
	Type B	(30, including 11 overstruck, 7 apparently on preceding)
	Type C	(4)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(2,462)
	Type B	(124)
	Type D	(106)
	Type E	(168)
	Type F	(3)
	Type G	(151)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(65)
Unidentifiable		(364)

81. *Oustovo Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IBAI*, XI (1937), p. 324; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 374-75.

Said to have been found in 1936, it contains 26 billon trachea. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type B		(2)
	Type D	(1)
	Type O	(3, all clipped)
	Type P	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type B		(3)
	Type F	(1)
Theodore Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica		(1, clipped)
Manuel Comnenus-Ducas		(6, clipped)
John Comnenus-Ducas		(1, clipped)
Series III (Small Module, perhaps Latin?), Type B		(1)
	Type G	(1)
	Type M	(1)
	Type Q	(1)

82. *Ovchartsi Hoard*

T. Gerassimov, *IAI*, XXV (1962), p. 227; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 375-76.

Said to have been discovered in 1958, it consists of 3,151 billon trachea, according to Hendy. Location: Nova Zagora, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(585)
	Andronicus I	(78)
	Isaac II	(2,481)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type B		(2)
	Type C	(2)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(2)

83. *Paros Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA*, LVI (1961), pp. 56-57; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 370-71.

Said to have been found in 1924, it consists of 50 "bronze" cup-shaped coins (billon trachea). Location: Athens, Greece.

Byzantine	Isaac II (or some "Bulgarian Imitative"?)	(10)

	Alexius III (or some "Bulgarian Imitative"?)	(14)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(23)
	Type B	?
	Type C	?
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(1)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(1)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaca		(1)

84. *Pazardzhik Hoard*

T. Gerasimov, *IBAI*, XI (1937), pp. 322-3; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 376-77.

Said to have been discovered in 1936, it originally consisted of 700 cup-shaped coins. Hendy lists 214 billon trachea from the hoard. Location: Pazardzhik, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(1)
	Isaac II	(13)
	Alexius III	(20)
"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(55)
	Type B	(34)
	Type C	(50)
Large Module Latin Imitative		
Constantinople,	Type A	(4)
	Type D	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(17)
Unidentifiable		(19)

85. *Peter and Paul Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen II," *NC*, 7th ser. XIII, (1973), pp. 144-72.

The hoard is said to have been found somewhere in Bulgaria. It contains 1,120 coins, which Metcalf thinks reflect the ccomposition of the currency in the Balkans during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. All the coins are billon trachea of both large and small module. Location: Dispersed.

"Bulgarian Imitative,"	Type A	(2)
	Type B	(4)
	Type C	(71)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type D	(31)
	Types E and K	(5)
	Types E & K var.	(3)
	Type F	(14)
	Type G	(8)
	Type H	(13)
	Type J	(16)
	Types similar to K	
	Emp. enthroned	(9)
	Emp. standing	(1)
	Type N	(4)
	Type O	(11)
	Type O var.	(13)

	Type P	(47)
	Type R	(16)
	Type S	(1)
	Type T	(53)
	Type U	(20)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Uncertain Mint:		
	Type A	(518)
	Type B	(20)
	Type C	(12)
	Type D	(60)
	Type E	(29)
	Type F	(21)
	Type G	(26)
	Series III, Type A	(2)
	Series III, Type F	(2)
	Series III, Type F var.	(1)
	Series III, Type G	(1)
	Series III, Type H	(3)
	Series III, Other types	(21)
Nicaea:	Theodore I	(5)
	John III	(12)
	Theodore II	(4)
Thessalonica:	Theodore Comnenus-Ducas	(10)
	Manuel	(23)
	John III	(8)

86. *Pisaratti Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 378-79.

Only part of the original hoard: 70 billon trachea. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(2)
	Isaac II	(2)
	Alexius III	(8)
"Bulgarian Imitative," Type A		(15)
	Type B	(8)
	Type C	(25)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A		(2?)
	Type D	(1, clipped)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A		(4?)
Manuel Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica		(1)
John III Vatatzes, Thessalonica mint		(1)
Unidentifiable		(1)

87. *Pokrovnik Hoard*

T. Gerasimov, *IAI*, XXVII (1964), pp. 239-40; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 380-81.

Said to have been found in 1962, it contains 488 billon trachea. Location: Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(11)

Andronicus I	(1)
Isaac II	(66)
Alexius I	(98)
"Bulgarian Imitative" Type A	(118)
Type B	(51)
Type C	(85)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A	(18)
Thessalonica, Type A	(1)
Type B	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A	(35)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(3)

88. *Postallar Hoard*

S. McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards*, ANSNNM, no. 67 (New York, 1935), pp. 68-9; M. Hendy *Coinage*, pp. 381-2.

The hoard is said to have consisted of 2 illegible gold coins and 374 billon trachea. Location: Istanbul, Turkey.

Byzantine Alexius III	(31)
Large and Small Module Latin Imitative	
Constantinople, Type A	(192)
Type B	(25)
Type C	(4)
Thessalonica, Type A, or S. M. Type D	(14)
Type B, or S.M. Type E	(37)
Large Module only, Constantinople, Type P	(8)
Type R	(3)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(9)
Uncertain of Thessalonica	(53)

89. *Preslav Hoard*

T. Gerasimov, *IAI*, XX (1955), p. 607; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 382-83.

Said to have been discovered in 1954, it consists of 2 gold hyperpyra of John Vatatzes and about 40 billon trachea.

John III Vatatzes, hyperpera	(2)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type E	(1)?
Type H	(1)
Type J	(2)
Type P	(2, clipped)
Type R	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A	(11)
Type B	(1)
Type F	(1)
Series III (may be Small Module Latin Imitative)	
Type E	(1)
Type N	(2)

90. *Roussé Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 383.

Said to have been found in 1965, the hoard consists of 195 billon trachea, according to Hendy.

"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(1)
	Type C	(6)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(175)
	Type B	(3)
	Type D	(3)
	Type E	(1)
	Type G	(6)

91. *Souvatite Hoard*

Gerasimov, *IBAI,* XI (1937), p. 317; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* pp. 383-84.

Said,to have been found in 1934, it consists of 407 billon trachea, which, according to Hendy, presumably formed only part of the original hoard. Location: Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	John II	(8)
	Manuel I	(366)
	Andronicus I	(5)
	Isaac II	(9)
	Alexius III	(8)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(9)
Large Module Latin Imitative,	Constantinople, Type P1, clipped, intrusive?)	
Unidentifiable		(1)

92. *Stara Zagora Hoard*

T. Gerasimov, *IBAI,* XV (1946), p. 237; M. Hendy, *Coinage,* p. 385.

Said to have been discovered in 1941, the hoard consists of 8 kilograms of billon trachea, corroded and encrusted with dirt. Location: Stara Zagora, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(6)
	Andronicus I	(2, 1 clipped)
	Isaac II	(8)
	Alexius III	(13)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(41)
	Type B	(25)
	Type C	(133)
Large Module Latin Imitative,	Constantinople, Type A	(14)
	Type B	(1)
	Thessalonica, Type A	(1)
	Type B	(2)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(89)
	Type E	(3)
	Type G	(4)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(6)

93. *"Thessaly" Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA*, LVI (1961), pp. 57-60; Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 387-88.

Said to have been found in 1957, it contains over 600 billon trachea, of which 14 were described by Metcalf. Location: Athens, Greece.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(6)
	Andronicus I	(1)
	Isaac II	(32)
	Alexius III	(37)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(17)
	Type B	(1)
	Type C	(1)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(5)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(35)
	Type D	(3)
	Type E	(1)
	Type G	(1)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(1)
Uncertain		(2)

94. *Toulovo Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 390-91.

Located at Kazanluk, the hoard consists of 834 billon trachea.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(10)
	Andronicus I	(1)
	Isaac II	(23)
	Alexius III	(42)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(65)
	Type B	(64)
	Type C	(161)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(11)
	Type B	(1)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(7)
	Type B	(9, two overstruck on preceding type)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(259)
	Type B	(7)
	Type D	(2)
	Type G	(3)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(12, including one overstruck onto Latin Thessalonica Type A)
Unidentifiable		(157)

95. *Tri Voditsi Hoard*

T. Gerasimov, *IBAI*, XIV (1940-42), p. 285; M.Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 391-93.

Said to have been found in 1940, it contains 2 kilograms of billon trachea and one copper tetarteron. Location: Pazardzhik.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(1 billon trachy, 1 AE tetarteron)

Isaac II	(1 billon trachy)
"Bulgarian Imitative" Type B	(2)
Type C	(37)
Large Module Latin Imitative	
Constantinople, Type A	(9, a few clipped, see small module A)
Type B	(2, clipped, see small module C)
Type C	(see small module C)
Type D	(22, all clipped)
Type F	(7, all clipped)
Type H	(6, all clipped)
Type J	(7, some clipped)
Type O	(10, all clipped)
Type P	(16, several clipped)
Type R	(8, several clipped)
Type T	(12, several clipped)
Thessalonica, Type C	(6)
Small Module Latin Imitative	
Type A	(321, with a few large module A)
Type B	(10)
Type C	(16, with a few large module C)
Type D	(36)
Type E	(24)
Type F	(15)
Type G	(23)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(4, all clipped)
Magnesia mint	(2, clipped)
John III Vatatzes, Magnesia	(2)
Thessalonica	(1)
Theodore Comnenus-Ducas	(11, some clipped)
Manuel Comnenus-Ducas	(4)
John Comnenus-Ducas	(3, all clipped)
Series III (Small Module Latin Imitative ?)	
Type E	(1)
Type Q	(1)

96. *Troad Hoard*

A.R. Bellinger, *ANSMN*, 11 (1964), pp. 222-24; M.Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 393-94.

The hoard consists of 140 billon trachea found in the 1930's. Location: Yale University Library.

Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A	(1)
Type B	(23)
Type E	(1)
Thessalonica, Type B	(2)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(113)

97. *Tsepina Hoard*

T.Gerasimov, *IAI*, XXIX (1966), p. 212; M.Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 394.
The hoard consists of 16 billon trachea, seen by Hendy at Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(2)
	Isaac II	(2)
	Alexius III	(4)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(4)
	Type B	(1)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(1)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea		(2)

98. *Hoard of Uncertain Bulgarian Provenance (Struma Valley?)*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 399-400.
Consists of 471 billon trachea, now located at Sofia, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(38)
	Andronicus I	(9)
	Isaac II	(215)
	Alexius III	(117)
"Bulgarian Imitative"	Type A	(47)
	Type B	(12)
	Type C	(18)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(8)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(1)
	Type B	(2)
Small Module Latin Imitative,	Type A	(1)
Theodore I Lascais of Nicaea		(2)
Unidentifiable		(1)

99. *Yenimahalle Hoard*

M. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 401.
This hoard of 151 billon trachea was found at Yenimahalle, near Istanbul, Turkey.

Byzantine	Isaac II	(1)
	Alexius III	(1)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople,	Type A	(25)
	Type B	(21)
Thessalonica,	Type A	(53)
	Type B	(8)
	Type C	(43)

100. *Zheeleznitsa Hoard*

T. Gerasimov, *IAI*, XXVII (1964), p. 238; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 402.
Said to have been discovered in 1962, the hoard contains 378 billon trachea. Location: Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria.

Byzantine	Manuel I	(1)
	Isaac II	(22)

Alexius III	(49)
"Bulgarian Imitative" Type A	(103)
Type B	(54)
Type C	(90)
Large Module Latin Imitative, Constantinople, Type A	(22)
Small Module Latin Imitative, Type A	(33)
Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea	(4)

101. *Zlata Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355* (Thessaloniki, 1965), p. 115; M. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 403. Location: Belgrade, Yugoslavia (?).

This hoard and others from the same general area of Yugoslavia consist of coins (billon trachea) of Manuel, Isaac and Alexius III. The Osanica Hoard contains "Bulgarian Imitative" coins and Latin Imitative Constantinople Type A/Small Module A, and Thessalonica Types A and B/Small Module Types Ð and E.

ADDITIONAL HOARDS

102. *Antioch Subak Hoard I*

D.M. Metcalf, "Coinage in the Latin East," Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 1980, BAR International Series, p. 137.

The hoard was found in the summer of 1978, and consisted of 202 "helmet" deniers of Antioch and 5 Western European, concealed *ca.* 1187 (speculative).

Early Head r.	(2)
Transitional (?)	(1)
Type 5	(4)
Type 1	(36)
Type 4	(3)
Type 3	(138)
Type 2	(18)
Italy: Lucca	(1)
France: Valence	(3)
France: Lyon	(1)

103. *Antioch Subak Hoard II*

D.M. Metcalf, "Coinage in the Latin East," Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 1980, BAR International Series, p. 142.

Reported the secord half of the Antioch Subak Hoard consisting of 173 coins.

Early Head r.	(1)
Type 5	(2)
Type 1	(35)
Type 4	(4)
Type 3	(115)
Type 2	(15)
France: Valence	(1)

104. *Havardjian Hoard*

D.M. Metcalf, "Coinage in the Latin East," Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 1980, BAR International Series, p. 140.

The hoard examined by P. Bedoukian consisted of 145 coins, and was very possibly of similar origin to the Antioch Subak Hoard.

Bare Head	(1)	
Early Head l.	(1)	
Type 5	(2)	
Type 1	(31)	
Type 4	(2)	
Type 3	(93)	
Type 2	(8)	
Tripoli (Star)		(1)
France: Valence	(2)	
France: Megueil	(1)	
France: Guingamp	(1)	

105. *Paphos (ca. 1980)*

D.M. Metcalf, *NC* 142 (1982), pp. 84-100, and *NC* 143 (1983), 177-201.

Found in the area of Paphos, Cyprus, the estimated date of deposit is thought to be after 1306, perhaps ca. 1313. All are AR gros.

Henry II heavy series	(30?)
Amaury with Henry	(3)
Henry II second series	(70?)

NOTES

I. INTRODUCTION TO CRUSADER NUMISMATICS

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CRUSADES

1. A. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, 1962), p. 17. F.Heer, *The Medieval World: Europe, 1100-1350*, trans. from German by J.Sondheimer (New York, 1962), p. 133.

2. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Vol. I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 108. This passage was part of Pope Urban's speech delivered at Clermont in 1095, marking the beginning of the First Crusade.

3. F. Duncalf, "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont," in K. M. Setton (gen. ed.), *A History of the Crusades, Vol. I: The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 243 [hereafter referred to as HOC I, II, or III.]

4. Runciman, *HOC, I,* p. xi.

5. Atiya, *Crusade*, p. 19.

6. R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 40-63, especially p. 59.

7. Runciman, *HOC* I, p. xi.

8.Heer, *Medieval World*, pp. 144-45.

9. Atiya, *Crudade*, pp. 120ff.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

THE COINS OF THE CRUSADER STATES

1. O. Demus, Byzantine Art and the West (New York, 1970), pp. 10-19. K. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* [hereafter cited as *DOP*], XX (1966), pp. 1-24, and by C. Kitzinger in the same volume, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, pp. 27-47. Also see in the same volume, K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," pp, 51-83. Each of these brilliant papers and studies is an excellent introduction to Byzantine and Western art and their interrelations.

2. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (New York, 1971), pp. 117ff; R. Lopez, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History*, X (1951), pp. 209ff.

3. *Cf.* B. Butak, *Onbirinci onikinci ve onüçüncü yüzyillarda resimli Türk paralari* (Istanbul, 1948) and other references *infra.* for Turcoman coins. Also see R. Ettinghausen, *Islamic Painting* (Geneva, 1962), for a convenient reference.

4. *Cf.* P. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia, ANSNNM* 147 (New York, 1962). For Armenian art see the works by S. Der Nersessian including *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIe et XIVe siecles de la Biblibtheque des Peres Mekhitharistes de Venise* (Paris, 1936-37), and, for easy reference, *The Armenians* (New York, 1970).

5. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Vol. II (Madison, Wisc., 1952), p. 505. The Italian contact with Byzantium was widespread: Venice and Pisa had large communes at Constantinople, and all Western potentates sent diplomatic missions to Byzantium, and were sent missions from Byzantium in return.

6. For example, the bracteates of twelfth century Germany were perfect vehicles for various and elaborate images and scenarios. Cf. E. Bahrfeldt, *Das Münzwesen der Mark Brandenburg* (Berlin, 1889), for types of bracteates.

7. Kitzanger, "Byzantine Contribution," pp. 33-34.

8. Demus, *Byz. Art*, p. 30 and pp. 121-29. Also see H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957); and K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," Art Bulletin XLV (1963), pp. 196ff. Recently, Crusader art has also been seen as another vital ingredient in the development of the art of the West, since the Crusader states provided a meeting ground for artists of the Eastern and Western traditions.

9. Demus, *Byz. Art*, p. 30 and pp. 121-29. Also see Kitzinger's *Early Medieval Art* (Bloomington, 1964), the last chapters, for a convenient reference.

10. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Contribution," p. 43. Western art was at this time no longer susceptible to influences from the Greek East, according to this author. See also Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," p. 76.

11. A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyenage*, 3 vols., Paris 1891-1905; Bologna reprint (1964), Vol. II, pp. 375-76.

12. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," pp. 72 and 84. He suggests that Antioch, Sidon, Tripoli, and Lattaqiyah had scriptoria, about which very little is known.

13. J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (New York, 1966). Also see Kitzinger, "Byzantine Contribution," pp. 44-46. In Italy, at least, though there is no overwhelming evidence of it in the Crusader states, the studied return to Early Christian art forms went hand in hand with the study of the art of ancient Rome.

14. Cf. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* [hereafter cited as *NOL*] (Paris, 1878; Graz reprint, 1954), pp. 202-03; P. Grierson, *Numismatics* (New York, 1975), pp. 30-32. Jacques II's coins depended on the cavalleri and portrait coins of such rulers as the Sforzas of Milan and Ferdinand of Naples during the 1450s. Cf. *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* [hereafter *CNI*] (Rome, 1910-40), Vols. V: Lombardia. Milano (Rome, 1914), and XIX: Italia meridionale continentale. Napoli (Rome, 1940).

15. P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections* [hereafter cited as DO], Vol. III, Part 1: Leo III to Michael III, 717-867 (Washington, D.C., 1973) p. 105. Also cf. Grierson's "The Salernitan Coinage of Gisulf II (1052-1077) and Robert Guiscard (1077-1085)," in *Studies in Italian Medieval History Presented to Miss E. M. Jamison* (= Papers of the British School at Rome, XXIV 1956 pp. 37-59; and R. Cappelli, *Studio sulle monete della zecca di Salerno* (Milan, 1972). The Lombards of southern Italy before the Normans also minted Byzantine-type coins, in order to facilitate trade with Byzantium.

16. See the Chapter on the coinage of Antioch.

17. Cf. Grierson, DO, III, and M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XII (Washington, D.C., 1969 [hereafter cited as *Coinage*].

18. See the section on weight standards and denominations for further discussion of these coins.

19. According to Demus, *Byz. Art*, pp. 86ff., the Byzantine pantocrator was a specific image, either enthroned or presented half-figure in tondo, with right hand raised in blessing, held in the sling of his cloak, and with his left hand clasping the Gospels to his chest. The Pantocrator and similar images appear quite often in the art of the West.

20. Grierson, DO, III, pp. 638-39, for the classification of the Anonymous Folles. Also cf. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 71-80.

21. Cf. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 71-80, for the twelfth century coins upon which the enthroned Christ appears. The Cypriot coins seem to have been imitations of the gold coins of Alexius I. Also, Grierson, DO III, pp. 158-59, calls the enthroned Christ type, the *Hyperagathos*, from Byzantine texts. On Anonymous Folles Type F, Christ sits on a backless throne; and on Types D and M, on a squarebacked one.

22. Grierson, DO, III, p. 636 and pp. 162-63, discusses the iconic Christ Antiphonetes type on Anonymous Folles Class C, which is a three-quarter length standing figure, as well as other standing Christ types, most often called Christ of Chalce.

23. Cf. A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et sigillographie des Normands de Sicilie et d'Italie* (Paris, 1882), p. 82. He attributes a lead seal with standing Christ of Byzantium type to Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia (1059-85).

24. Grierson, DO, III, pp. 160-62.

25. Demus, *Byz. Art*, p. 10 says that Mariolatry spread in the West during the early part of the twelfth century.

26. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins*, Bollingen Series, XXXV, 10 (Princeton, 1968), p. 128. The type is an allusion to the conception of Christ, as a sort of transparency. Also cf. Grierson, DO III, p. 170. *Episkepsis* means "the visit."

27. Grierson, DO, III, pp. 170-72. The Nikopoios was a palladium associated with the imperial palace.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Cf. Engel, *Normands*, p. 92, for Bohemond's lead seal attached to a Latin document dated 1090. Also see Cappelli, *Salerno*, Nos. 63-65. On seals of Roger Borsa (1085-1111) St. Matthew appears in a similar pose, as well as on his copper follare. St. Peter also appears mitred and robed on Lombard coins of Italy during the Capuan domination (977-981), for which see Cappelli's No. 34.

30. Cappelli, *Salerno*, No. 73.

31. There is some question whether the coins of this type are actually Crusader coins. See the appropriate chapter for further discussion.

32. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 209.

33. See the Chapter on Cyprus, for the development of the type from an imitation of the Byzantine type to a standing figure of a Western European ruler in clerical garb. For imperial types also see A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantine* (Strasbourg, 1936; London reprint, 1971).

34. Also see H. Longuet, "La cofffure de Tancrede, prince d'Antioche, sur les monnaies," *5e congres internationale de numismatique, Paris 1953*, Vol. II: *Actes*, publ. by J. Babelon and J. Lafaurie (Paris 1957), pp. 341-43.

35. Cf. Engel, Normands, p. 26. On coins of Roger Borsa (1085-1111), duke of Apulia, appears a standing figure, crowned, gesturing towards the left with his body also turned slightly toward that direction. Also see, p. 31. The famous coins of Roger I of Sicily with Roger on horseback in chain mail, helmeted, is also similar in pose and general design to the Crusader type.

36. See the Chapter on the coins of Antioch and Edessa for further discussion.

37. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 130-43, cites several documents showing that the Venetians were intimately involved in the mint operations of Acre. It would not be surprising, considering the Venetian involvement in the cutting of dies, etc. elsewhere (in England, for example), that Venetian die-sinkers made the dies at least for some of the Crusader Islamic-type gold and silver coins. See the Armenian trade documents, among others, in the Sources chapter of this volume.

38. Cf. Engel, *Normands*, p. 51. Tancred (1190-94) and William II (1166-80) issued tari of such description at Salerno. Cappelli, *Salerno*, pp. 23 and 37. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia (1077-85), also minted tari in kufic script with his initials (R[obertus]/D[ucatus]). Roger II (1105-54) issued tari with crosses, stars, and initials at Salerno. P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Monnaies a légendes arabes de l'Orient latin," RNI 6th ser., I (1958), p. 137, note 2, also mention that in Spain Beranger-Raimon, count of Barcelona (1017-35), inscribed his name and title in Latin on his Arabic-inspired coins. Alphonse VIII, king of Castile (1158-12 struck gold coins with Arabic legends, but with Christian meaning.

39. Cf. Balog and Yvon, "Legendes arabes," pp. 145-52. The Islamic dating is in lunar rather than solar years as the Christian dating is, and begins with the Hijra, or "Flight" of Muhammad.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 145 and 148, list five prototypes.

41. Cf. P. Balog, "etudes numismatiques de l'Egypte musulmane II: La trouvaille du Fayoum: Dirhems Ayoubites, du

premier roi mamelouk Aybek et d'imitation arabe des Croises," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte*, XXXIV (1951-52), pp. 17-55. The Ayyubid princes were called sultans, but since the title was not strictly correct as protocol, they used the title *al-Malik* on their coinage as the initial title. Also see M. Bates, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Imitations of Ayyubid Silver Coinage: A Preliminary Survey," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy, and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. by D. K. Kouymjian (Beirut, 197 pp. 393- reference also in section on weights and denominations *infra*).

42. Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," p. 152.

43. Cf. F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France* (3 vols. Paris 1858-62) Vol. II (1860, Graz reprint 1961), pp. 246-7, pl. LXXX [hereafter *Féodales* refers to Vol. II unless otherwise indicated].

44. On Carolingian coins the profile bust often occurs. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 50, found that these Antiochene coins were, in terms of lettering, most like those of Toulouse, where Raymond was born.

45. See the section on the coins of Frankish Greece.

46. Poey d'Avant, *Féodales*, p. 184, pl. CXXIX, 19-25. On coins of the county of Chaton, to mention one of many examples that used initials on coins, the "B" stands for "Beneditio." Here, however, the "B" is undoubtedly for Bohemond.

47. Cf. *CNI*, Vol. IX: Emilia, pt. I (Milan, 1925), pl. XXXVII, 1-4, for Piacenza. Also see Poey d'Avant, *Féodales*, pl. LXXXII, 19-21, No. 3790 in text, under Bernard-Hutton (1083-1130), for Carcassonne.

48. Poey d'Avant, *Féodales*, p. 2f. The Carolingian prototype of this coinage of Melle was slightly different, placing the mint name in three lines instead of two. Raymond of Poitiers himself was well-acquainted with this Aquitaine area of France and presumably its coinage.

49. P. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant with the *Christus Vincit* Legend," *ANSMN* 6 (1954), p. 176.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78. Also see A. Dieudonné, *Catalogue des monnaies francaises de la Bibliotheque Nationale: Les monnaies capétiennes* (2 vols., Paris, 1923-1932), Vol. II, intro. Both of these texts provide the opposite point of view, namely, that the Crusaders' *Agnus Dei* coin was the model for the inscription on the écu d'or. See further discussion of this *infra*.

51. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 113-14.

52. Cf. Engel and Serrure, *Traité*, II, p. 978. The comb or *peigne* in the field or *champs* of the coins of Champagne, for example.

53. The star and crescent were ancient symbols of authority.

54. E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956), pp. 74ff.

55. For more detailed discussion, see *infra*.

56. E. B. Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas*, (Princeton, 1950), pp. 16ff. M. de Vogüé, "Monuments de Jérusalem représentés sur les deniers des rois latins frappés au XIIe siecle." *RN*, neuv. ser., I (1856), pp. 128-29. Smith argues that the Crusaders changed the dome of the Holy Sepulchre by removing the outer domical shell and leaving the inner truncated cone. On earlier seals, the roof is shown as domical. The Crusaders also vastly enlarged the edifice; Vogüé says that the Crusaders made it into a "clocher domestique" (see *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris 1860) pp. 453ff.) Also see A. Dareel, "L'architecture des Croisades en Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Art*, V (1860) p. 224, who says that the remodeling of the building was done around 1130; but Smith, through representations on seals and coins, fixed the date of the completion of the remodeling to Amaury's reign (116374). Cf. Smith, *The Dome*, p. 18, where he fixes the date of the change to the truncated cone at *ca.* 1169.

57. Smith, *Arch. Symbolism*, pp. 104-105; and Vogüé, "Monuments," pp.126ff.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 104. During the twelfth century, the gateway had celestial symbolism, especially in the East.

59. Vogüé, "Monuments," pp. 128ff. The building was also called the "Mosque of Omar," *Qubbat-as-Sakhra*, as well as *Templum Domini* by the Crusaders.

60. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL* p. 89, where he says that the appearance of the *Templum Domini* on Guy's coins was an illustration of the presence of these valiant defenders in the city of Jerusalem.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 187. The evidence is from the seals of the kings which illustrates the great portal of Nicosia.

62. Smith, *Arch. Symbolism*, p. 75.

63. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 313.

64. A. J. Seltman, "Coins of the Crusades, *NCirc.*, LXXIV, 2 (Feb. 1966), p. 32.

65. Cf. G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), pl. I, 1-3.

66. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 129. Also see Smith, *Arch. Symbolism*, p. 96. The *Templum* was the symbol of the presence of a god-like sovereign, at least on Carolingian coins.

67. Cf. K. F. Morrison and H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, *ANSNNM* 158 (New York 1967). Some Carolingian coins illustrate pedimental prostyle temples but thirteenth century coins that had descended directly from the Carolingian prototype display characteristically medieval structures, with towers and gateways and the like.

68. An antiquarian interest, however, was quite common to Western art, especially that of Rome, at this period. Cf. Kitzingerg, "Byzantine Contribution," p. 42ff.

69. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 115.

70. D. M. Metcalf, "The Pylia Hoard: Deniers tournois of Frankish Greece" *ANSMN* 17, (1971), p. 181, feels that since the ancestors of the denier tournois of Frankish Greece, the denier of Alphonse of Poitiers, inscribed DE RIOMENSIS, or that of Charles of Anjou, inscribed +PICTAVIENTSIS (*sic*), referred to *Denarius Riomensis*, etc., then the DE CLARENTIA must stand for *Denarius Clarentianus* as well.

71. P. Grierson, "La signification de De Clarentia et de formules semblables sur les monnaies mediévales," *BSFN*, XXXI,

1 (Jan., 1976) pp. 2-4.

72. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 91, quotes Vogüé as saying that in the Kingdom of Jerasalem the regent was allowed to place his name on coins. Evidently however, this was not so in Cyprus, and there is little evidence of it specifically among the deniers tournois of Frankish Greece.

73. Grierson, "Salernitan Coinage," pp. 37-59.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 41. According to Grierson, overstriking usually indicates rapid political or economic change, for either a government wished to put a large number of new coins into circulation, or the cost of minting coin's on new flans proved exhorbitant, or both.

75. Cf. I. Ghalib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes du Musée ottoman* (1894, Bologna reprint, 1965); B. Butak, *Onbirinci*; P. Bedoukian, "Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia (1080-1198)," *ANSMN* 12 (1966), pp. 139-45, and *Coinge of Cilician Armenia.*

76. S. Lanee-Poole, *Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans (Foes of the Crusaders)* Oxford 1875; rep. Closter, N.J. 1967) p. 10. See also P. Balog, "History of the Dirham in Egyptfrom the Fatimid Conquest until the Collapse of the Mamluk Empire, 358 H / 968 A.D. - 922 H./1517 A.D." *RN*: 6th ser. III (1961), pp. 109-146, pl. 12. The shortage of silver in Syria and Egypt during the twelfth century explains the absence or scarcity of silver coinages.

77. M. Hendy, *Coinage*, p.90.

78. Cf. J. Porteous, "The Early Coinage of the Counts of Edessa," *NC*, 7th ser., xv (1975), pp. 175 ff.

79. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 412. The Edessan *folles* ranged in weight from 4.00 to 10.00 grams, and those of Alexeus I (1081-92), from 5.20 to 7.50 grams.

80. The similarities of style are discussed in the section within the text, and in the section on types and inscriptions. The Norman follare also fluctuated in weight (cf. Cappelli, *Salerno*)and were often issued as double follare or half follare. It is possible that the Edessan coppers were regarded as double denominations and the Antioch coppers as the unit.

81. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 28-29, 40. The copper tetarteron, which Foucher of Chartres, a chronicler of the First Crusade, mentions, must have completely superseded the follis by 1097 in Byzantium, though the replacement process would have been slower on the periphery of the empire.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-4. Antiochene coppers weigh between 2.40 and 5.00 grams, roughly; those of Edessa under Baldwin II (after 1108) weigh between 2.00 and 4.00 grams; and Constantinopolitan tetartera of Alexius I weigh 1.10-4.69 grams, with a mean weight of 3.50 g.

83. H.S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099-1118," in Setton, *HOC* I, p. 376.
types and inscriptions,

84. Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," p. 134, n.2, cite two works, one by Guillaume of Tyre, (*liv.* XI, p. 470), and another by the author of the *Estoire Eracles*, both of whom mention the *Michaelitari* or *Michelois*, so useful in commerce in northern Syria. They possibly refer to the gold bezants of Michael IV the Paphlagonian rather than to those of Michael VII Doukas, as the author stated.

85. Cf. Balog, "Dirham in Egypt," pp. 109-46.

86. A. Ehrenkreutz, "Arabic Dinars Struck by the Crusaders: A Case of Ignorance or of Economic Subverrsion, *JESHO*, VII (1964), pp. 167-82.

87. See the discussion of the gold coins by Gordus and Metcalf in Chapter III. Also see, A. Ehrenkreutz, "The Standard of Fineness of Gold Coins Circulating in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades," *JAOS* LXXIV (1954), pp. 162-66.

88. These statistics are all taken from the study performed by Gordus and Metcalf, published in this volume.

89. Cf. S. D. Goitein, *A MediterraneanSociety. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, Vol. I. Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967) pp. 359-60, 368-70ff., especially p. 390. These rates are attested in Mansur b. Bara's "The Secrets of the Egyptian Mint," (cf. Ehrenkreutz, "Fineness," p. 163, n. 10). He wrote during the reign of al-Kamil (1218-39).

90. Balog, "Dirhem in Egypt," pp. 111-13.

91. *Ibid.* Also cf. Goitein, *Jewish Communities*, p. 384, where G. C. Miles notes that thirteenth century Ayyubid dirhams were, for the most part, struck in Syria.

92. Bates, "Thirteenth Century," pp. 393-409.

93. *Ibid.* Also see discussion of the Crusader silver dirhams by Bates and Preston in chapter IV.

94. Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," pp. 153ff. Also see for more discussion of these types Bates, "Thirteenth Century," pp. 393-409.

95. Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, IV: The Coinage of Egypt, A.H. 358-922* (London, 1879, repr. Bologna, 1967) for the weights of the coins of Aleppo and Damascus under Saladin and his successors.

96. Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," p. 167.

97. D. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard of French Seignorial and Crusader 'sCoins, ANSNNM* 59 (1933), p. 55. Coins of thirteenth century Frankish Greece and Syria and Palestine found their way to the West, and have been and discovered in hoards in Naples and southern France. See the appropriate sections.

98. Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," p. 138. Cf. C. Cahen, "Notes sur l'histoire des Croisades de l'Orient latin, III: Orient Latin et commerce du Levant," *Bulletin de la faculté des lettres de Strassbourg*,yr. 29, no. 8 (mais-juin 1951), p. 337).

99. See the pasage quoted in the Sources chapter from Acadamie Imperiale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: historiens occidentaux*, III (Paris 1866), p. 278.

100. Coins are represented in hoards and stray finds from all over France, Swabia, Italy and Sicily, and circulated along with the Crusader deniers. Cf. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, which consists of mainly Frankish coins from all over France.

101. D. M. Metcalf, "Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch: Some New Hoards and Stray Finds from the Time of the Crusades, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, VII (1968/69) publ. 1972, p. 445.

102. *Ibid.* pp. 443-70.

103. D. M. Metcalf, "The Currency of Deniers Tournois in Frankish Greece," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, LV (1960) pp. 54-58.

104. Cf. Y. Meshorer and A. Spaer, "Varia," *Israel Numismatic Journal*. iii (1965-66), pp. 74-77; and D. M. Metcalf, "Some Hoards and Stary Finds from the Latin East, *ANSMN* 20 (1975), p. 141; and L. Y. Rahmani and A. Spaer, "Stray Finds of Medieval Coins from Acre, *INJ*, III (1965-6) pp. 67-73.

105. Cf. H. E. Ives, *The Venetian Gold Ducat and its Imitations*, ANSNNM 128 (1954), and P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, I (Milan, 1957), pp. 485-92.

106. Cf. Miles, "Some Hoards of Crusader Bezants," ANSMN 13 (1967) p. 189-203. Also, J. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux de l'Orient latin," *RN*, 6th ser. VIII (1966), pp. 98ff.

107. P. Grierson, "The Origins of the Grosso and of Gold Coinages in Italy," Numismaticky Sbornick, XII (1971-2), pp. 33-48. Also see N. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*, I. (Venice, 1893), pp. 82-86.

108. A. Evens, "Some Coinage Systems of the Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, III (1931), pp. 481-96. Evans says that the gros matapan was originally meant to equal 2 solidi or 24 denarii, but that because of the force of "some Eastern example," it became 26 deniers. Also see R. Lopez, "Back to Gold, 1252," *Economic History Review*, IX 2 (1956), pp. 219-40; and H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York 1925), *passim*, for good, though partially outdated discussions of the changes in the Mediterranean economy during the Middle Ages.

109. See Bates, "Thirteenth Century," pp. 393-409, as well as his discussion in chapter IV of this book.

110. Bishop Eudes de Chateauroux was Louis' papal legate, who corresponded with the Pope concerning the matter of the minting of Islamic dinars. See Grierson, "*Christus Vincit.*" For further discussion and different conclusions see chapter below.

111. Lopez, "Back to Gold, 1252," pp. 288ff.

112. Dieudonné, *BN, Les monnaies capétiennes*, Vol. II, introduction, xxi; and J. Lefaurie, *Les monnaies des rois de France, Vol. I. Hugues Capet a Louis XII* (Paris, 1951).

113. See Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Medieval Academy of America, publication 24. (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); and P. Lambros, *Monnaies inédites du royaume de Chypre au moyen age* (Athens, 1876). Lambros gives an interpretation of the coinage system of Cyprus after Pegolotti and other works, and Schlumberger records his obvervations in *NOL*, pp. 175-83.

114. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*, I, pp. 82-86.

115. Grierson, "Pegolotti," pp.490-92.

116. Cf. works by Meshorer, Metcalf, Rahmani and Spaer, publishing stray finds from the region of Acre.

117. See Sources chapter below for selected passages.

118. Cf. Lopez, "Back to Gold, 1252." The Augustale of the Emperor Frederick II (1198-1256) was issued after 1231 in his south Italian mints of Messina and Brindisi. Though considered coins, the Augustale must be seen as prestige pieces, and the real return in the West to a regular gold coinage did not occur until 1252. The Crusaders' Latin-type gold pieces therefore predate even this tentative gold coinage by the emperor of Germany by 50 years.

119. Hendy, *Coinage*, see the electrum trachea of Isaac of Cyprus (p. 19), as well as the Constantinopolitan gold hyperpyron, of average weight 4.10 g. minted by Alexius I after 1092.

120. A. J. Seltman, "Light-weight Coins of Peter I and Peter II of Cyprus," *NC* 7th ser., VI (1966), p. 235.

121. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 176. See Pegolotti's treatise and some selected passages in Sources chapter of this volume.

122. Grierson, "Pegolotti," pp. 490-92, says that information about the coinage of Cyprus was gleaned during Pegolotti's stay on the island between 1310 and 1330.

123. Pegolotti, *Practica*, and Lambros, *Royaume de Chypre, passim*. Lambros writes that the mark of Cyprus weighed 222.560 grams. Although there are 25 9/24 bezanti bianchi to the mark of Cyprus, each weighs 3.870 g. The gros, 48 to the mark, weighs 4.650 grams, and the half gros, 96 to the mark, weighs 2.325 grams. The discrepency in weight is balanced by the gold content of the bezant. Still, the bezant contains 165.04 grains of Venice, which is the silver content of two Cypriot gros. See Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 177 for Lambros' interpretations and interpolations of Pegolotti's text.

124. Pegolotti, *Practica.*

125. Cox, "Tripolis Hoard," p. 59.

126. Seltman, "Peter I & II," p. 235. The gros of Amalric weighed 4.35-4.45 g. and those of Henry, 4.60-4.65 g.

127. *Ibid.*, the gros of Janus weighed 4.40-4.55 g.

128. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84. Between 1432 and 1489, the gros weighed 2.80-3.60 g. It has also been determined that the gros remained at about 92% fine throughout the Lusignan dynasty, except for the anonymous types of John II (1432-58), which dropped to between 65 and 75% silver content, and James II (1460-73) which also fluctuated, though not so much as John's.

129. The *sizin, sixain or sesin* as they are variously called in documents of the periods were minted by Janus (1398-1432)

and later in great abundance by James II (1460-73). See the text citing these coins in the Sources chapter.

130. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 198-216.

131. Schlumberger did not think that the Crusaders issued imitative Byzantine coins at Constantinople, but used Venetian grossi, *NOL*, pp. 274-76. He felt that Dandolo's new issue of silver grossi suppressed any other issue of coins in the Levant.

132. Also cf. Hendy, *Coinage*, 198-216.

133. *Ibid.* Also see D. M. Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen II," *NC* 7th ser., XIII (1973), pp. 144-72.

134. D. M. Metcalf, "Deniers Tournois in Frankish Greece," p. 47.

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47. "Italian style" coins appear in stray finds, but not so often in hoards. Cf. Metcalf's "Frankish Petty Currency from the Areopagus at Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1963), pp. 203-223.

136. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 310. William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greeee (1204-1566)* (London, 1908), pp. 267-68.

137. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 176ff.; and Metcalf, "The Berbati Hoard, 1953: Deniers Tournois and Sterlings from the Frankish Morea," *NC*, 7th ser., XIV (1974), pp. 119-124.

138. See Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 301, or Sources chapter for Marino Sanudo's description of the earliest Frankish deniers.

139. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 199-200.

140. Cf. A. J. Seltiman, "Late Deniers Tournois of Frankish Greece," in R.A.G. Carson, (ed.) *Mints, Dies, and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, (London, 1971), p. 322.

141. *Ibid.*; Cf. Cox, *The Caparelli Hoard, ANSNNM* 43 (New York 1930).

142. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 84.

143. Colonel E. J. King, "Mildred King Memorial Collection Catalogue" (unpublished MS), 1936.

144. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux, pp. 94-5. Also see J. Duplessy and D. M. Metcalf, "Le trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en Orient latin aux XIIe et XIIIe siecles." *Revue belge de numismatique*, CVIII (1962), pp. 178ff.

145. See the present Catalogue of the coins as well as the discussion by Gordus and Metcalf of imitative gold coins.

146. See H. Lavoix, *Monnaies a légendes arabes frappées en Syrie par les Croisés* (Paris, 1877). Also see Schlumberger's notation of many of these docutents, *NOL*, pp. 130-143, and other documents cited by Blancard in his Le besant d'or sarrazinas pendant les Croisades (Marsaille 1880), and by Gordus and Metcalf in Chapter III below.

147. M. de Vogüé, "Monnaies inédites des Croisades," *RN* nouv. ser. X (1865), p. 297. Also see Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 90 for a presentation of the theory.

148. P. Grierson, "*Christus Vincit*," p. 170, suggests that the gold atelier (officina) at Acre was separate from the billon mints.

149. G. C. Miles, *Fatimid Collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society, ANSNNM 121* (New York, 1951) Nos. 431-37. Miles lists some coins struck by the Fatimids at Tyre in 1111-1112.

150. See the chapter below in the present work, of Lavois, *Monn. a lég. arabes*, p. 29.

151. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 130.

152. A transcript of the papal letter is included in the Sources chapter.

153. D. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 40.

154. Duplessy and Metcalf, "Trésor de Samos," pp. 206-7. The anonymous coins of Sidon appear in hoards concealed between about 1230 and 1235, but not in hoards deposited before this period.

155. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 137, n. 1, cites an agreement between the Hospitallers and Bohemond IV in 1231, stating that the prince of Trpoli insures payment at Tripoli in *bisantiis tripolitani* or at Antioch in *bisantiis antiochenis*. Cf. V. Paoli, *Codex dipl.*, vol. I, CXII.

156. P. Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and its Historical Significance," *NC* 7th ser., VII (1967), p. 194.

157. R. Pesant, "The ANS Hoard of Antioch Denierst," *ANSMN*,18 (1972), pp. 73ff. suggests that a certain variety of the helmeted head type was minted at St. Symeon.

158. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 142.

159. L. Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle,"* trans. by R. M. Dawkins, vol. I (Oxford, 1932).

160. King MS (see note 143 *supra*).

161. A. J. Seltman, "Peter I and II," pp. 235-40. Gorghios and Adalia are mentioned.

162. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 206ff.

163. D. M. Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen II," *NC* 7th ser.,XIII (1973), pp. 145ff.

164. Hendy *Coinage*, p. 273.

165. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-15, 286-88, 320.

166. D. M. Metcalf, "Areopagus," pp. 203-23.

167. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 310. Also see Pegolotti's discussion of the coinage systetm and of the salaries of the mint personnel at Glarentza, along with other pertinent passages in Sources chapter.

168. See the discussion of these theories *infra* in the section on the Achaean coinage, chapter XI.

169. See the passage from the *Registri Angioini* in Sources chapter.

II. THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

1. H. S. Fink, "Foundation of the Latin States," *HOC*, p. 376.
2. M. W. Baldwin, "The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-41," *HOC* I, pp. 528ff.
3. *Ibid.*, pp, 591-92.
4. M. N. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192-1243," *HOC*, p. 554.
5. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 3: "*Assises de Jérusalem*. . . demeurèrent le modèle le plus parfait de l'organization politique des sociétés féodales au moyen âge."
6. J. Yvon, "Les monnaies 'féodales' du royaume latin de Jérusalem," *BSFN*, XXV (1970), pp. 550-52. According to Yvon, the *Assises* were compiled by the noble families who held the kingdom among themselves during the period of the Wars of the Lombards. Transcriptions of the documents were found in the Lusignan scriptoria of Cyprus. Also see some further discussion and a transcription of this passage in the Sources chapter of this volume. J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1969), p. 216, says that the *Assises* were written a generation after the imperial wars, as a theoretical treatise. Runciman, *HOC*, III: "The Kingdom of Acre and the Latin Crusades," (Cambridge, 1952), p. 205, says that Jean d'Ibelin, nephew of the "Old Lord," was the author of the *Assises*.
7. Prawer, *Royaume*, p. 470. Other historians agree with his description of the government of the kingdom: cf. J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953) and La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). Also cf. Yvon, "*Monn. féodales*," pp. 550-52.
8. Chandon de Briailles, "Le droit de 'coins' dans le royaume de Jérusalem," *Syria* XXIII, (1942-43), pp. 244-57.
9. Yvon, "Monn. féodales," p. 551. Prawer, *Royaume*, p. 470, note 7. Also, cf, Prawer, "Étude sur le droit des Assises de Jérusalem," *Rev. hist. de droit franç. et étranger*, 4th ser., XXXIX (1961), pp. 520ff.; XL (1962), pp. 29ff.
10. Yvon, "Monn. féodales," p. 551.
11. J. Prawer, *Royaume*, pp. 470ff. and 486-88.
12. J. Prawer, *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), p. 391.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 384.
14. Runciman, *HOC* III, pp. 203-04.
15. Hardwicke, "1192-1234," p. 554.
16. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," pp. 95-6.
17. See the discussion and notes about the type in the Introduction; and cf. Vogüé, "Monuments," p. 125.
18. King, MS, p. 218.
19. Cf. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," pl. III, 16, where he shows a seal of Baldwin I (1100-18) with Jerusalem written HIERVSALEM.
20. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 87.
21. Cf. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," pp. 93-7. Yvon points out the possibility that it may be a selection of coins from a larger hoard. D.M. Metcalf, "Coinage of the Latin Kingdon of Jerusalem in the Name of Baudouin," *NC* (1978), pp. 73-84.
22. See the Tripoli, Kessab, Châtellerault, Jerusalem, and Djebaïl hoards *supra*. Also cf. Yvon, *loc. cit.*
23. Prawer, *Kingdom*, p. 387.
24. See the study of the Islamic types by Gordus and Metcalf in Chapter III above.
25. Cf. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, pp. 56-60. Also see Prawer, *Kingdom*, p. 388 who cites her argument.
26. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," p. 96, n. 2.
27. D. M. Metcalf, *NC* (1978), p. 76.
28. D. M. Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, p. 14-15.
29. Duplessy and Metcalf, "Trésor de Samos," p. 195.
30. Vogüé, "Monuments," pp. 128ff.
31. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 57.
32. D. M. Metcalf, "The Tell Jemmeh Hoard and the Classification of the Early Amalricus Deniers, *NC* (1987), pp. 84-92.
33. R. Pesant, "Coinage in the Latin East, The Amalricus Coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *BAR* (1980), p. 109.
34. R. Pesant, "Discussion," *BAR* (1980).
35. D. M. Metcalf, *NC* (1987), pp. 88-89.
36. See an associated coin in the Anonymous section.
37. Schlumberger called Guy's coins base billon or copper, but they seem to be of copper only.
38. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, pp. 56-57.
39. See the list of hoards *supra*.
40. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 85-87.
41. H. Longuet, "La trouvaille de Kessab en Orient latin," *RN*, 4th ser., XXXVIII (1935), p. 168, n. 24, records Chandon de Briailles' assertion that Amalric I (i.e., "Amaury" in our text) is known on documents and seals of the period as *Amalricus*, and that Aimery was *Aimericus*, and thus should not be called *Amalricus* (or Amaury) II.
42. See the Tripoli and Kessab hoards. They reveal that both the deniers of Beirut and the imitative coins in Amaury's name

circulated together in Syria during the second decade of the thirteenth century.

43. Cf. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," for there is some controversy over the dates of the beginning of Beirut's coinage. See the discussion *infra* under the lordship of Beirut.

44. Longuet, "Kessab," p. 169.

45. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, pp. 56-57. Also see Metcalf, "Hoards and Stray Finds," pp. 142-43, who tends to agree that there are two distinct series which differ in weight and module.

46. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 40.

47. Longuet, "Kessab," p. 170. As Duplessy and Metcalf noticed in their publication of the Samos hoard, "Trésor de Samos," p. 206, the arithmetic which Longuet supplies in his text (61.5 grams is the total weight of 250 coins from Kessab) is erroneous. Each coin should weigh, on average, 0.246 grams.

48. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 40.

49. Cf. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux." Also see the list of hoards.

50. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 58.

51. R. Pesant, "A Parcel of Deniers of Amaury of Jerusalem," Alex G. Malloy Medieval List XIX (1982), pp. 3-4.

52. See section on the anonymous dragma of Acre later in this chapter for further discussion.

53. Longuet, "Kessab," pp. 173-75.

54. See *supra* note 22, for hoards.

55. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 53.

56. Schlumberger, *Supplement*, (Paris, 1882), p. 5.

57. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 91-92. Also see L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'ile de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (3 vols., Paris, 1852-61), I, p. 27.

58. Matthew 27:37, RSV.

59. Schlumberger, Chalandon, and Blanchet, pl. V,6 (a) seal of the Canon of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem appended to act of 1175, (b) pl. XI,8 seal of Geoffroy de Donion (1192-94), Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, appended to act of 1193, other grand masters Guillaume de Vallaret, Foulque de Villaret, Helion de Villeneuve, Raimond Berger, Jean Fernandez de Heredia, pl. XI-XII,12, XII, 1-3.

60. Seltman, "Coins of the Crusades," pp. 32-33.

61. Schlumberger, et al., #1, p.1; p.2, Saladin replaced the cross with a crescent in 1187.

62. C. J. Sabine, *NC* (1979), p. 126-27.

63. *Ibid.* Also see Schlumberger et al., *Sigillographie*, pl. V, 6; XX, 9, 11; XI, 8, 11, 12; XII, 1-8.

64. Seltman, "Coins of the Crusades," pp. 32-33.

65. Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, p. 19.

66. Rahmani, *Isreal Numismatic Journal*, (1980), p. 73.

67. B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni*, Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscarum, no. 4 (Jerusalem, 1947), pp. 159-60 and 165.

68. Miles, "Crusader Bezants," pp. 189-203. Also see J. Yvon, "Orient latin et Arménie," *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1966-71* (New York, 1973) vol., pp. 305-06.

69. See chapter on Gold by Gordus and Metcalf, in the present work.

70. J. D. Brady, "A firm attribution of Latin Gold Coinage to Twelfth-Century Jerusalem," *ANSMN* 23, pp. 133-47 (New York, 1978).

71. Schlumberger, *Supplement*, (Paris, 1882), p. 5.

72. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 91-92. Also L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'ile de Chypre sous le regne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (3 vols., Paris, 1852-61), I, p. 27.

73. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 92.

III. THE GOLD COINAGES OF THE CRUSADING STATES

1. M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XII, (Washington, D.C. 1969), pp. 81ff.

2. P. Balog, "History of the Dirhem in Egypt from the Fatimid Conquest until the Collapse of the Mamluk Empire, 358 H./968 A.D. - 922 H./1517 A.D., *RN*, 6th ser., III (1961), pp. 109-46, pl. XII.

3. C. Morrisson, "Le Michaèlaton et les nome de monnaies à la fin du XIe siècle," *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines*, III (1968), pp. 369-74, mentioning payments in michaelata in northern Syria in 1103 and 1124, and proposing the theory of "peripheral survival."

4. A. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII*, Regesta Chartarum Italiae XXVIII (Turin, 1940), no. 53 (hereafter cited as Morozzo and Lombards, *Documenti*).

5. *Ibid.*, no. 52.

6. T. Bertelè, "Lineamenti principali della numismatica bizantina," *RIN*, 5th ser., XII (1964), pp. 33-118, at pp. 58-59.

7. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 10-13.

8. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "The Standard of Fineness of Gold Coins Circulating in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades," *JAOS*,

LXXIV (1954), pp. 162-66 (cited hereafter as "Fineness"); *idem*, "Arabic Dinars Struck by the Crusaders: A Case of Ignorance or of Economic Subversion," *JESHO*, VII (1964), pp. 167-82 (cited hereafter as "Arabic Dinars").

9. Ehrenkreutz, "Fineness," and see P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient latin," *RN*, 6th ser., I (1958), pp. 133-68, and pls. XI-XVI, at p. 136, note 2. (cited hereafter as "Légendes arabes").

10. Bolog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," pp. 141-42.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

12. Ehrenkreutz, "Arabic Dinars."

13. See A.S. Ehrenkreutz, "The Crisis of the Dinar in the Egypt of Saladin," *JAOS*, LXXVI (1956), pp. 178-84. In 1959 Dr. Balog presented to the Institut d'Egypte a dinar which had seemed at first sight to be a genuine coin of Saladin, but which is in effect a Crusader bezant - BY 52.

14. Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," p. 143.

15. G. C. Miles, "Some Hoards of Crusader Bezants," *ANSMN 13 (1967)*, pp. 189-203 and pls. XLI-XLIV.

16. Ehrenkreutz, "Arabic Dinars."

17. P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Deux trésors de monnaies d'or des Croisés," *ANSMN*, 11 (1964), pp. 295-302, pl. XLVIII.

18. Miles, "Crusader Bezants."

19. E. R. Caley, "Estimation of Composition of Ancient Metal Objects: Utility of Specific Gravity Measurements," *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, XXIV (1952), pp. 676-81, with numerous tables.

20. P. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant with the *Christus Vincit* legend," *ANSMN* 6 (1954), pp. 169-78.

21. Balog and Yvon, "Deux trésors."

22. Miles, "Crusader Bezants."

23. We must record our thanks to the late Dr. Miles for the considerable help he gave us by collating the accession-numbers of the bezants as published by Ehrenkreutz ("Arabic Dinars"), with the BY varieties and with the numbering in Balog and Yvon, "Deux trésors." Without this information, for which an expert eye was essential, no useful conclusions would have been possible. Note that Ehrenkreutz did not measure a few of the coins published by Balog and Yvon (e.g. L. 20, L. 26, and TPI. 16), and that he left on one side the dated coins.

24. We wish to extend our best thanks to M. Yvon for allowing us to study the coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and for his kind help in the identification and weighing of the recent accessions not included in his corpus of 1958.

25. Professor Ehrenkreutz kindly placed his original working notes at our disposal.

26. Morozzo and Lombardo, *Documenti*, no. 376.

27. L. Blanchard, *Le besant d'or sarrazinaspendant les Croisades* (Marseilles, 1880), p. 42.

28. See Balog and Yvon, "Légendes arabes," p. 141, no. 3. Where documents naming Antiochene bezants refer to disbursements by the prince of Antioch (who was also count of Tripoli) is it possible that the coins were actually minted at Tripoli? Cahen's mention of a reference to bezants of Antioch in 1177 is elusive. See C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), p. 469.

29. Grierson, "*Christus Vincit*."

30. The details may be studied in Balog and Yvon, "Deux trésors."

31. *Ibid.*

32. See P. Casanova, "Dinars inédits du Yémen,"" *RN*, 3rd ser., XII (1894), pl. V and pp. 200-20, particularly nos. 4, 5, and 6, and note the comments: "Il y a bien des incorrections à relever dans les trois exemplaires, si bien qu'on peut se demander si ce ne sont pas des pièces d'imitation. La barbarie et la grossiereté de style, surprenantes a six ans d'intervalle du dinar frappé par Ali ..."; and on no. 7, "imitation dégnéree . . . Qui a pu imiter ces pièóces?" Note that the coin of Ali weighs only 2.18 grams. For a recent survey, which does not, however, re-work the ground covered by Casanova, see N.M. Lowick, "Some Unpublished Dinars of the Sulayhids and Zuray'ids," *NC*, 7th ser., IV (1964), pp. 261-70, pls. XX-XXI.

33. J. Yvon, "Les monnaiese 'féodales' du royaume latin de Jérusalem," *BSFN*, XXV, 6 (June 1970), pp. 550-52.

34. J. Yvon, "Besants sarracénats du roi de Jérusalem," *BSFN*, XVI, 8, (1961) pp. 81-82 (cited as "Besants sarracénats").

35. M. Yvon is preparing a fuller study of the documentary references to the bezants.

36. Morozzo and Lombardo, *Documenti*, no. 81.

37. *Ibid.*, no. 167.

38. Yvon, "Besants sarracénats," pp. 81-82.

39. And note the mixed currency: "XXXVII s. de sur et perperos quinque." — From an act of the notary Scriba, dated 23 August 1156. See *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, VI (Turin, 1853), no. 348, p. 350.

40. R. le Tourneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154* (Damascus, 1952), p. 236. The coins were to be struck jointly in the names of the Abbasid Caliph al-Rāshid billāh and of the Būrid ruler Shihab al-Dīn. Al-Rāhid's reign lasted from 29 August 1135 to 19 August 1136.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

42. Another group of four coins was offered for sale by Harmer, Rooke Ltd. in their 26-27 August 1970 auction, lots 489-92. These coins were subsequently sent to Oxford for study. They were all "from the same dies" as the four in hoard A and were all die-adjusted in the same position. The weights were 3.842, 3.838, 3.864, and 3.845 grams. Lot 488 (illustrated), which also appeared under magnification to be a cast, weighed 3.623.

43. The chronology of the billon coinage of Tripoli, more likely to be relevant to BY 1 and 2, is still extremely vague.

44. The arrangement follows the scheme of classification worked out in the text above. An asterisk (*) in the table indicates that an illustration of the coin has been published somewhere. Some examples are given of the results from the two or more separate streaks in the order in which they were taken from the coin. Illustrations are indicated by an astrisk (*). ANS: American Numismatic Society, BN: Bibliothèque Nationale.

		Hoard	Weight	SG % Au	NAA % Au	NAA % Ag	NAA % Cu	Ratio Ag/Cu	
FIRST PHASE: before 1148/59									
a) Acre mint? BY 26.									
1. Variety on large flan*			4.08	-	97.4	28.2	0.4	5.5	
2._.	*		3.94	(91)	93.4	5.7	0.9	6.3	
3._.			3.92	-	93.2	5.9	0.9	6.5	
4._.	*		3.70	-	91.0	7.5	1.5	5.0	
5. Var. on small flan*			3.81	-	88.1	10.1	1.7	5.9	
6._.			3.55	-	84.5	13.1	2.3	5.7	
7._.	*	A, 7	3.95	-	82.5	14.1	3.4	4.2	
b). Tripoli or Antioch mints? BY 1 and 2.									
8. BY 1		*		3.78	(99)	94.3	2.6	3.1	0.8
9. BY 2				3.93	-	97.9	1.7	0.4	3.5
10._.	*		3.37	-	92.5	6.3	1.2	5.3	
11._.			-	(88)	86.6	10.1	3.2	3.2	
SECOND PHASE: from 1148/59 to probably 1187									
a) Acre. BY 25-27d. (BY 25, 25 var., 27b, 27b var.; 27a; 27c; 27d. Note that 25/27b form a single compact group, within which there are no very clear distinctions of style. On BY 27, however, the mint is often, according to Ehrenkreutz's notes, BSR, ALBS, or the like.)									
12. BY 25		-	-	3.81;	-	80.2	17.7	2.1	8.4
13._.		-	3.88	-	80.9	17.0	2.0	8.5	
14._.		-	3.84	-	78.9	18.9	2.2	8.6	
15._.		-	3.80	-	81.3	16.6	2.3	7.2	
16._.	*	L.21	3.73	(77)	78.6	18.4	3.0	6.1	
17._. (506)		*	Tyre 4	3.71	-	81.3	16.5	2.2	7.5
18._. 506		*	Tyre 5	3.85	-	80.8	16.9	2.3	7.4
19._. 506		*	Tyre 6	3.94	-	77.7	19.3	3.0	6.4
20._. 506		*	Tyre 7	3.48	-	77.7	20.7	1.6	13.
21._. 506		*	Tyre 8	3.78	-	82.4	15.0	2.6	5.8
22._.	*	Ty. 13	3.70	-	78.1	18.7	3.2	5.8	
23._.	*	Ty. 14	3.81	-	77.7	19.2	3.1	6.2	
24._.	*	Ty. 15	3.40	-	76.6	19.3	4.1	4.7	
25._.	* Ras Shamra 1		3.78	-	80.0	17.3	2.7	6.4	
26. BY 25v. 506 or 516			L. 17	3.91	81	80.8	17.4	1.8	9.7
27._. 506 or 516			L. 19	3.80	81	82.4	15.8	1.8	8.8
28._. 506.			TPI. 9	3.72	83	79.9	18.3	1.8	10.1
29._. No date			L. 24	3.93	79	80.3	17.2	2.5	6.9
30._._.			L. 25	3.84	78	78.3	16.1	5.6	2.9
31._._.			TPI. 7	3.80	81	80.4	17.0	2.7	6.3
32._._.			TPI. 2	3.88	78	80.1	17.0	2.9	5.9
33._. Unclear date*			L. 23	3.70	77	79.5	16.3	4.1	4.0
34._._.			TPI. 3	3.65	82	79.6	17.1	3.2	5.3
35._. 506?			L. 22	3.69	80	77.6	19.2	3.2	6.0
36._. No date		*	L. 27	3.69	77	78.0	18.2	3.7	4.9
37._. 506?	*		L. 18	3.82	82	77.2	19.5	3.3	5.9
38._. No date			TPI. 1	3.74	80	78.5	18.0	3.5	5.1
39._._.			L. 28	3.67	78	77.5	18.6	3.9	4.8
40._._.			TPI. 4	3.60	79	78.1	18.4	3.5	5.3
41._._.			TPI. 5	3.43	79	76.3	21.2	2.5	8.5
42._.		-		66	73.3	20.8	5.8	3.6	
43. 25 var./27b.			TPI. 15	3.85	78	76.7	20.3	3.0	6.8
44. -. (?). 506			TPI. 8	3.62	81	80.2	17.7	2.1	8.5
45. 27b var.		*	L. 37	3.96	80	79.7	17.3	3.0	5.8
46._.		L. 38	3.91	78	78.0	16.2	5.8	2.8	
47. 27b				3.51		82.4	14.7	2.9	5.1

48._.		L.35	3.71	79	78.6	18.7	2.7	6.9	
49._.		TPI. 12	3.54	81	79.3	17.3	3.4	5.1	
50._.		L.32	3.85	80	78.2	17.3	4.5	3.8	
51._.		L.33	3.80	74	78.2	17.5	4.3	4.1	
52._.		L.34	3.75	76	77.2	18.9	3.9	4.8	
53._.		L.36	3.63	74	77.2	18.3	4.4	4.1	
54. 27b (cf. 25)			TPI. 11	3.57	80	79.4	16.5	4.1	4.0
55. 27b		*	A. 8	3.53		77.8	19.2	3.0	6.4
56. 27a			L. 29	3.81	75	76.4	19.9	3.7	5.4
57._.		-	3.72	-	76.3	19.1	4.5	4.2	
58._.		L.30	3.67	74	78.1	16.9	4.9	3.4	
59._.		TPI. 10	3.78	75	76.7	19.1	4.2	4.5	
60._.		-	3.77/8	76	75.6	20.4	4.0	5.1	
61. 27a var.		*	L. 31	3.74	73	73.4	21.1	5.5	3.8
62. 27c		*	-	3.81	76	75.5	19.4	5.1	3.8
63. 27d			-	3.70	-	77.4	18.8	3.9	4.8
64._.		-	3.77	-	77.8	18.5	3.6	5.1	
65._.	*	L. 40	3.57	74	78.7	17.8	3.5	5.1	
66._.		L. 39?	3.69	75	77.1	19.0	3.9	4.9	
67._.		L. 39?	3.69	73	73.8	21.0	5.2	4.1	
68. 27 (b?)			-	3.86	-	78.2	18.6	3.2	5.8
69. 27f			-	3.64	-	71.8	21.1	7.1	3.0
70. 27-33		*	Marash 2	3.36	-	75.0	20.9	4.1	5.1
71. *Vacat.*									
b) Uncertain mint (Tyre?). BY 20-1 and 22-24; some specimens catalogued as Fatimid dinars, with dates other than 506.									
72. Misr 506 (BY 23-25)			3.75	-	81.4	16.7	1.9	8.6	
73._._. (BY 20)		*	A. 1	3.83	-	75.9	21.5	2.6	8.2
74._._._.			A. 2	3.96	-	79.9	17.2	2.9	5.9
75._._._.			A. 3	3.91	-	80.0	17.3	2.7	6.3
76._._._.			A. 4	3.92	-	79.7	17.8	2.5	7.1
77._._._.		*	Tyre 1	3.87	-	80.4	17.8	1.8	9.9
78._._._.		*	Tyre 2	3.78	-	78.3	18.3	3.4	5.4
79._._._.		*	Tyre 3	3.85	-	81.4	16.7	1.9	8.8
80._. 508			L. 2	3.62	(82)	81.8	17.1	1.2	14.
81._. 510			L. 3	3.91	(80)	79.8	18.4	1.7	11.
82._._.			L. 4	3.81	(82)	79.2	18.7	2.0	9.3
83._._.			-	3.72	(80)	77.3	20.7	2.0	10.4
84._. 515		*	Tyre 10	3.83	-	78.6	18.9	2.5	7.4
85._. 516		*	A. 5	3.93	-	78.9	17.4	3.7	4.7
86._._.		*	Tyre 11	3.88	-	79.4	18.6	2.0	9.3
87._._.		*	Tyre 12	3.67	-	77.0	18.9	4.1	4.6
88. al-Iskandariya 514			-			79.5	18.8	1.7	11.1
89. Cairo 518			L. 5	3.79	(77)	80.5	16.6	2.9	5.7
90. (?)						77.8	19.2	3.0	6.4
91. BY 22		*		3.90	-	78.6	19.7	1.7	12.
92. BY 23		*		3.62	-	78.7	19.7	1.5	13.
93. BY 24		*		3.77	-	81.6	17.9	0.4	40.
94. BY 23-24		*	A. 6	3.74	-	82.3	16.0	1.7	9.4
95. BY 23-24 (al-Iskandariyah?)		*	Marash Hoard 1	3.88	-	86.1	12.7	1.2	10.6
c) Tripoli, and also Antioch. BY 3-6.									
96. BY 3				3.70		89.7	9.2	1.1	8.4
97. BY 3		*		4.02		82.9	15.0	2.1	7.1
98. BY 5		*		3.62		71.3	23.4	5.3	4.4
99. BY 6		*		3.71		73.6	19.3	6.1	3.2
d) Uncertain mint, possibly Krak de Moab									
100. Type A						81.1	15.8	3.1	5.1
101.						79.1	18.6	2.3	8.1.
102.						79.0	18.7	2.3	8.1
103.						78.8	18.9	2.3	8.2

104.				78.8	18.5	2.7	6.9	
105.				78.1	19.0	2.9	6.6	
106.				76.8	20.5	2.7	7.6	
107. Type B					80.7	17.0	2.3	7.4
108.				78.9	18.7	2.4	7.8	
109.				77.9	19.4	2.7	7.2	
110.				77.2	20.2	2.6	7.8	
THIRD PHASE: from 1187 (?) to 1260 or later								
a) Acre. BY 27e-30 usually with secret marks; 32; 40; *Agnus Dei* type.								
111. BY 27e		-	3.50	(63)	69.6	22.2	8.2	2.7
112. BY 27e		-	3.48	-	68.4	21.9	9.7	2.3
112bis BY 27-33 R: ∴	*	Mar. 4	3.27	-	69.7	21.5	8.8	2.4
113. BY 28 Obv. ∩		Mar. 5	3.37	-	68.6	22.8	8.6	2.6
114._._.		Mar. 6	3.38	-	67.3	22.6	10.1	2.3
115._._.		Mar. 7	3.50	-	67.4	21.8	10.8	2.0
116._._.		Mar. 8	3.22	-	68.7	22.2	9.1	2.5
117._._.	*	Mar. 9	3.40	-	70.6	19.0	10.4	1.8
118._._.		Mar. 10	3.45	-	70.0	22.2	7.8	2.9
119._._.		Mar. 11	3.35	-	67.5	22.3	10.2	2.2
120._._.		Mar. 12	3.36	-	67.5	23.2	9.3	2.5
121._._.		-	3.32	-	68.7	22.1	9.1	2.4
122._._.	*	-	3.57	(66)	67.7	23.2	9.0	2.5
123. BY 29 Obv. ··		Mar. 13	3.56	-	68.3	22.2	9.5	2.3
124._._.		Mar. 14	3.30	-	67.6	22.6	9.8	2.3
125._._.		Mar. 15	3.45	-	70.4	21.0	8.6	2.5
126._._.	*	A. 9	3.53	-	68.6	22.0	9.4	2.3
127._._.	*	-	3.57	-	67.6	22.0	10.3	2.1
128._._.	*	Ras Shamra 8	3.77	-	63.7	27.3	9.0	3.0
129._._.		Ras Shamra 9	3.50	-	65.6	24.3	10.1	2.4
130._._.		Ras Shamra 10	3.77	-	65.5	23.7	10.8	2.2
131._._.		Ras Shamra 11	3.52	-	66.6	23.2	10.2	2.3
132._._.		Ras Shamra 12	-	66.2	23.0	10.8	2.1	
133. BY 30 Obv. ∪ Rev. ··		L. 41	3.19	(61)	67.0	22.4	10.7	2.1
134._._._.	*	-	3.15	-	66.8	23.1	10.1	2.3
135._._._.		-		(63)	66.1	23.3	10.7	2.2
136._._._.			3.15		66.2	22.9	10.9	2.1
137. BY 32 R: :	*	Mar. 3	3.39		67.6	22.8	9.6	2.4
138._._.		-	3.13		67.5	23.0	9.5	2.4
139._._.			3.59		67.9	21.6	10.4	2.1
140._._.			3.55		67.3	22.8	9.9	2.3
141._._.			3.85		67.3	23.0	9.7	2.4
142. BY 40 (A.D. 1251)	*		3.30		66.0	23.7	10.3	2.3
143._._.			3.23		64.9	23.4	11.7	2.1
144._. (1253)	*		3.39		64.9	23.9	11.2	2.1
145._._.			3.13		66.8	22.5	10.7	2.1
146._._. (1254)			3.15		65.1	23.9	10.9	2.2
147._._.			2.83		62.4	25.1	12.4	2.0
148._. (1256)			3.13		65.6	22.7	11.7	1.9
149._. (?)			3.06		64.1	23.8	12.1	2.0
150._._.			3.08		68.7	21.3	10.0	2.1
151._._.			2.84		65.8	23.4	10.7	2.2
152._._.			3.13		66.4	22.7	11.0	2.1
153._._.			2.88		68.3	22.4	9.3	2.4
154._._.			3.16		66.8	22.1	11.1	2.0
155._._.			2.90		66.1	22.8	11.1	2.1
156. BY 41	*		3.12		73.4	25.1	1.5	17.
157._.			3.01		80.7	17.5	1.8	10
b) Tyre. cf. BY 20-21.								
158.		L. 1	3.84	(50)	58.0	36.0	6.0	6.0
c) Tripoli and probably also Antioch. BY 7-16.								

159. BY 7			(50)	64.2	24.7	11.2	2.2
160._.		3.19		62.3	24.8	13.0	1.9
161._.		3.57		61.1	24.7	14.2	1.7
162._.	*	3.13	(56)	60.2	25.9	13.9	1.9
163. BY 11	*	3.60		62.9	25.6	11.5	2.2
164. BY 16	*	3.25	(56)	66.8	24.1	19.1	2.7
165. BY 13 (Obv. +)	*	3.40		61.2	24.6	14.2	1.7
166. BY 15			(64)				
167._.		3.09		63.4	24.1	12.5	1.9
168._.		3.77		60.3	24.8	14.9	1.7
169._.		3.70		60.1	25.4	14.5	1.8
170._.			(57)	60.7	26.7	12.6	2.1
171._.	*	3.75		60.0	25.8	14.1	1.8
172._.			(59)	58.2	28.2	13.5	2.1
173. BY 14 (Rev. +)		3.55		64.7	24.6	10.7	2.3
174._.		3.81		59.0	26.9	14.1	1.9
175._.		3.29	(54)	60.2	26.7	13.1	2.0
176._.		3.73		59.1	26.2	14.7	1.8
177._.		3.51		62.0	22.7	13.7	1.7
178._.		3.53		59.6	26.0	14.3	1.8
179._.		3.55		58.8	26.6	14.6	1.8
180._.		3.41		57.8	27.4	14.8	1.9
FOURTH PHASE: After 1268, The *Agnus Dei* Bezant.							
181.		3.64		66.3	22.3.	11.4	1.4
182.		3.55		64.4	22.1	13.5	1.7
183.		3.40		68.8	19.9	11.2	1.8
CUT FRAGMENTS from the Marash Hoard							
184.	*	1.08		50.7	38.2	11.1	3.5
185.	*	1.07		55.1	37.6	7.3	5.2
186.	*	0.91		52.1	39.2	8.7	4.5
187.	*	0.77		50.4	35.8	13.8	2.6
188.	*	0.65		55.0	35.8	9.2	3.9
189.	*	0.63		58.3	33.6	8.1	4.1
190.	*	0.51		55.1	36.8	8.1	4.6
191.	*	0.44		62.1	31.9	6.0	5.3
192.	*	0.34		58.7	32.0	9.3	3.4
193.	*	0.46		61.4	32.7	5.9	5.5

IV. CRUSADER IMITATIONS OF AYYŪBID SILVER DIRHAMS

1. M.L. Bates, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Imitations of Ayyūbid Silver Coinage: A Preliminary Survey," *NENIEH* (Beirut, 1974), pp. 401ff.

2. Enrico Leuthold, Jr., "Monete con leggende in arabo — islamiche e dei Crociati — in un ripostiglio del XIII secolo," *RIN*, 5th ser., XIX (1971), pp. 175ff., lists posthumous dirhams of 618 H., and a half dirham of the same date.

3. H. A. R. Gibbs "Aiyūbids," *HOC*, II, p. 697.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 698.

5. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 137-38. By oversight, Schlumberger gives the Hijra date 614 for the treaty.

6. P. Balog, "La trouvaille du Fayoum," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXIV (1951-52), pp. 17-55; Bates, "Thirteenth Century," p. 395; and Leuthold, "Leggende in arabo," pp. 175-84. See also these hoards, the three major published hoards containing Crusader imitations, in the Hoards chapter in this work.

7. See Bates, "Thirteenth Century," for a detailed description of the types and their subtypes and variants. With the exception of Type IV, the central field inscriptions of the imitations are always the same; the division into types is based on differences in the marginal inscriptions.

8. Leuthold, "Leggende in arabo," p. 183, lists dirhams of 645 and 648; but it is possible to read these as variants of the dates listed *supra*. In particular, it is unlikely that dirhams of this sort were issued in 648 (A.D. 1250-51), for this year coincides with the temporary halt imposed by Eudes and with the issuance of dirhams with Christian legends dated 1251.

9. See Bates, "Thirteenth Century," plate I, 16 and p. 397.

10. Here we have followed the precedent set by Balog and Yvon as well as Leuthold in designating the side of the coin with the ruler's name as the obverse, but it should be remembered that this designation is purely arbitrary. It is not known which side of the coin was struck with the upper die, nor which side contemporaries considered to be the face of the coin. Other authors

have designated the side with the caliph's name as the obverse.

11. No figures for the weight range and average weight of individual half-dirham types are available. For the 75 half-dirhams of all types, the range is 1.03-2.27 grams, with an average of 1.39 grams.

12. Paul Balog, in Balog and J. Yvon, "Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient latin," *RN*, 6th ser., I (1958), p. 161, records a dirham of the first group seen in commerce in Beirut, but unfortunately no visual record of the coin was made. Given the uncertain legibility of the marginal legends of these coins, the date cannot be accepted until confirmed by a second specimen. Also Leuthold and Balog read 1252 on a dirham in the hoard published by the former (no. 110), but judging by the photograph published with the coin and a cast supplied by Balog, the digit on the coin is more probably a distorted *ahad* (one). See Bates, "Thirteenth Century," p. 406.

13. Dirhams, BY Types 42-43. Half-dirhams, BY Type 44.

14. Dirhams, BY Type 45. Half-dirhams, BY Type 46.

15. Dirhams, BY Type 47. Half-dirhams, BY Type 48.

16. Sydney Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-1241," p. 479, and Gibb, "The Aiyūbids," p. 707, both in Setton, *HOC*, II.

17. Based on neutron activation analyses of nine Damascus issues and four posthumous issues done for the ANS by Dr. Adon A. Gordus of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

18. Gibb, "The Aiyūbids," p. 709; Stephen Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243-1291," in Setton, *HOC*, II, p. 561.

19. See the extract from the papal letter in Sources chapter of this work.

20. A fuller historical sketch of the Crusader Arabic silver coinage will be found in Bates, "Thirteenth Century," pp. 406-09, but the discussion in the present work revises the earlier survey in some respects.

21. Two errors in Balog's and Yvon's description of these dirhams have been corrected in our description. The first word of the third line of the reverse was wrongly corrected to "Allah" (cf. the description of the diners, BY Type 40); the word *ilāh* as on the coins is correct. This is the Arabic word for "a god," or a divinity or the like, as opposed to *Allāh*, a contraction of "The God," which is regarded as a proper name (this distinction is expressed in English by capitalization). The same word, *ilāh* appears on Muslim coins in the phrase "There is no god but God." Interestingly, however, the Christians adopted on their coinage the more modern spelling with the second *alif*, whereas on the Muslim coins (and their imitations by the Crusaders) the archaic spelling with the second *alif* suppressed is used, because the word occurs in a quotation from Qur'an. This and other features of the inscriptions of the coins display proficient literacy in Arabic on the part of those who ordered the inscriptions and supervised the die-cutters. As for the second error, probably caused by an incompletely legible specimen, the first word of the reverse marginal legend is *lahu*, not *Allāh*. The marginal legends continues that in the central field.

V. BARONIAL COINAGE OF THE LATIN KINGDOM

1. See Chapter II *supra*, by Gordus and Metcalf, on the gold coinage of the Crusader states.

2. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 40.

3. See the Tripoli and Kessab hoards in the Hoards chapter.

4. John Wilkinson, *The Copper Coins of Philip of Montfort, Lord of Tyre*, 1986.

5. Setton, *HOC*, T.S.R. Boase, Chapter III, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, A. Architecture and Sculpture," pp. 105-06.

6. Schlumberger, Chalandon, and Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, (Paris, 1943) pl. XVIII, 7, p. 64.

7. Prawer, *Kingdom*, p. 391.

8. V.G. Berry, "The Second Crusades" in Setton, *HOC*, I, p. 509; also Runciman, *HOC*, II: *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100-1187*(Cambridge, 1952), pp. 177, 273, 335. A Guy was sent by the Latin King of Jerusalem to France in 1128; but a Guy was also a chevalier of Baudouin III and participated in the Second Crusade. A Gautier III Brisebarre may have ruled Beirut after him.

9. Runciman, *HOC*, III: *The Kingdom of Acre and Later Crusades*(Cambridge, 1954), p. 96; also Setton, *HOC*, II: *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*,ed. by R.L. Wolff and H.W. Hazard (Philadelphia, 1962). Both works refer to the granting of the fief as if it had taken place *ca.* 1198; however, Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," p. 98, doubts, because of the sequence of documents bearing John's name and title *Dominus*, that the fief was granted before Aimery's death in 1205.

10. See the Kessab and Tripoli hoards in Hoards chapter.

11. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," pp. 92-98.

12. *Ibid*, p. 98.

13. Alex G. Malloy, Inc., Auction, March 1976, lot 699.

14. C. Sabine, "The *Turris Davit* Coinage and the Regency of Raymond III of Tripoli, *NC* 1978, pp. 85-92; C. Sabine, "The Crusader *Turris Davit* Coinage: Addendum," *NC* 1981, pp. 156-58.

15. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 124-25.

16. *NOL*, p. 119, and *Supplement*, p. 8.

17. Runciman, *HOC*, II, p. 191. Also see J. L. La Monte, "The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Byzantion*, XVII (1944/45), pp. 188-90.

18. M. W. Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189," in Setton, *HOC*, I, p. 615.

19. Hardwicke, "1192-1243," pp. 1248-50.

20. Yvon, "Monnaies féodales," pp. 550-52.

21. P. W. Edbury, *The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom*, BAR, 1980, p 60.

22. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 114.

23. "Additions et rectifications," *Supplement* to *NOL* (1882), p. 7.

24. *NOL*, p. 115.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 114, where he cites Pfaffenhofen's doubtful reading of the coin; *Supplement*, p. 7.

VI. THE COUNTY OF TRIPOLI

1. Baldwin, "Baldwin III and Amalric II," pp. 551 and 561.

2. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 101. Also see Poey d'Avant, *Féodales*, II, pl. LXXX, 14, pp. 246-47. These silver deniers minted at Toulouse weigh generally well over one gram. Bertrand's type no. 3684, for example, weighs 1.49 grams.

3. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 101.

4. Miles, *Fatimid Coins*; P. Balog, "Études numismatiques de l'Égypte musulmane: périodes fatimite et ayoubite, nouvelles observations sur la technique du monnayage," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXIII (1950-51), pp. 1-42, pls. I-VIII.

5. Grierson, *DO*, III, 1, pp. 67-68. A "general silver shortage ... at that time prevailed over the whole of the western world." Also see Balog, "Dirhem in Egypt," pp. 109-46.

6. C. J. Sabine, *NC* CXL (1980), pp. 71-112. D. M. Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, No. 362.

7. Metcalf, *Ashmolean.*

8. Sabine, *NC* CXL (1980), pp. 71-112.

9. Cf. Metcalf, "Hoards and Stray Finds," pp. 141-49, where twelve coins from Tripoli are listed. Also see Rahmani and Spaer, "Acre," pp. 67-72. Also, D. B. Waage, *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (F. Waage, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. IV, part 2, Princeton, 1952).

10. Notice that Schlumberger's name for the Raymonds of Tripoli is different from that used herein. That is, Schlumberger's Raymond I is our Raymond II, and so on.

11. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 102.

12. Poey d'Avant, *Féodales*, p. 255.

13. G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographiede l'Orient latin*, (Paris 1943). The seals of the Counts of Tripoli depict the count on horseback. The retrograde inscription on Pons' (1113-36) seal reads: PONCIUS COMES TRIPOLIS. The seal's reverse shows the battlements, city walls and gate. On the seal of Raymond II we find a finer rendering of the horse and count to left, the rest similar. Raymond III and Bohemond IV also used similar designs.

14. Sabine, "Tripoli," *NC*, pp. 107-09, Nos. 194-239.

15. Poey d'Avant, *Féodales*, p. 255.

16. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 103. Notice that the dates of his captivity have been revised.

17. Yvon, "La succession de Raimond III (1152-1187) et la numismatique du comté de Tripoli," *BSFN*, XXII, 1 (1967), pp. 114-15.

18. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pl. IV, 16; his engraver was quite correct in his reading of the letter R for those coins inscribed RAMVNDVS or RAIMVNDVS.

19. Schlumberger's note about the hoard in *RN*, 4th ser., XI (1907), p. 282.

20. John Wilkinson, *Crusader Coins of Syria and Palestine* (1986), p. 50.

21. Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet, pp. 58-60.

22. Sabine, "Tripoli," *NC*, pp. 109-12, Nos. 240-331.

23. John Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," in *HOC*, VI, pp. 354-420, no. 77.

24. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 105.

25. Cf. Grierson, "Grosso," pp. 33-48; R. Lopez, *Il ritorno all'oro nell'Occidente duecentesco* (Naples, 1955); Atiya, *Crusade*, pp. 162ff. There are many other references.

26. Miles, "Crusader Bezants," pp. 198-201.

27. Grierson, "*Christus Vincit.*" **DELETE OR MOVE**

28. For arguments in favor of its attribution to Bohemond VI during the 1250s, cf. Grierson, "*Christus Vincit*," pp. 169-178, pl. XVIII, 1-2. For a more general discussion of the type and an alternative theory, according to the metrology of the coinage, see Chapter III by Gordus and Metcalf *supra*. Also see Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux," pp. 89ff.

VII. THE PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH

1. Runciman, *HOC*, III, p. 358.

2. Fink, "Foundation of the Latin States," pp. 404-05.

3. Hardwicke, "1192-1243," p. 527.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 533.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 550.

7. P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Deux trésors de monnaies d'or des Croisés, *ANSMN*, 11 (1964), p. 296.

8. S. Runciman, "The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon," in Setton, *HOC*, I, p. 308; also see D. M. Metcalf, "Billon Coinage of the Crusading Principality of Antioch," *NC*, 7th ser., IX (1969), pp. 247-48. (Cited hereafter as Metcalf, "Antioch.")

9. Engel, *Normands*,p. 92, pl. II, 1. The bulla bears the bust of St. Peter on the obverse, with an inscription nearly identical in every detail to that on the coin of Antioch; the reverse has a four-lined inscription similar to that of Tancred's coins. It was found on a Latin document of 1090 in the archives of Saint Nicholas de Bari.

10. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 112. He also lists a doubtful variety inscribed IC-XP*(?)* on the obverse, perhaps identifying the figure as Christ.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 44. Indeed, the earliest coins of Antioch seem to be overstruck, or perhaps misstruck; in most cases traces of an image or inscription are often visible beneath the overtype.

13. Grierson, *DO*, III, 1, pp. 100-05.

14. P. Casonova, "Numismatique des Dānichmendites," *RN*, 3rd ser., XIV (1896), pp. 211-15. A fals of Ghazi (1084-1136) imitated anonymous folles, Class I Byzantine, and the Zengid ruler Nūr-ad-dīn Mahmūd (1146-73) also issued Byzantine types. Also see P. Grierson, "Kiurikē I or Kiurikē II of Lori-Armenia? A Note on Attributions," *ANSMN*, 10 (1962), pp. 102-12, who shows that Armenians also imitated Byzantine anonymous folles even without having been granted the right to coin money. The coinage of the Dānishmendid Turcomans of northern Syria and the barons of Cilician Armenia also consist of large copper coins of quasi-Byzantine, ancient, and original types.

15. Cf. Porteous, "Edessa," pp. 169ff.

16. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 49.

17. Metcalf, "Antioch," pp. 247-55.

18. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 50.

19. See the Aleppo, Lattaqiyah (1966), and "Subak" hoards in Hoards chapter *infra*.

20. D. M. Metcalf, "Billon Coinage of the Crusading Principality of Antioch (Subak Parcel), *NC* (1969), pp. 247-67. D. M. Metcalf, "Lucca, Valence, and Antioch." (Ras Shamra Hoard), *HBN* (1968-69), pp. 443-70.

20A. Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, p. 33.

20B. Sabine, "The Sequence of Varieties of the 'Bare Head' Type of Bohemond III of Antioch, *NC* (1981), pp. 158-63.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

22. A. Lilburn (*NC*, 1981, p. 164) feels that this is a cheek-guard, but on the well struck specimen here published it certainly appears to be a beard.

23. D. F. Allen, "Coins of Antioch, etc., from Al-Mina," *NC*, 5th ser., XVII (1937), pp. 200-10, pl. X. Metcalf, "Antioch," and "Lucca, Valence, and Antioch."

24. Metcalf, "Three Parcels," *BAR*.

25. See the Hoards Chapter.

26. Metcalf, "Three Parcels," *BAR*.

27. Metcalf, *ANSMN* XVI, p. 98.

28. Matcalf, *Ashmolean*, p. 39.

29. Metcalf, "Antioch," pp. 247-55.

30. Metcalf, "Magaraeik Hoard." Metcalf also discusses the campaigns against Antioch waged by Nur-ad-din, ca. 1174.

31. Metcalf, "Lucca, Valence, and Antioch," p. 469.

32. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 52-53.

33. Metcalf, *HBN*, 1968-69, p. 469.

34. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*,IV, part 2. Examination of the coins from the Antioch excavation shows forty fleur-de-lis types were found, not 36 as stated by Waage.

35. Bedoukian, ANS Hoard Inventory.

36. Sabine, *NC* 1980, p. 89.

37. Sabine, *BAR* 1980, p. 55, n. 8; Blanchet, "La Pite ou Pougeoise," *Etudes deNumismatique*, I (1892), pp. 309-26.

38. Porteous, *HOC*, p. 372..

39. R. Irwin, "The Supply of Money and the Direction of Trade in Thirteenth Century Syria,"*BAR* (1980), p. 75.

40. S. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243-1291, p. 578, in Setton, *HOC*.

41. Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, p. 37.

42. Bedoukian, "Unique Billon of Levon I," pp. 189ff.

43. M. Jacobowitz, Alex G. Malloy, Inc., Medieval List XXXI, forthcomming 1994.

VIII. THE COUNTY OF EDESSA

1. C. J. F. Dowsett, "A Twelfth Century Armenian Inscription at Edessa," in C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *Iran and Islam: In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 211. Baldwin I used *princeps* and *dux* as titles, but, by the time Baldwin II received control of Edessa, *comes* was the most commonly used title.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

3. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 18.

4. Porteous, "The Earrly Coinage of the County of Edessa," *NC*, 7th ser., XV (1975), p. 172, pl. XXV, 9. He states that

the existence of this Type 2 had been revealed before the non-overstruck specimen appeared, because as an undertype the plain cross and the X were conspicuous.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 173. His evidence is a coin in the Slocum collection.

6. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pl. I,6; or no. 6 in our Catalogue.

7. Porteous, "Edessa," p. 174.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82. Sixteen specimens are discernible beneath no. 7.

10. Fink, "Foundation of the Latin States," pp. 399ff.

11. P. Casanova, "Une monnaie inédite de Baudouin d'Édesse," *RN*, 4th ser., I (1897), pp. 533-34.

12. *Ibid.*

13. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet, A Key to the History of Mankind*, New York.

14. Balog and Yvon, "Legandes arabes," p. 134.

THE LUSIGNAN KINGDOM OF CYPRUS

1. One example of this type, weighing 3.38 grams, was published by F. Warren, "Notes on Coins Found in Cyprus," *NC*, 3rd ser. XI (1891), p. 148, Pl V, 17, and attributed by him to Robert de Sablé, Grand Master of the Order of the Templars during their occupation of Cyprus in 1191-92. Another specimen weighing 4.05 grams (in the Bibliotheque Nationale), bearing a more complete legend, makes it clear that the type must be attributed to Guy de Lusignan.

2. F. B. Pegoletti, *La practica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Medieval Academy of America, Publication No. 24 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 288. P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, I (Milan, 1957), pp. 489ff., says that the section of the list oi the Cypriot coinage was updated during his stay on Cyprus (1320-30).

3. D.H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard of French Seignorial and Crusader's Coins*, *ANSNNM* 59 (New York, 1933) p. 35.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

6. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 189f; Metcalf, "The Gros grand and Gros petit of Henry II of Cyprus, part 1," *NC* 142 (1982), p. 88; J. J. Slocum, *A Checklist of the Coins of Medieval Cyprus (1192-1570)*, (Newport, R.I., nd) MS.

6A. Metcalf, *ibid.*, and part 2, *NC* 142 (1983).

7. Colonel E.J. King, "The Mildred King Memorial Collection Catalogue," (unpulblished MS, p. 141.

8. Sir George F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, (Cambridge, 1948), p. 319.

9. Two birds of martlet shape are associated with the arms of John of Antioch, who was regent for Peter II during his minority (cf. illustration in C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris, 1899), II, p. 469, fig. 306, where the birds are described as "bartavelles" or rock partridges). Perhaps the small birs in the field on our coin is intended as the same; in that case, these gros were presumably struck between 1369 and 1272, while John of Antioch was regent for Peter II.

10. A. J. Seltman, "Light-weight Coins of Peter I and Peter II of Cyprus," *NC*, 7th ser., VI (1966), pp. 235-40, Pl. XX.

11. A. J. Seltman, "A Copper Coinage of Peter II of Cyprus," *NCirc.*, LXXVI, 2 (February, 1968), p. 37, fig. 2.

12. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

13. H. M. Dolley "A Presumed Hoard of Lusignan Deniers from Cyprus," *NC*, 6th ser., XIII (1953), p. 159.

14. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 204f.

15. "The Chronicle of George Boustronios, 1456-1489," trans. by R.M. Dawkins, University of Melbourne Cyprus Expedition Publication No. 2 (Melbourne, 1964), p. 27.

X. LATIN EMPIRE AND THESSALONICA

1. Pope Innocent III, *Epistolae* in J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Ser. Latina*, CCXIV-CCXVII. Cf. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (Cambridge, 1927), p. 420.

2. Nicetas Choniates. *Historia* in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1835), pp. 858-59 (cited as *CSHB*).

3. J. M. Hussey, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1081-1204," in Setton, *HOC*, II, p. 142, points out that to a certain extent Byzantium had become less a centralized government, more a landed, military society before the arrival of the Fourth Crusaders. Certainly after 1204, the feudal qualities of its society were intensified.

4. R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261," in Setton, *HOC*, II, p. 199.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

7. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 207.

8. Nicetas Choniates in *CSRB* (Bonn, 1935), p. 787.

9. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 206, cites the passage, as does Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 275. The passage reads: "Conventum est inter hoc, quod nec Imperium meum, neque tuus dispotatus habeat licentiam formare yperperos, vel manuelatos, aut stamena equalis forme alterius partis." G. Tafel and G. Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum (Vienna, 1856) vol. II, document no. CCLII, at p. 207, is the classic version of this text. See our chapter on Original Sources for further information.

10. Cf. Hendy's discussion of the denominations, *Coinage*, pp. 27-28. *Manuelatus* means either electrum coinage in general, or (as it is probably used here, though the wording of the passage is ambiguous) a hyperpyron of weight and purity employed

during the reign of Emperor Manuel (1143-80). *Stamenum* was a term employed for the standard coin of the Byzantine Empire, which, when the standard coins became cup-shaped, was replaced by the term trachy.

11. D. M. Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen II," *NC*, 7th ser., XIII (1973), pp. 148-60.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 152. Cf. excavation reports of C. L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul" (Second Preliminary Report, *DOP*, XXII (1968), pp. 185-93; Third and Fourth Preliminary Reports, *DOP*, XXV (1971), pp. 251-58, 8 pls.

13. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, (London, 1982), pp. 238 and 269.

14. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 267.

15. D. M. Metcalf, "Byzantobulgarica: The Second Bulgarian Empire and the Problem of 'Bulgarian Imitative' Trachea before and after 1204," *NCirc.*, LXXXI, 11 (Nov., 1973), pp. 418-21, also takes issue with the attribution of these direct copies to the Bulgarian Empire, and he argues that they are genuine Byzantine coins.

16. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 207. There is no evidence of a systematic supply of coins from the West.

17. Crusaders in Syria, as we have seen, minted poorly engraved imitations of Fatimid dinars, and the kings of Cyprus issued imitations of electrum trachea.

18. G. E. Bates, *Archaeoloaical Exploration of Sardis, I: Byzantine Coins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p. 146.

19. These coinages will be discussed in greater detail *infra*.

20. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 67.

21. G. E. Bates, *Sardis*, I, p. 146 note, 6.

22. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 213-14.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 215. See in the Hoards Chapter *infra* the Assenovgrad, Dorkovo, Oustovo, Pisaratsi, and Tri Voditsi hoards, all of which consist of Type D. Metcalf, "Peter and Paul," p. 160, also finds that Types D, O, and P antedate the year 1230.

24. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonika, Nicaea, and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London, 1911), pp. 198-99.

25. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, p. 269.

26. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 215-16. See also the hoards from Preslav and Tri Voditsi for Type J. Metcalf's Peter and Paul hoard also represents this period; see the Hoards chapter.

27. Tommasso Bertelè, "Monete bizantine inedite o rare," *Zeitschrift fur Numismatik*, XXXVI (1926), pp. 35-36 and pl. IV, 112-113.

28. Grierson, *Byanntine Coins*, p. 269.

29. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 215-16.

30. Grierson, *DO*, III, 2, pp. 721-22.

31. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 215-16.

32. See *infra* for the hoards from Istanbul B, Oustovo, and Tri Voditsi.

33. See *infra* for Dorkovo, Mogilitsa, Oustovo, Preslav, Tri Voditsi, and Postallar hoards, which consist of these Crusader types.

34. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 217. See Dorkovo, Preslav, Tri Voditsi, and Postallar hoards *infra*. Type S has not yet appeared in hoards. Type T appears in the hoards from Dorkovo, Mogilitsa, and Tri Voditsi. Metcalf, "Peter and Paul," p. 160, suggests that the appearance of Types P-N and Q-V in the Peter and Paul hoard indicated that the coins had all been minted before 1241. Few are found near Constantinople, and many of them are found clipped fairly early on.

35. C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des Monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale, II: de Philippicus à Alexius III (711-1204)* (Paris, 1970), lists similar types inscribed with the name of Manuel I (1143-80), though the tetarteron specimen illustrated on pl. XCIX, 24 (Hendy, *Coinage*, pl. XVII, 7-8) is in a far finer style than the coin on pl. XCIX, 18. The latter may well be imitative, though Hendy (pl. X, 15) assigns it to Isaac of Cyprus.

36. Cf. D. Lathoud and T. Bertelè, "Les clefs de St. Pierre sur une monnaie de Jean III Doucas Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée (1222-1254)," *Unitas*, I (1948), pp. 189-96.

37. Metcalf, "Peter and Paul," p. 166 and pl. 10, 55-60.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, p.235.

40. Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), p. 7.

41. William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)* (London, 1908), p. 29.

42. Wolf, "Constantinople," p. 237.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Nicol, *Epiros*, p. 27.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

47. Wolff, "Constantinople," p. 214.

48. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 273.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 210; also, for more detailed discussion, see *ibid.* pp. 209-12.

52. G. E. Bates, *Sardis*, I, p. 146.

53. It is listed in our Catalogue as uncertain.

54. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 217.

55. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355*, Institute for Balkan Studies, 80 (Thessaloniki, 1965), pp. 64-66.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-37. Also see the Corinth Hoard III *infra*, which consists of several small module billon coins (Types A, D, E, F, and G).

57. T. Bertelè, "Monete di Giovanni Comneno Duca imperatore di Salonicco (1237-1244)," *Numismatica*, XVI (1950), pp. 61-79 *passim*, and his *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951).

58. Metcalf, "Peter and Paul," pp. 170-71.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 160. See the Peter and Paul Hoard *infra*.

60. Bertelè as cited in note 55 *supra*, especially *L'imperatore alato*, which lists the German archetypes: cf. A. Luscin von Ebengreuth, *Wiener Münzwesen im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1913); L. Rethy and G. Probszt, *Corpus Nummorum Hugariorum* (Budapest, 1899 and 1907; repr. Graz, 1958); H.P. Cappe, *Die Münzen der deutschen Kaiser und Könige des Mittelalters* (Dresden, 1848-57). Also, Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 214.

61. See the Dorkovo, Oustovo, Preslav, and Tri Voditsi hoards in Hoards chapter.

62. Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 214.

63. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, pp. 247, 268, 271.

64. Michael Hendy to Allen G. Berman, correspondence (8 Feb. 1994).

65. Metcalf, "Peter and Paul," pp. 145-48. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 213-15, 286-88, 320.

66. Hendy, *Coinage*, pp. 287-88.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 213. These small module coins do not seem to have circulated at Constantinople, for example.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

69. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 31, 76, discusses Berthold von Katzenellenbogen, a Rhenish Crusader, who became one of William of Montferrat's great Thessalian barons. He would have had little to do with Freisacher coins, however.

FRANKISH GREECE AND THE ARCHIPELAGO

1. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 308.

2. Henry S. Robinson, "Excavations at Corinth, 1960," *Hesperia*, XXXI (1962), p. 131.

3. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Practica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Medieval Academy of America, Publication No. 24 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 116-18; see also P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, I (Milan, 1957), pp. 485-92. See selected text passages in Original Sources chapter.

4. Cf. K. Hopf (ed.), *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873).

5. G. F. Pagnini del Ventura, *Della decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal commune di Firenze ...* (4 vols., Lucca, 1765-66; repr. Bologna, 1967), IV, pp. 89-90 containing the *Practica della mercatura* written in 1442 by Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano.

6. See extracts from Pegolotti's treatise in Original Sources chapter, no. 22.

7. For clarification of this point see *infra*.

8. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 309.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

10. K. M. Edwards, "Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930-1935," *Hesperia*, VI (1937), pp. 241-56. D. M. Metcalf, "The Pylia Hoard: Deniers Tournois of Frankish Greece," *ANSMN*, 17 (1971), pp. 224-25, updates it. Found were 190 French royal; 215 French feudal; 247 Frankish, including (p. 227) 100 copper coins in the north market.

11. Cf. D. M. Metcalf, "Some Hoards and Stray Finds from the Latin East," *ANSMN*, 20 (1975), pp. 139-52, pls. XVII-XXI; and D. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, 2: Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins*, (Princeton, 1952), p. 171, no. 2327.

12. A. R. Bellinger, "The Coins," Blegen et al., *Acrocorinth, Excavations in 1926* (Cambridge, MA, 1930), pp. 61-68.

13. Metcalf, "Frankish Petty Currency from the Areopagus at Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1965), pp. 203-23 (cited as "Areopagus"). The fortress type coins were found in certain areas, indicating perhaps that Achaean troops had been quartered in those areas of the city. Moreover, none of these coins was found in the hoard deposited between 1255 and 1256, suggesting that they might have been current later.

14. Metcalf in his "Areopagus" article.

15. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355* (Thessaloniki, 1965), p. 227.

16. Metcalf, *Balkans*, pp. 227-28. Also A. Andreades, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire," *Economic History*, III (1934), pp. 1-23.

17. See the Corinth (1253-70) and Berbati (*ca.* 1255-early 1260s) Hoards in the Hoards chapter *infra*. Also see D. M. Metcalf, "The Berbati Hoard: 1953," *NC*, 7th ser., XIV (1974), p. 119.

18. See the hoards of Frankish Greece *infra*, taken from D. M. Metcalf, "The Currency of Deniers Tournois in Frankish Greece," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, LV (1960), pp. 47ff., and elsewhere (cited as "Currency"). Also see Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," p. 211.

19. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 309: Guillaume says to the king, "'Signor Sir, tu sei maggior Signor di me, e poi condur gente dove vuoi e quanta vuoi senza denari: Io non posso far cosi,' il Re li fece gratia, che'l potesse Torneselli della Lega del Re, mettendo in una libro tre onze e mezza d'argento."

20. Cf. Metcalf's "Currency" article.

21. Pegolotti, *Practica*.

22. Metcalf has published the studies of the metrology of the coins in his "Pylia Hoard" article, especially pp. 201-112.

23. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," p. 209. Metcalf has considered the type a "counterfeit hybrid."

24. *Ibid.*, p. 211. Cf. J. Lafaurie, *Les monnaies des rois de France, I: Hugues Capet à Louis XII* (Paris, 1951), p. 240.

25. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 211ff. Cf. L. Blancard, *Essai sur les monnaies de Charles Ier, comte de Provence* (Paris, 1868): pp. 60-63.

26. ΤΖΑΜΑΛΗ, Α. Π., ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ 9, p. 101-131.

27. Schlumberger, *NOL*, pp. 314-15. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," p. 181. An ordinance dated April 20, 1279 authorized the payment of 500 marks of silver "pour faire d'iceus la monnaie encontée de Romenie"; and another authorized that 1,700 marks of bronze be sent. The latter order was renewed on May 18, 1279. We also know that "monseigneur Loys de Roire . . . estoit lors envoié par la Court au parties de la Morée pour faire faire ilec la roial nouvelle monoie." Cf. A. de Boüard, *Documents en française des archives de Naples (regne de Charles Ier)*, I: *Les mandements aux trésoriers* (Paris, 1933), pp. 149-50; and II: *Les comptes des trésoriers* (Paris, 1935), pp. 33-34.

28. Metcalf, *Ashmolean*.

29. ΤΖΑΜΑΛΗ, Α. Π., ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΑ...

30. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoaxd," pp. 199-200.

31. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 316.

32. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 200-201.

33. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 316, from the *Registri Angioini*.

34. Bellinger, A. R., *Catalogue of Coins Found at Corinth* (1925), p. 76, pl. II,7.

35. ΖΕΡΒΟΥ, Δ., ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ 9, p. 133-140.

36. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 200-201.

37. See the later hoards of Frankish Greece, in the Hoards chapter, especially the Orion hoard.

38. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 318. L. F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique des Croisades* (Paris, 1847), p. 149.

39. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 318.

40. D. Cox, *The Caparelli Hoard, ANSNNM* 43 (New York, 1930), p. 15.

41. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 320.

42. Cf. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 321; and, P. Lambros, "Monnaies inédites en or et en argent, frappées à Clarence, à l'imitation des monnaies vénitiennes, par Robert d'Anjou, prince du Péloponnèse," *Bulletin de correspondencehellenique*, I (1877), pp. 89-99. These attributions are controverted by D. M. Metcalf in his article "Echoes of the Name of Lorenzo Tiepolo: Imitations of Venetian Grossi in the Balkans," *NC*, 7th ser., XII (1972), pp. 183-91, especially p. 191.

43. N. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*, I (Venice, 1893), pp. 160-61.

44. Cf. H. Ives, *The Venetian Gold Ducat and its Imitations*, ed. and annotated by P. Grierson, *ANSNNM*, 128 (New York, 1954) p. 24. Their attribution has been challenged by J. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux de l'Orient latin," *RN*, 6th ser., VIII (1966) p. 101.

45. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 325; P. Lambros, "Monnaies et bulles inédites de Néopatras et de Carytaena," *RN*, nouv. ser., XIV (1869/70), pp. 192-93, pl. IX, 8.

46. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," p. 195.

47. Adr. Longperier, "Monnaies des princes chrétiens d'Orient," *RN*, nouv. ser., IV (1859), pp. 489-90.

48. P. Lambros, "Monnaies de Chypre et de Salona," *RN*, nouv. ser., XI (1866), p. 132.

49. J. Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204-1311," in Setton, *HOC*, II, p. 273, says that Guy II was knighted in 1294. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 196ff. described the ceremony after the account of the Catalan *Chronicle of the Morea*.

50. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 200-201.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 225; K. M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens*, 1311-1388 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 14.

52. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 27.

53. Some scholars have doubted this assertion by the author of the *Chronicle of the Morea*: cf. J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinopleet la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), pp. 2OOff.

54. D. M. Metcalf, "Frankish Petty Currency from the Areopagus at Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1965), pp. 203-35.

55. *Ibid.*

56. See the Corinth hoard, for example, said to have been deposited between 1253 and 1270, which contains no Frankish deniers; listed in the Hoards chapter. Also see K. M. Edwards, *Corinth: Results ...*, VI: *Coins, 1896-1929* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

57. D. M. Metcalf, "The Pylia Hoard: Deniers Tournois of Frankish Greece," *ANSMN*, 17 (1971), pp. 199-200. The weights supplied in our text, furthermore, are what these coins weighed when they were discovered in hoards, not the theoretically extrapolated weight of the coins just after they were originally struck; Metcalf supplies the latter weights in his article.

58. Also see the Xirokhori hoard listed *infra*. Metcalf, "Currency" article, lists the hoard and assigns the date of deposition

to the period 1285-87.

59. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," p. 187, felt that Guillaume and Nicholas of St. Omer may have issued these coins in Achaea during their consecutive terms as bailies, presumably to put Athens' coins of inferior alloy into a wider circulation. This would have been rather an unreasonable, and no doubt an irresponsible, thing for the bailies of Achaea to do, though it is nevertheless true that the dukes of Athens did mint deniers at Thebes that are of lesser intrinsic value than the Achaean deniers.

60. See the Hoards chapter *infra*.

61. The Pylia Hoard *infra* and in Metcalf's "Pylia Hoard" article.

62. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard" article. The Pylia hoard consists of five coins of this same type, thereby suggesting that it was an early type; and three out of the five specimens bear a retrograde S.

63. The anonymous obole, the deniers with DVX ATЄNЄS, and those with DVX ACTЄNAR/TЄBA'CIVIS all appear together in the Delphi hoard 1894-B, concealed *ca.* 1325.

64. See the Orion hoard (1320-25) Delphi 1894 (1339-44), Delphi 1891-B (1325-40), Eleusis (1329-68), Delphi (1400-20), as well as the Pylia hoard *ca.* 1310-15), *infra*, all consisting of the anonymous types. Eleusis II (1331), Delphi 1933 (1301-05), and Attica (*?*) (1318-25) do not consist of the anonymous types.

65. A. J. Seltman, "Late Deniers Tournois of Frankish Greece," in *Mints, Dies, and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, ed. by R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), p. 320 (cited as Seltman in *Mints*).

66. Notice that the Eleusis Hoard (1311) has 100 Sicilian grossi of Frederick II (1296-1337) and that the Delphi Hoard 1894 (1339-44), which Metcalf discusses in his "Currency" article, has 26 of these grossi, thus showing that the influence of Sicily, whence came these Catalan mercenaries, was evident in Greece even before the Catalans actually seized control of the duchy of Athens.

67. Seltman in *Mints*, p. 320. Also see Schlumbergur, *NOL*, p. 340, and P. Lambros, "Unedirte Mittelaltermunzen von Athen und Naxos," *Zeitschrift fur Numismatik*, I (1874), p. 192, pl. VI.

68. Seltman in *Mints*, p. 321.

69. P. Lambros, "Monnaies de Chypre et de Salona," *RN*, nouv. ser., XI (1866), pp. 125-32, Pl. IV, 7-8; and *Chronicon Galaxidi*, ed. by K. N. Sathas (Athens, 1865), p. 234. Lambros asserted that both coins of Salona were of billon; but Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 349, does not specify.

70. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 349. See Hoards chapter *infra*, no. 23, where the pertinent passage is reproduced.

71. D. M. Metcalf, "Frankish Petty Currency from the Areopagus at Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXIV (1965), p. 209. Two coins were found in the Areopagus hoard.

72. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 356. There is evidence of this fact in Pegolotti, Uzzano, and other Venetian documents.

73. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 199ff., where the statistics of metrological studies on these coins are set forth.

74. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 388.

75. See the Hoard chapter for further information about their circulation.

76. Metcalf, "Pylia Hoard," pp. 199ff.

77. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 349 taken from the *Registri Angioni*.

78. Hendy, *Coinage*, pl. 38, 1-2 and 8-9.

79. See *supra*, for the types from the unknown mint in Frankish Greece.

80. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 382.

81. See Hoards chapter for the Pylia, Elausis, and Delphi hoards of 1311.

82. The later Delphi hoards, as well as the Patras, Eleusis, Attica (*?*) and Sierck Hoards, consist of a few coins of the common variety.

83. R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261," in Setton, *HOC*, II, p. 202 and note 14. For the text cf. K. Hopf, "Urkunden zur Geschichte der Insel Andros," *Sitzungsberichiteder k. Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, XXI (1856), p. 243.

84. J. Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204-1311," in Setton, *HOC*, II, p. 272.

85. A. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, 1962), pp. 98-99.

86. N. Papadopoli, "La zecca di Nasso. Monete dei Sanudo duchi dell'arcipelago e di Nasso," *RIN*, VIII (1895), pp. 457-64, illus.

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88. Schlumberger, *NOL*, p. 399.

89. Cf. Lord Grantley, "Some Later Coins of the Crusaders," *NC*, 5th ser., III (1923), p. 53.

90. Cf. A. J. Seltman, "Late Deniers Tournois of Frankish Greece," in *Mints, Dies and Currency*, ed. by R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 321-22.

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KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

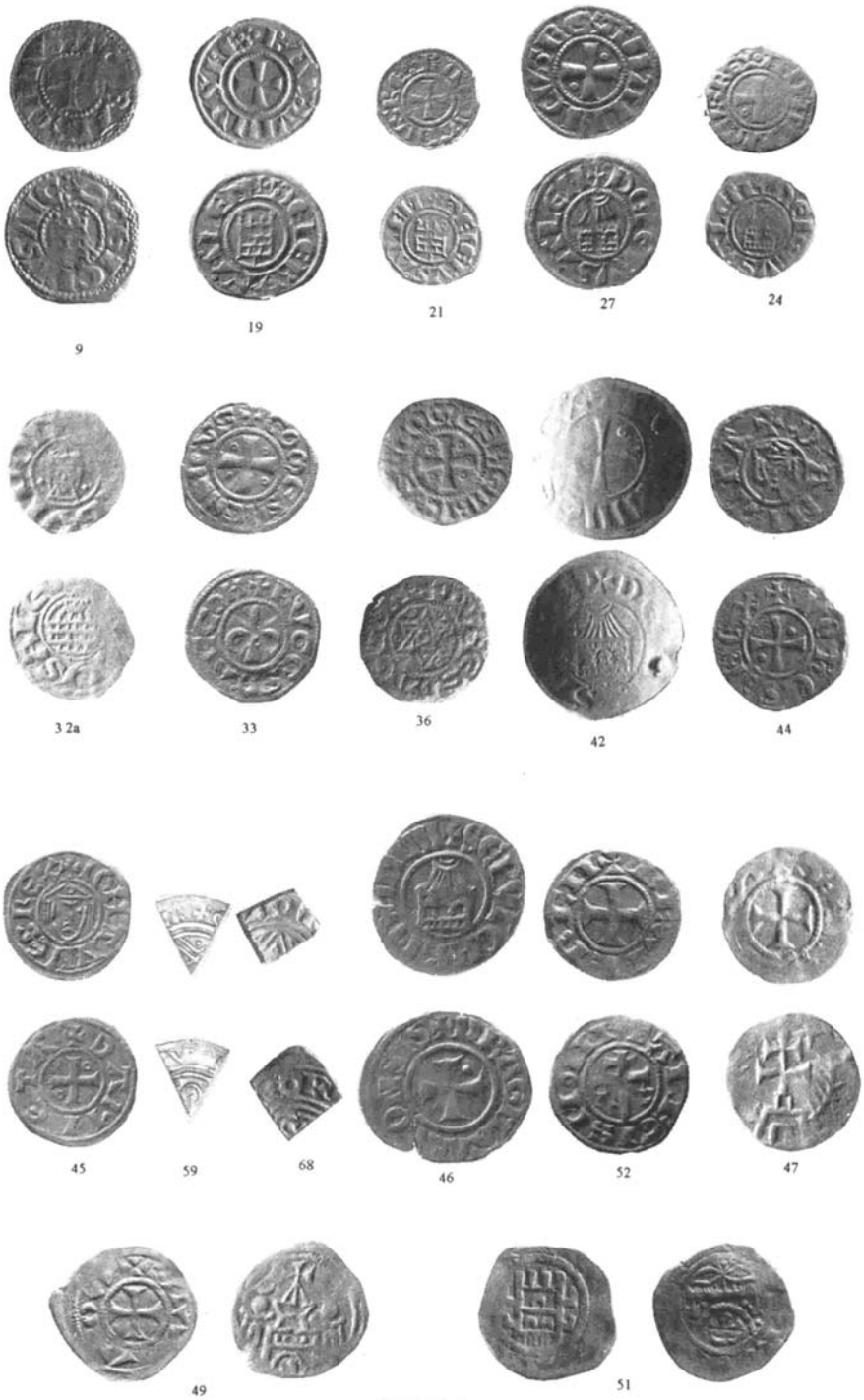

PLATE I

ISLAMIC GOLD IMITATIVE COINS

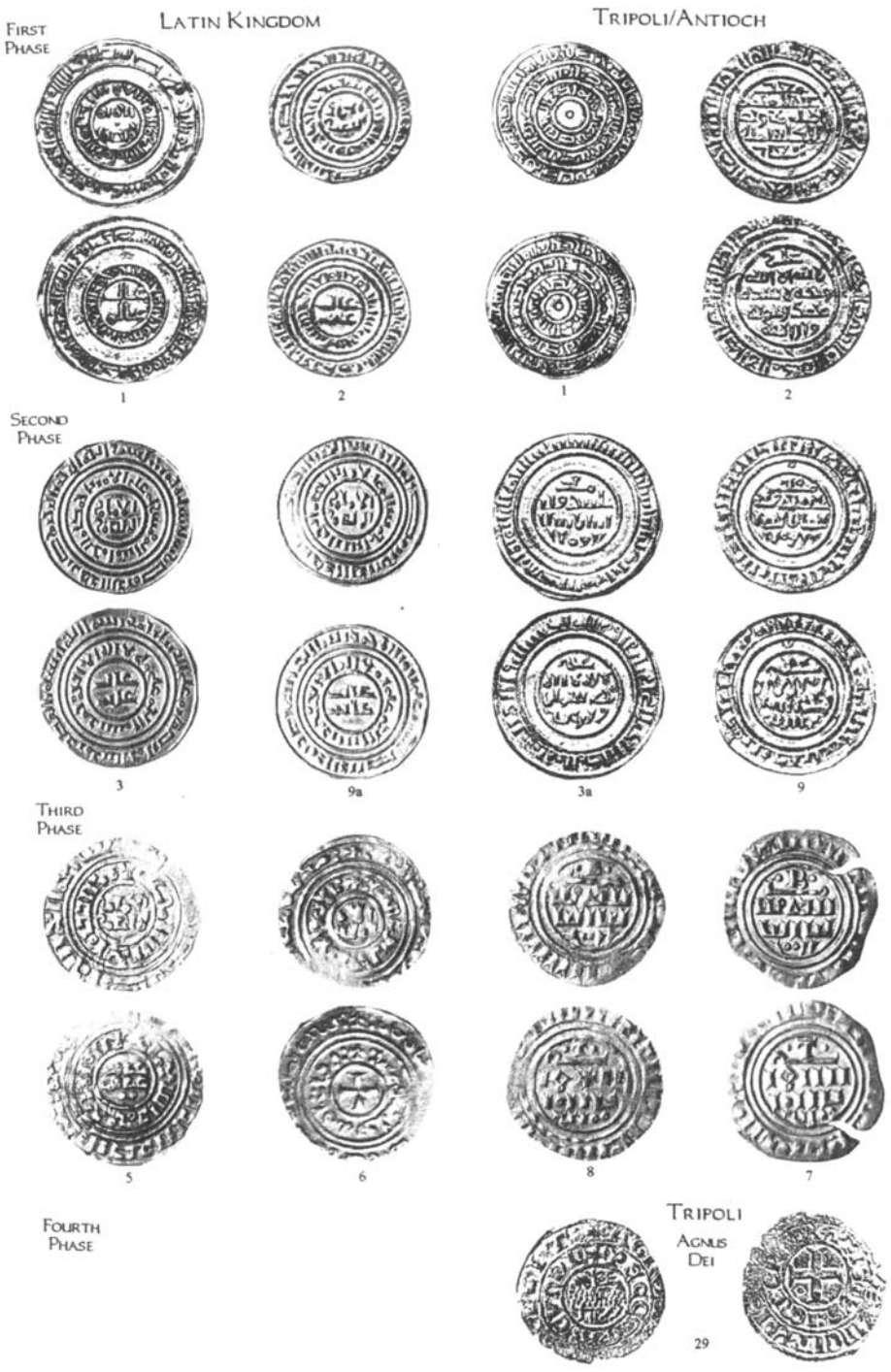

PLATE II

ISLAMIC SILVER IMITATIVE COINS

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Christian Dirhams and Half Dirhams

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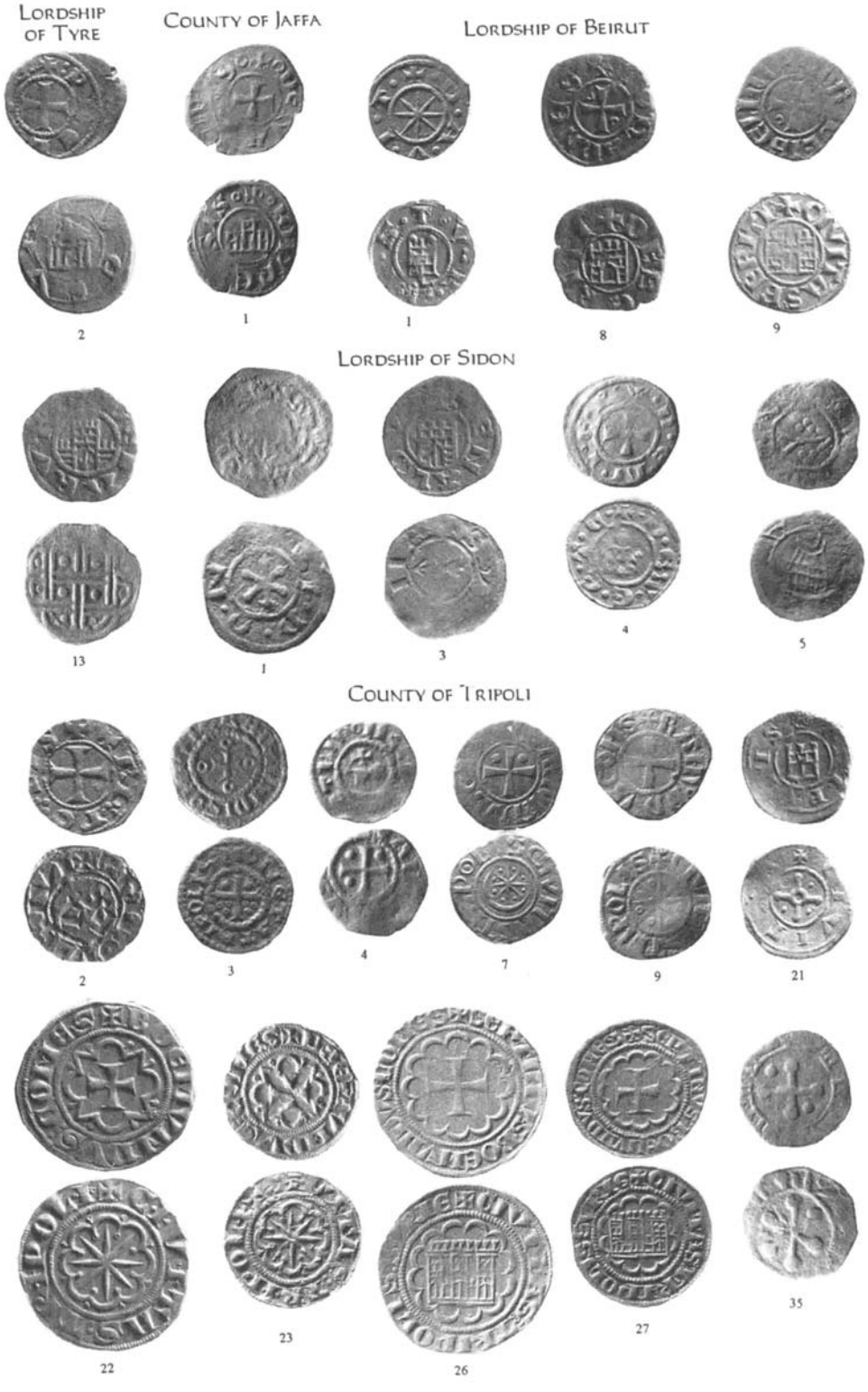
PLATE III

BARONIAL COINAGE OF THE LATIN KINGDOM



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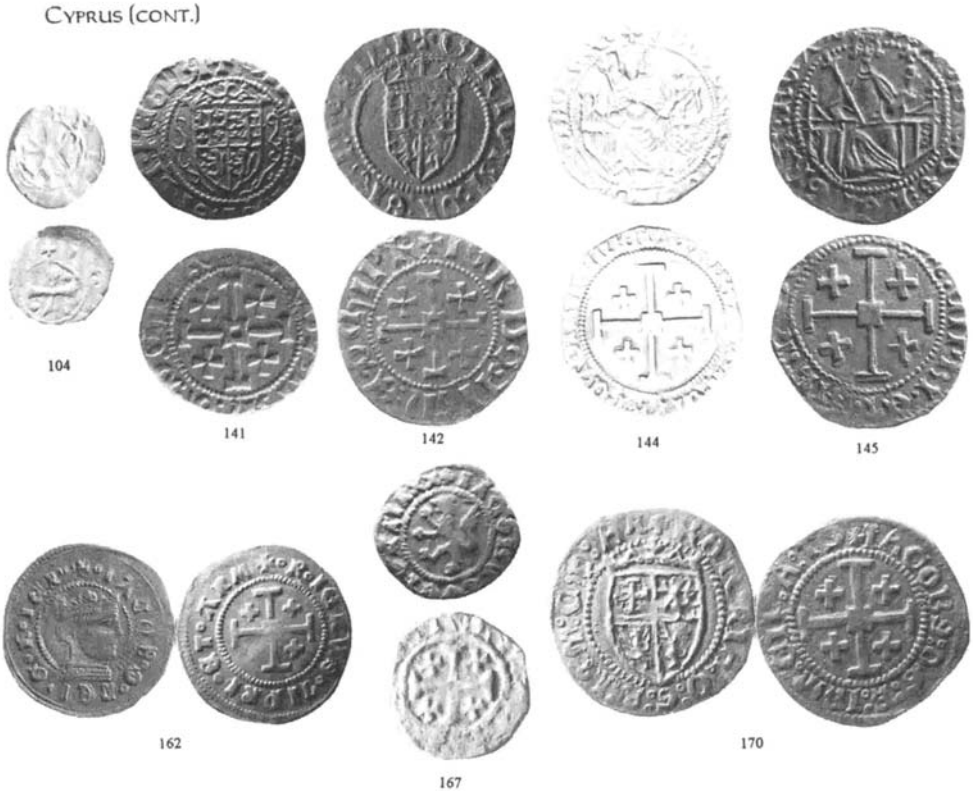

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Including the Kingdom of Jemsalem and its vassal states of Syria and Palestine, the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus (1192-1489), and the Latin Empire of Constantinople and its vassal states of Greece and the Archipelago. by Alex G. Malloy, Irene Fraley Preston & A. J. Seltman
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